A New HISTORY OF INDO-PAKISTAN

K. ALI

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BY

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

It is a pleasure to see that the Third Edition of 'A New History of Indo-Pakistan' is going to be placed before the readers. In this edition an attempt has been made to bring the subject up to date and lots of fresh materials have been added. The causes of recent mass upheaval and their consequences have been vividly discussed. This is probably the first effort in this direction. I am sure that the Chapters on 'Why Pakistan' and 'Pakistan Since 1947' are going to be of special interest to the general readers and the present edition of the book will be very useful to the C.S.S. candidates and the students of the different Boards and the Universities of both the Wings of Pakistan.

My beloved student Mr. Abdul Wahab has rendered valuable contributions to the revision and improvement of the present edition, without whose help the book would not have come to light so soon. I take the opportunity of expressing my love and affection to him. My special thanks are due to Mr. S. Atiar Rahman, M.A.B.L., Special Officer, Law (Legislative) Department, Government of East Pakistan, Dacca and Mr. Zahural Haque, Journalist for their ungrudging help in the revision of the book.

K. ALI

Dacca,
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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

In order to provide facilities to the competitive examinees and students of General History the three parts (ancient, medieval and modern) of Indo-Pakistan History have been compiled into one volume. This book is written in the light of researches and in accordance with the requirements of the students preparing for different examinations in both the Wings of Pakistan.

Attempts have been made to remove the deep rooted misunderstandings about some of the rulers of this country created in the minds of the readers by the European historians. In addition to the history of the achievement of Independence, a special stress has been laid on administrative, social, economic and cultural aspects of the sub-continent in different periods. I will feel amply rewarded if this book can fulfil the requirements of those for whom it is intended.

I acknowledge with deep debt of gratitude to those writers whose works I have freely consulted in compiling this book. I also express my gratitude to Mr. K. A. Monem, M.A., Lecturer in English, Dacca University who has kindly gone through the manuscript.

K. ALI.

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INTRODUCTION

The land of Indo-Pakistan

Indo-Pakistan sub-continent is a vast country. It is almost equal in extent to the whole of Europe excluding Russia and is twenty times as big as Great Britain. The population of this country is nearly one-fifth of that of the whole world. It is separated, on the north, from the rest of Asia by the Himalayas and is bounded, on the other sides, by the seas. It is a land of many attractions. Its several mighty rivers, such as the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, its many mountains, its variety of landscape and soil, and a number of useful minerals and ores, its production of variety of food and many crops attracted foreigners from many lands. In August 15, 1947, this country was divided into two independent States known respectively as India and Pakistan.

Land of many attractions

Diversity in Indo-Pakistan

Indo-Pakistan sub-continent is pre-eminently a land of varieties. It has been aptly described as "the epitome of the world." In consideration of the enormous size of this country, the multitude of its people and extraordinary variety of its physical aspects it has been aptly termed a sub-continent. From the physical point of view 'there are varieties of temperature and surface, of latitudes and longitudes, of moisture and rainfall, of flora and fauna.' There is the human variety which Indo-Pakistan sub-continent presents with its teeming millions. It has been described by Dr. V. A. Smith as "an ethnological museum". There are no less than fourteen separate peoples with their own languages. Each of these people has its own literature. The languages and dialects used in this country exceed two hundred in number.

Physical varieties

Racial varieties

Languages

Different religions

The Indo-Pakistan sub-continent is a land of different religions. Diversity of religion is a characteristic of this country. All the world religions, namely, Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, etc., are found here.

Fundamental unity of Indo-Pakistan is a misnomer

It has been said by a group of scholars that in spite of physical varieties, racial distinctions, and diversity of religion, language, manners and customs, Indo-Pakistan has a fundamental unity of its own. But their arguments are not tenable in the face of facts. It is true that this country has a sort of geographical contiguity, but it has no unity. Though some of the dynasties rose to prominence and effected a partial unification of the country under one rule, no complete union of the whole sub-continent was ever attained. It was the Muslims and lately the British who 'created an appearance of unity by giving the major part of the sub-continent a uniform administration and sometimes a single government', but it was temporary. The ideal of cultural unity is also nothing but a myth. Even if we leave aside the Muslims and other races, the Hindus are divided themselves into 'thousands of mutually exclusive and often hostile sections by the existence of caste system and different other social traditions.' This fundamental disunity was ultimately responsible for the creation of two States—Pakistan and India.

Physical features of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and their influence upon its history

Natural divisions

As regards its physical features, the sub-continent can be divided into four distinct regions : (1) the first region consists of the northern mountains with their western and eastern ranges and their slopes comprising the present area of Kashmir, Kangra, Tehri, Kumaun, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan ; (2) the second region consists of the northern plain embracing the flat wheat-producing valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, the sandy desert of Sind and Rajputana as well as the fertile tracts watered by the Ganges, the Jumna and the Brahmaputra :

(3) the third region consists of the plateau of South Central India and the Deccan. The Narmada and the Tapti run from the east to the west and the other rivers of this region run from west to east. The Vindhya and the Satpura ranges separate northern India from the Deccan; (4) the fourth region consists of 'the long and narrow maritime plains of the south extending from the Ghats to the sea and containing the rich parts of the Konkan and Malabar, as well as the fertile deltas of the Godavari, the Krishna and the Kaveri.'

Influence of the physical features

The physical features of Indo-Pakistan have greatly influenced the course of its history. The Himalayas which comprise several ranges of mountains have stood as the "Great Sentinel of the North." They have not only prevented the cold and dry winds of Tibet from coming to Indo-Pakistan but also saved this country from foreign invasions and conquests. The existence of the Himalayas also did not allow any Indian ruler to think of conquering the northern regions beyond the Himalayas. But the north-western ranges of the Himalayas which are known as the Hindukush and the Sulayman mountains are not very high. In these ranges there exists a number of passes through which access to Indo-Pakistan is possible. It is through these passes (i.e., the Khyber, the Bolan, etc.) that foreign invaders in the past had poured into the country.

The Himalayas acted as the great sentinel of the north

Vulnerable frontiers

As regards the influence of the physical features on the history of Indo-Pakistan, there can be no denying the fact that the richness of the soil facilitated the establishment of great empires in northern India. The rivers like the Ganges, the Jumna and the Brahmaputra which flow from the Himalayas have added fertility to the northern plains of the sub-continent. They also serve as an easy means of communication and as a result, great cities such as Benares, Allahabad, Mathura, Qanauj, etc., grew upon their banks. So the history of a fertile country, like Indo-Pakistan, would be different from that of the barren ones.

Fertility of the soil and the growth of cities

Difficulty of Political unification

It has been shown that this country is divided into different regions which have a distinct history of their own. These physical features made the problem of political unity of Indo-Pakistan a difficult one. Attempts were made in the past to bring the various parts of the country under one political control but it was not successful till the establishment of British rule.

Vastness stood in the way of conquering territories beyond the frontiers

The vastness of Indo-Pakistan had another effect on its history. It "provided enough of field for the satisfaction of ambitions of its rulers. Most of their time was spent in conquering the various parts of India and consequently no time or energy was left to conquer the territories beyond the frontiers of India".

Influence of climate on the character of the people

The climate and the richness or poorness of the soil have greatly determined the character and fate of its inhabitants. As the means of subsistence are easily obtainable in the Indo-Gangetic plain, life in this region becomes easy and human effort is not encouraged. The people are peace-loving and content to lead homely lives. It is also true that the people who are relieved of the anxiety for the means of subsistence devote themselves to other pursuits. That is why great political, social, religious and philosophical ideas were born in this region and most of the seats of learning were established here. But the people living in the dry, barren lands of Rajputana or in the mountain-districts of the Maratha country are brave and industrious, energetic and proud. Such men cannot lead homely lives, because life in the hilly regions is very hard and difficult.

Sources of ancient Indo-Pakistan history

Lack of historical literature

Of the ancient period of Indo-Pakistan there is no chronological history. The Aryans and the Hindus had the genius to write books on different subjects, namely, religion, philosophy, etc., but there was a lack of historical texts among them. In this connection a famous historian al-Beruni says, "The Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things; they are very careless in relating

the chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for information and at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-telling." So the sources of ancient Indo-Pakistan history are to be sought elsewhere. The sources of ancient history of Indo-Pakistan may be classified under the following heads: (1) inscriptions; (2) coins; (3) monuments or archaeological evidence; (4) literary traditions; (5) contemporary chronicles and (6) foreign accounts.

Classification of sources

Inscriptions

Inscriptions are the most important and reliable source of our knowledge of the history of ancient Indo-Pakistan. As these inscriptions are mostly engraved on stones and copper plates, they cannot be tampered with without detection. They are written in different languages, such as Sanskrit, Pali, Tamil, Telegu, etc. There are different kinds of inscriptions. The great majority of inscriptions are commemorative, dedicatory or donative. Commemorative inscriptions record such events as birth, death or other important events. Indigenous inscriptions throw a flood of light on the political, social, economic and religious conditions of ancient Indo-Pakistan. Sometimes the foreign inscriptions help us to know the history of this country. For example, the Boghaz Koi inscription of Asia Minor speaks of the Aryan immigration in Indo-Pakistan and the Behistan inscription reveals the story of Persian conquest of Western Indo-Pakistan.

Importance of inscriptions

The value of the inscriptions in reconstructing the history of Indo-Pakistan cannot be denied. Many important kings would have been buried in the past but for their inscriptions. Asoka himself would have remained an obscure figure but for his inscribed edicts and no complete account of Samudra Gupta's conquests would have been available but for Allahabad inscription. Many inscriptions of Asoka have been discovered and these help us to know the history of his reign.

Inscriptions of Asoka and Samudra Gupta

Coins

Importance of coins

Coins form another important source of information about the history of this period. They help a great deal in giving us the name of kings, the date of their accession to the throne, the extent of their dominions, etc. They also illustrate the religious faiths and personal aptitudes of kings. They often reveal the nature and extent of foreign influence on the civilization of the country ; for example, the coins of the Kushans throw some light on the nature of Hellenic influence on Indian civilization. Coins are, perhaps, the only source of information on the Bactrian, Indo-Greek and Indo-Pakistan dynasties.

Monuments or archaeological evidence

Value of monuments or archaeological evidence

The ancient monuments like buildings, statues of stones, or metal, ornamental and decorative fragments give us useful and reliable information. The excavation of the sites of the old towns like Harappa (Montgomery district), Mohenjodaro (Hyderabad Division) have given a lot of information hitherto unknown to us.

It is after the discovery of the Indus Valley Civilization that one began to talk of a civilization in Indo-Pakistan prior to that of the Aryans. The excavations at Taxila have given us useful information of the Kushan period. Regarding the importance of archaeological evidence Dr. V. A. Smith says, "The excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa have revealed a period of Indian history for which archaeology is as yet our only sources of information."

Literary traditions

Value of literary tradition

Literary evidence constitutes one of the important sources of our information for the early history of Indo-Pakistan. The religious books of the Hindus e.g., the Vedas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Puranas and those of the Buddhists and Jains throw much light on the condition of the country. The Vedas are a source of information about

the political, religious and social systems of the early Aryans, while the Ramayana and the Mahabharata give the history of the Epic period. The Buddhist and Jaina literature provide also a lot of information about the period when these religions flourished.

Contemporary chronicles

It has been said that there was a lack of historical writings among the ancient Hindus But there are dynastic chronicles which throw light on the early history of Indo-Pakistan. The best known work among the dynasty chronicles is the *Rajatarangini* on Kalhana composed in the 12th century. It describes the history of Kashmir and though "Kalhan is fairly correct for his own time, and for the preceding century or so, his work is mainly of an imaginative character and is unreliable before the 7th century A.D." Of all the Indian authors he is the only person who gives an account of Kashmir. From the seventh century onwards, he gives a reliable history of Kashmir. The *Harshacharita* of Bana Bhatta deals with the reign of Harshavardhana in whose honour it was composed. The *Vikramankadeva Charita* of Bilhana and *Bamacharita* of Sandhyakara Nndi which deals with the Pala Kings of Bengal are important narratives of great value.

Importance of contemporary historical writings

Foreign accounts

Besides the indigenous sources, we get a lot of useful information from the writings of foreigners who visited Indo-Pakistan at different times. The writings of these foreigners supply valuable information about the political, economic, social and religious condition of ancient Indo-Pakistan. Greek historians, Herodotus and Ctesius give us much information about Indo-Pakistan. The account of Megasthenes who was sent by Seleukos to the court of Chandragupta Maurya is of great historical value. But the accounts of the foreign historians and travellers who were ignorant of the Indian languages and whose knowledge of Indo-Pakistan was defective, are to be used with some caution. Besides the

Megasthenes

writings of these writers, we get valuable information of ancient Indo-Pakistan from the accounts of the Chinese travellers. During the reign of Chandragupta II, the Chinese traveller Fa-hein came to Indo-Pakistan and left an account which is considered a 'Gazetteer of India'. It gives us useful information about this country during the reign of Chandragupta II. Hiuen-Tsang who visited Indo-Pakistan during the reign of Harshavardhana has recorded valuable information about the social, political and religious condition of the sub-continent. His account has been described as a "treasure-house of accurate information."

Fa-hien and Hiuen-Tsang

We also get a lot of useful information about the history of ancient Indo-Pakistan from the writings of Muslim historians. Among the Muslim writers, al-Beruni gives an account of Hindu manners, literature, philosophy, and science in his famous book entitled "Kitabul Hind". The names of al-Balazuri, Sulayman, al-Masudi, Hasan Nizami and Ibn al-Athir may be specially mentioned here for the early history of Indo-Pakistan.

Muslim historians

Sources of Muslim history of Indo-Pakistan

In order to know the actual history of the Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan we should be first familiar with the proper authorities on the period. For the study of this period we have several sources of information : (1) Coins and inscriptions ; (2) monuments and buildings ; (3) historical literature ; (4) accounts of foreigners and travellers.

Coins and inscriptions form the most reliable source of our knowledge of the history of Indo-Pakistan. Coins give us some ideas about the personal taste of kings and their religion. It helps us occosionally to reconstruct dynastic lists and to ascertain the territorial extent of ruling powers. It is of great help to the historians in fixing dates of important events. Inscriptions are mostly engraved on stones and copper plates. The exact dates of events have been ascertained mainly from inscriptions.

Value of coins and inscriptions as sources of information

Archaeological evidences which include buildings, monuments and works of art throw much light on the social and religious condition of a country. Every civilized country has now realised the importance of preserving its old monuments. The visit to the Taj Mahal or other monuments of the Mughal emperors gives us a better picture on the advanced stage of culture and society of the then period.

Monuments and buildings

Contemporary historical literature is very important as our source of information for the history of the Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan. The Muslims have evinced keen interest in writing history from the early times of Islam. They have made valuable contributions to the history of this sub-continent. The *Chachnamah* of Ali bin Hamid is the earliest authority on this period. It is the chief source of our knowledge for the history of Sind. It has been translated from Arabic into Persian. With the conquest of Sultan Mahmud, the interest of the Muslims in this country began to increase. Baihaqi and Utbi are well-known historians; but the most famous writer of this period is al-Beruni who stayed in Indo-Pakistan for several years and left invaluable information for this period. His work, *Kitabul Hind* which is a mine of information, has been widely utilised by the later historians. The manners, customs and character of the Indians have been vividly discussed in this book.

Historical literature

Al-Beruni, a renowned historian

The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Qazi Minhajuddin Siraj is the best source for the history of Muizuddin Muhammad Ghuri and the early Sultans of Delhi. For the history of the Khalji and Tughluq periods, the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Ziauddin Barani, the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Shams-i-Siraj and Amir Khusrau's works are the best authorities. Barani has written the history of the Delhi Sultans from the time of Balban to the sixth year of the reign of Firuz Tughluq. As he was a contemporary of Aladdin and of three Tughluq Sultans, his book is an important source for the Khalji and Tughluq periods. His work has thrown a good deal of light

Tabaqat-i-Nasiri

Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi of Ziauddin Barani

Amir Khusrau, a famous historian

on the administrative regulations and the character of the Sultans. He is an impartial historian and does not fear to point out the merits and demerits of the Sultans. But he lacks in chronological arrangement and hence his work is unmethodical. Amir Khusrau was an eminent scholar and a famous historian. He came to prominence in the reign of Balban and became the court-poet of Alauddin Khalji. He enjoyed this honour during the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. His works give us valuable historical information about the reign of Alauddin Khalji. As a historian, Amir Khusrau occupies an important place in the history of Indo-Pakistan. Shams-i-Siraj Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* deals with the Tughluq period—specially with the reign of Firuz Tughluq. The small monograph written by the Sultan himself cannot be overlooked. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* of Yahya bin Ahmad was written under the Sayyids. Though brief, it is a useful general history of Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan.

Tuzuk-i-Baburi

Tazkiratul Waqiat and Humayun Namah are the best sources for Humayun's reign

Abbas Sarwani is the best authority for Sher Shah

During the Mughal period several valuable histories were written under the patronage of the emperor. Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire, was an eminent writer. His work, entitled *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* is one of the most charming autobiographies written in any language. It is the most authentic source of information about the life and reign of Babur. It also throws a flood of light on the conditions of Indo-Pakistan. The *Tazkiratul Waqiat* of Jauhar and the *Humayun Namah* of Gulbadan Begum are the best sources for the history of Humayun. Jauhar, the ewe-bearer of Humayun, accompanied his master in all the distant campaigns and he was the eye-witness of the main events of Humayun's reign. Gulbadan Begum was the sister of Humayun. Her work serves as a best source of the internal history of his reign. The *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Abbas Sarwani is unquestionably the best source of information for the reign of Sher Shah.

Amongst the medieval historians, Abul Fazl was the most gifted. He possessed a sound histori-

cal imagination which he brought into play while writing the *Akbarnamah.* He was the most trusted friend and adviser of Akbar. He was an accomplished scholar and a man of liberal ideas. The religious policy of Akbar was shaped to a large extent by the influence of this man. His two famous works, *Akbarnamah* and *Ain-i-Akbari* give us the most valuable information about the reign and personality of Akbar. The Ain-i-Akbari supplies us with authentic information about the economic condition of the Mughal Empire. The *Muntakhabut Tawarikh* of Abdul Qadir Badauni is another authority on this reign. But Badauni who was an orthodox Muslim was biased against Akbar with regard to his liberal religious policy. The *Tabakat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad 'is one of the most reliable histories written in this sub-continent'. Jahangir's autobiography, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* is another authentic history of the reign of Jahangir. The famous history, *Tarikh-i-Firishta* was written about this time. The *Badshahanamah* of Abdul Hamid Lahori gives a detailed account of the reign of Shah Jahan. *Alamgirnamah* serves as a source of information for the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign and for the later years we are to depend on the *Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri.* But the best sources of our information for this reign are thousands of official and non-official letters written by the Emperor himself. During the declining period that followed the death of Aurangzeb, several important histories were written of which Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* and Ghulam Hussain's *Siyarul Mutakherin* are the most useful. Khafi Khan's work is an important source of knowledge for the reign of Aurangzeb. Besides the contemporary works, there are many non-contemporary authorities which help us greatly in the study of the history of Indo-Pakistan.

Akbarnamah & Ain-i-Akbari, the most important authorities for the reign of Akbar

Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, autobiography of Jahangir

Badshahnamah of Abdul Hamid Lahori

Alamgirnamah

Khafi Khan's work serves as an important source of information

The accounts of foreign visitors and travellers are also very important for the history of the period. Ibn Batuta, a famous African traveller who stayed in the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq for several years, travelled over the greater part of the then

world. He has left an interesting account of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. The travel of Barbosa, Bernier, Ralph Fitch and Caesar Frederic throw considerable light on the political and socio-economic conditions of Indo-Pakistan during the Muslim period.

Accounts of the foreigners and travellers

PART I

ANCIENT INDO-PAKISTAN

CHAPTER I

THE PRE-HISTORIC AGE

Pre-historic races

Recent researches have established this fact that before the coming of the Aryans, Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was inhabited by various races and had developed a high stage of civilization. But we do not know much about these races as no literary evidence is available. The people who lived in different parts of the sub-continent during this period are known as the non-Aryans. The non-Aryans led an uncivilized life. They did not know the use of metals, nor could they cultivate land or make fire. Their chief food was the flesh of wild beasts.

Old inhabitants

Palaeolithic or Old Stone Age

The earliest Pre-historic inhabitants of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent were the Palaeolithic (means old stone) men who used implements and tools made of rough and unpolished stones. A number of rude stone implements have been found in different parts of the country and from these implements and tools we can form an idea about the people of this age. Most of the implements are made of a peculiar kind of rock called "quartzite" and that is why the Palaeolithic men are also called "quartzite men". The Palaeolithic men had no idea of religion and no idea of agriculture. They lived in the "drifts of rivers or lakes and caves." Traces of the Palaeolithic men have been found in the neighbourhood of Madras.

Neolithic or New Stone Age

The Palaeolithic men were followed by the Neolithic men or men of the New Stone Age. The people of this age, though ignorant of the use of metals except gold, were more civilized than their predecessors. Their stone implements were of a

newer and more improved kind and they knew how to make fire and cook their food. The Neolithic men worshipped stone and ancestral spirits. They also buried the dead and performed a large number of rites on the occasion of death. Traces of the neolithic people have been discovered in Central India and the Bellary district (Madras). Some of the historians are of opinion that the Santhals, the Kols, the Mundas of the Central Provinces and the Khasis of Assam are the descendants of the people of this Age.

People of this age were more civilized than the Old Stone Age

The Age of Metals

The Neolithic Age is followed by what is called the Age of Metals. The people of this age used metals in making implements and tools. The transition from stone to metal was a slow and gradual process as is proved by the side by side existence of stone and metal implements and by the resemblance in the shape of early metal and neolithic implements. However, there is no uniformity regarding the use of metals in different parts of the sub-continent. In the case of the northern sub-continent the metals first used was copper and after that iron. But in southern India the Iron Age immediately succeeded the Stone Age.

The Dravidians

The ancient name of the Tamil country (in the Madras Presidency) is 'Dravida' and the Dravidians are named after it. It is said that the Dravidians entered Indo-Pakistan sub-continent from outside through the north-west passes. This view is supported by the fact that a tribe in Baluchistan called the Brahui 'speaks a language closely allied to the modern representatives of the original Dravidians.' It may testify to the existence of the settlements of the Dravidian people in parts of Baluchistan before they entered the sub-continent. Other scholars hold the view that the Dravidians were the descendants of the primitive inhabitants of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and that the Brahuis were the remnants of a Dravidian out-flow from India into Baluchistan. However, the Dravidians were

not uncivilized like the original inhabitants of the sub-continent. The people who now use Tamil, Telegu, Kanarese, and other kindered languages in South India are the descendants of the ancient Dravidians.

Civilization of the Dravidians

The Dravidians knew agriculture and had learnt the use of gold, silver and copper. They were also conversant with the construction of buildings, towns and forts. They made boats and small ships and carried on a flourishing trade with foreign lands. They worshipped gods and goddesses in whose honour temples were built. Human sacrifice at the altar of deities was an important feature of their worship. The Dravidians had a rich language and literature. They accepted the religion and culture of the Aryans who in course of time were influenced by the conquered in many respects. According to a group of scholars, the Dravidians were the creators of the Pre-historic Indus Valley Civilization. But it is still a controversial question and positive evidence is necessary to enable us to come to a definite conclusion.

The Indus Valley Civilization

Mohenjo-daro and Harappa

Some years ago extensive exacavations were undertaken by the Archaeological Department of Indo-Pakistan. Among the officers, who were the pioneers in the work, the names of R.D. Banerjee, R.B. Dayaram Sahni and Sir John Marshall (the then Director of Archaeology) deserve special mention here. As a result of their excavations a new civilization had been discovered at Mohenjodaro in the Larkana district of West Pakistan in former Sind, and Harappa in the Montgomery district of West Pakistan in former Punjab. Harappa was discovered by R. B. Dayaram Sahni in 1921 and Mohenjodaro (menas "Mound of the Dead") by R. D. Banerjee in 1922. But later on, Sir John Marshall took over the work personally and wrote three books on the Indus Valley Civilization. The archaeological evidence discovered by them shows that the people of the Indus Valley had a mature form of civilization five thousand years ago. The discov-

ery of this civilization created a revolution in the history of the world. It proves that Indo-Pakistan history, as is generally believed, cannot be taken to begin with the coming of the Aryans. Writers like Sir John Marshall have held the view that the Indus Valley Civilization belongs to the third millennium B. C.

Extent of the civliza-tion

The sites of this civilization have been discovered almost throughout the whole of West Pakistan. It extended from Ruper, on the left bank of the Sutlej in India to Kalat Division in West Pakistan. It shows that the tract now called West Pakistan was the seat of the cultural activities of the people of the Indus Valley.

Civilization of Mohenjodaro and Harappa

In course of time a number of sites in Sind, Baluchistan, Chanhudaro and Sutkanjendor were discovered. Of all the Indus Valley sites, Mohenjodaro and Harappa are the most prominent. The people of Mohenjodaro and Harappa attained a high degree of civilization. Sir John Marshall says, "One thing that stands out clear and unmistakable both at Mohenjodaro and Harappa is that the civilization hitherto revealed at these two places is not an incipient civilization, but one already age-old and stereotyped on Indian soil, with many millennia of human endeavour behind. Thus India must henceforth be recognised, along with Persia, Mesopotemia and Egypt, as one of the most important areas where the civilization processes were initiated and developed." The city of Mohenjodaro was well-planned. The people lived in buildings which were plain but dignified. Bricks were used for the construction of buildings. The brick-built houses were provided with paved floors, bath-rooms, wells and cess-pits. The most important building in Mohenjodaro is the Great Bath which covers an area of 11,446 sq. ft., containing arrangement for hot air bath. The city streets were wide and straight and there was a perfect system of drainage.' There was also an excellent system of water-supply. In short, the system of town-planning, the existence of water-supply, the system of drainage, the sanitation works—all these go to prove that the people of the Indus Valley led a highly advanced urban life.

Economic Condition

The people of the Indus Valley knew the art of agriculture which was their chief profession. They cultivated wheat, barley and palm-date, and their main articles of food consisted of wheat, barley, fruits, milk, and meat and fish.

Agriculture and food

The humped bull, cow, buffalo, sheep, camel, elephant, goat, pig and fowl and possibly dog were the chief domesticated animals. It was doubtful whether horse was known. Remains of the wild animals like deer, wild cow, tiger, bison, rhinoceros, monkey, bear and hare have been found.

Domesticated animals

There must have been a lot of trade and commerce. The people of the Indus Valley had carried on trade with the contemporary cities of Mesopotemia. They had also carried on trade with foreign countries. The Mohenjodaro people had evinced fine craftsmanship in the manufacture of ornaments of gold, silver, ivory and semi-precious stones.

Trade and commerce

Social Life

As regards the dress of the people we have no actual specimen of the same. Our information is based on a large number of spindles made of pottery. Their various sizes indicate that both cotton and thread must have been spun. It appears from the statues and the carvings on the seals found at different places that women put on a skirt. A cloak might have been used as an extra protection covering arms and shoulders. Men used a band of cloth round their loins. They might have used a wrapper covering their left shoulder and passing below the right shoulder.

Dress

Ornaments were very popular both among women and men. A great variety of ornaments have been found in the ruins of Mohenjodaro and Harappa. While both the sexes used necklaces, fillets, armlets and finger-rings, women alone used the girdles, nosestuds, anklets, etc. These ornaments were made of gold, silver, ivory, copper and

Ornaments

both precious and semi-precious stones. But iron was unknown to the Indus Valley people.

Amusements

The people of the Indus Valley preferred indoor hobbies to outdoor amusements. They did not take interest in hunting and chariot-racing. They enjoyed dancing and singing. The game of dice was not unknown to them. The discovery of a large number of toys shows that the children were fond of play-things. The toys were burnt-clay models of birds, animals, crafts, figures of men and women, etc.

Toys

Art

The representations of various animals carved on the seals indicate a high degree of artistic excellence. 'The most common of these animals are the humped bull, the bison and the buffaloes.' A few stone-images discovered at Harappa have the excellence of the Greek statues. Among fine arts, painting was very popular with the people of the Indus Valley. Though we have no direct specimens of the art of painting, a number of painted pottery and other vessels which have been discovered speak much of their skill in this art.

Art of Writing

Pictographic script

The people of the Indus Valley had invented writing for which they employed a pictographic script such as the Proto-Elamite, Sumerian and Minoan. This script is, according to scholars, of purely Indian origin. The Indus Valley inscriptions could not be read as the writing has not yet been deciphered. In spite of this it shows that the people of the Indus Valley has developed the art of writing.

Weapons of War

The weapons used by the people of the Indus Valley were spears, axes, daggers, bows and slings. The use of sword was perhaps unknown to them. Similarly defensive weapons such as shields and helmets were also unknown to them. Besides those of stones, the weapons were made of copper and bronze.

Religious Life

In the absence of discovery of any structure which can be definitely indentified with a temple or a religious building, it is difficult to know the system of belief of the Indus Valley people. But from a study of the seals, sealings, inscribed copper tables, stone, statuettes and terra-cotta figurines, we can form some idea about the religion of the Indus Valley people. The Indus Valley people were worshippers of tree, phallic stones (*linga*) and 'of the mother-goddess side by side with that of a male-god seemingly identifiable with *Siva.*' A black stone resembling the *Sivalinga* has been discovered at Harappa.. It shows that *Saivism* was the most living faith in the ancient World.

Nature worship

Many think that there is a similarity of the Indus Valley civilization with the Vedic civilization. But some of the historians do not accept this view. According to them, there are many differences between the two civilizations. Firstly, the Indus Valley civilization was primarily urban, while Vedic civilization was largely rural in character. The Indus Valley people were concentrated mostly in the city, but in the case of the Vedic people, village was the backbone of their economic and social life. Secondly, iron was not known at all to the Indus Valley people but it was known to the Vedic people. Thirdly, the horse was well-known to the Vedic people, but in the case of the Indus Valley the existence of horses was doubtful. Fourthly, the worship of images was very familiar to the people of the Indus Valley, while it was practically unknown to the people of the Vedic period. The Indus Valley people worshipped the trees, animals, Siva, mother-goddess, etc. They also worshipped the Phallus but the Vedic people hated the same. Fifthly, the Indus Valley people preferred indoor hobbies to outdoor amusements. Unlike the Vedic people, they did not take interest in hunting and chariot-racing. In view of these differences the Indus Valley Civilization can be regarded as pre-Aryan.

Comparision of Indus and Vedic civilizations

It is still a matter of research to know the actual causes of the destruction of the Indus Valley Civili-

zation. According to many, natural calamities like devastating flood, severe earthquake, etc., might have led to the destruction of the cities. But some of the historians are of opinion that the destruction was due to the invasion of the Aryans.

End of the Indus Valley Civilization

CHAPTER II

THE ARYANS AND THE VEDIC CIVILIZATION

Original home of the Aryans

The Dravidians were followed by a fair and civilized people who entered Indo-Pakistan sub-continent through the north-west passes of present West Pakistan. They settled in this country after defeating the Dravidians and other non-Aryan races. They are known in history as "Aryans". The Aryans were fair-looking, tall and well-built. They were highly civilized and were well versed in military art. They reared cattle and practised agriculture. There is a great deal of controversy about the original home of the Aryans. According to some scholars, the Aryans came from Central Asia. Others thinks that southern Russia or Austria-Hungary was the home of the Aryans. Still others are of opinion that they came from the Arctic region. According to another group of scholars, the Aryans originally lived in India and did not come from outside. But the generally accepted view is that the Aryans came to this sub-continent from outside.

Who were the Aryans

Aryan immigration into Indo-Pakistan sub-continent

It is difficult to say why and when the Aryans came to this sub-continent. Probably accommodation and food problems forced them to seek shelter in distant lands. Some of the Aryans went to Europe, some migrated to Persia or Iran and some found their way to this sub-continent. The English, the Germans, the Austrians, the Russians, the Swedens and the French are descended from the branch of the Aryans that went to Europe. The branch of the Aryans that entered Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was known as the Indo-Aryans. The Indo-Aryans did not come to this country all at a time, but their different branches entered the sub-continent at different times. According to Indian scholars, the Aryans came to this country before the 14th century

Their date of arrival is uncertain

B.C. But the European historians place the period of their arrival between B.C. 2000 and B.C. 1500. The view of the latter group of historians can be reasonably accepted.

Early Aryan settlements

The Aryans first settled in the land of the seven rivers * or *Sapta Sindhu.* This region comprised the north-western portion of Indo-Pakistan, lying between the two rivers, the Kabul and Saraswati. Here the Aryans were engaged in ceaseless conflict with the aboriginal inhabitants, *i.e.,* the Dravidians to whom they gave the name Dasas or Dasyus (meaning slaves). In later times they were known as non-Aryans. The non-Aryans gradually lost the ground and many of them took shelter in the neighbouring mountains. Some were enslaved, while others established friendly relations with the invaders and were ultimately admitted into their social polity.

Sapta Sindhu

After establishing themselves firmly in the *Sapta Sindhu* region (modern Punjab), the Aryans proceeded towards the east and gradually occupied the whole of the *Madhya-desa* or the "middle country" extending from Saraswati (in the eastern Punjab) to Allahabad together with Benares and north-Bihar. They also extended their influence over Bengal. In this way the whole of Northern India known as *Aryavarta* from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas and from the Eastern to the Western Ocean came under the influence of the Aryans.

Progress of Aryan conquest in Northern India

At the end of the Vedic period the Aryans crossed the Vindhyas and established their settlements in the Deccan (*Daskhina-Des*, later called *Danshinapatha*). The Dravidians developed and maintained a distinct culture of their own in the Deccan. But it was *Rishi* (Sage) Agastya who introduced the Aryan culture in the Dravidian south.

Spread of the Aryan culture in the Deccan

The Vedic literature

The Aryans lived in this sub-continent for a lond period and developed a great culture and civilization. The principal religious books of the Ar-

* Indus Jhelum, Ravi, Chenab, Sutlej, Beas and *Saraswati*

yans are called the *Vedas* which occupy a special place in the history of world literature. It is not only the earliest literary records of the Indo-Aryans, but also of the Aryans of the whole world. The word *Veda* means knowledge and is specially applied to the four collections of 'sacred wisdom' of the Hindus. These four are known as the *Rig-veda*, the *Sama-veda*, the *Yajur-veda* and the *Atharva-veda*. The *Vedas* were not written by a single man. They were written by different men at different times. But the orthodox Hindus believe that 'the Vedas were not composed by men ; they were either taught by God to the ancient sages or they revealed themselves to the seers.' The *Vedas* are also known as *Sruti*, because they were heard and preached from mouth to mouth for many generations. As regards the date of the *Vedic* composition, there is no unanimity of opinion among the scholars. Some lay down the years 1000 B.C. as the earliest limit, while others fix the same between 3000 and 1500 B.C. The *Rigveda* is the earliest (in the 14th century) and the *Atharveda* the latest (in the 11th century) of the four collections.

Oldest religious book and literature

Division of Vedic literature

Each *Veda* is divided into four parts, namely, (1) the *Samhitas*, (2) the *Brahmanas*, (3) the *Aranyakas* and (4) the *Upanishads*.

The *Samhitas* are written in verse and they contain hymns and prayers. The *Brahmanas* which are mainly prose compositions deal with sacrificial rites and ceremonies. The *Aranyakas* are generally called the "Forest books." They contain religious speculations meant to be studied in the solitude of the forest. The *Upanishads* which are mostly parts of the Aranyakas are the oldest book on Aryan philosophy.

Samhitas, Brahmanas, Aranyakas and Upanishads

The *Rigveda* is the oldest part of Vedic literature and from a literary point of view it is the most important. The *Rigveda* consists of 1028 hymns of *Suktas* which have been divided into ten *mandalas* (sections). To each *mandal* is attached the name of the *Rishis* (sages) to whom the hymns are

Importance of the Rigveda

supposed to have been revealed. The *Rigveda* supplies us with informations about the political, social, economic and religious life of the early Aryans.

Political life

In the early Vedic period, the basis of the political life of the Aryans was the family and *Grihapati* was the undisputed head of the family. Several families made up a *grama* or village and the head of the *grama* was called *Gramani*. A group of *gramas* formed a *vis* or clan. The head of the *vis* was called *Vispati*. Several *vis* or clans formed a *Jana* or tribe. Each *Jana* or tribe was ruled by a *Rajan* or king. The office of the king was usually hereditary, but sometimes it was elective. The *Rajan* or king was the supreme military commander and the chief judge. In the beginning of the Vedic period the *Rajan* was helped in his administration by officials like the *Senani* or commander-in-chief of the army, the *gramani* or leader of the village. The *purohita* (priest) occupied a very important position in the affairs of the government. Keith says, "The Vedic purohita was the forerunner of the Brahman statesmen who from time to time in India have shown conspicuous ability in the management of affairs; and there is no reason to doubt that a Visvamitra or Vasishtha was the most important element of the government of the early Vedic realm." The king was the undisputed head of the empire but his power was not absolute. His authority was to some extent curbed by the existence of two tribal councils known as the *Samiti* and the *Sava*. The chief duty of the king was the protection of the subjects and for this he had to maintain law and order in the empire. In those days there were no regular taxes. The king exacted tributes from the conquered tribes and received gifts from his subjects.

Rajan and officials

Existence of tribal councils

There was no political unity among the Indo-Aryan tribes. Of the Aryan tribes of the early Vedic period, the most important were the Bharatas, the Kurus, the Srinjayas and the Purus. Besides

their struggle with the non-Aryans, the Aryan tribes were often engaged in wars with each other. Divodas (an Aryan king) waged wars against the Turvasa, Yadu and Puru tribes. His son Sudas was the leader of a great contest between the Bharatas, an Aryan tribes living in Brahmavarta and Aryan tribes of the North-West. The army consisted of foot-soldiers and charioteers. The *senani* led the army, while *parapali* maintained the forts. The chief weapons of war during this period were bows, arrows, swords, lances, spears and axes.

Fratricidal warfares

Weapons of war

Social life

The social organisation of the Vedic Aryans was patriarchal. The father was the head of the family and a group of families formed a tribe. People lived in villages and there was no rigid caste system in those days among the Aryans.

Women occupied an honoured position in Vedic society. The wife was the mistress of the household and no religious ceremony was considered to be effective without the participation of the wife. Daughters were given liberal education in the house of the fathers. Of the women of the Vedic Aryans, Lopamudra, Vivavara, Sikata Nivavari and Ghosha were great scholars. Marriage was usually monogamous, but polygamy was not unknown. The remarriage of widows was also not unknown. The seclusion of women was not known in the early Vedic period.

Position of women

The dress worn by the Aryans consisted of an undergarment (*nivi*), a garment (*paridhana*) and an over-garment (*adhivasa*). These were generally made of wool or skin. Ornaments, usually made of gold, were used by both males and females. Milk, vegetables and fruits formed the chief articles of food. Meat was used and cows were slaughtered on special occasions. Drinking was practised and the Aryans were in the habit of two kinds of intoxicating liquors, called *Soma* and *Sura*. Dancing, music, hunting, chariot-racing and dicing were the favourite amusements of the Aryans. Of the musical

Dress and food

Amusements

instruments, the drum, the lute and the flute were very familiar. In short, the Aryans led peaceful and joyous lives.

Four Ashramas

During the Epic period, human life was divided into four stages or *ashramas*. Each *ashrama* had its own set of deities. These *ashramas* were (1) *Brahmacharya*, (2) *Grahastha*, (3) *Banaprastha* and (4) *Sanyas*, *Brahmacharya Ashrama* lasted till the 25th year. During this period a Hindu remained celebate (*Brahmachari*) and received education. He led a simple and hard life and lived with his *Guru*. The *Grahastha Ashrama* began at the age of 25 and ended at 50. During this period a Hindu lived the life of a house-holder and supported his wife and children by honest means. At the age of 50 a Hindu entered the *Banaprastha Ashrama* and remained there till the age of 75. He left his house and went to forests where he lived on fruits and roots and passed his time in meditation and contemplation. The *Sanyasa Ashrama* extended from the age of 75 to that of 100. Now a Hindu was free from religious restrictions and regulations.

Economic life

Agriculture

The Aryans were essentially an agricultural people. The main crops of the Aryans were wheat and barley, though cotton and oil seeds were also cultivated. Lands were watered by canals and wells. Cattle-rearing was the chief source of income and cows, horses, goats, dogs, etc., were the main domesticated animals. Besides agriculture, the Aryans were not altogether indifferent to industrial arts, such as weaving, tanning and metallurgy. There are references to workers in wood and metal as well as to tanners and weavers who were organised in later times into guilds. Trade was mainly carried on with other countries in the form of barter, but the use of coins (*nishka*) was probably not unknown. According to some scholars, there is no evidence to show that the Vedic Indians took any part in ocean-shipping.

Industry and trade

Religious life

Unlike the present time Hindus, the Aryans did not worship images. They worshipped a large number of gods in the form of the phenomena of nature. They worshipped terrible gods like Prithvi, Soma and Agni, atmospheric gods like Indra, Maruts and Parjanya and heavenly gods like Varuna, Dyaus, Mitra and Vishnu. Varuna, the god of sky and Indra, the god of thunder were the favourite gods of the Aryans.

Nature worship

Although there is a reference to a large number of gods in the Rigveda, the unity of God was not ignored. The following hymn clearly indicates that the unity of Godhead was realised in the later period by the Indo-Aryans :

"They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna,
and Agni ; he is the heavenly bird Garutmat ;
To what is one, the poets give many a name,
They call it Agni, Yama, Matarisvan."

Most of the hymns of the Samaveda are taken from the Rigveda. These hymns were sung at the time of sacrifices. The Yajurveda is an important historical document. It consists partly of hymns and partly of prose sentences (yajus). Most of the hymns are also found in the Rigveda. The Yajurveda gives us an idea about the social and religious conditions of the later Vedic period. It exhibits a complete change from that of the Rigvedic period. Nature-worship was been taken 'by a mechanical form of religion based on a system of elaborate ceremonies requiring the services of priests.' The priestly class began to predominate in the Vedic social system.

The Samaveda

The Yajurveda

The Atharvaveda is a collection of spells and incantations current among the common people. Although it is later than the Rigveda, yet the importance of the former lies in the fact that "it is an invaluable source of knowledge of the real popular belief as yet uninfluenced by the priestly religion, of the faith in numberless spirits, imps, ghosts and demons of every kind, and of the witchcraft, so emi-

The Atharvaveda

nently important for ethnology and for the history of religion."

Sutra literature

When Vedic literature became complicated, Sutra literature was composed. The Vedangas and the six Darsanas are included in the Sutra literature. There are six Vedangas, namely (1) *Siksha* or phonetic; (2) *Chhandas*, or metre; (3) *Vyakrana* or grammar; (4) *Nirukta* or etymology; (5) *Jyotisha* or astronomy and (6) *Kalpa* or ritual. The manuals on *Kalpa* included the *Srauta Sutras* which deal with a large number of ceremonies performed by priests, the *Sulva Sutras* which lay down the rules of measurement and are the oldest works on Indian geometry, the *Grihya Sutras* which deal with domestic sacrifices and rites to be performed by the householders and the *Dharma Sutras* which deal with law and the mode of government.

Six Vedangas

The Six Darsanas are the *Sankhya* system of Kalpa, the *Yoga* system of *Patanjali*, the *Nyaya* system of Gautama Akshapada, the *Vaiseshika* system of Kanada, the *Purva Mimansa* of Jaimini and *Uttara Mimansa* or Vedanta of Badarayana, Vyasa. The date of the rise of these schools is still uncertain.

The Epic age

In some of the later Vedic texts, there are references to myths and legends (*itihasa*) as well as songs in praise of heroes (*gatha narasamsi*). The word 'Epic' means a poem celebrating the achievements of one or more heroes. The Hindu Epics are two in number, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. According to the historians, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are the two great Epics of ancient India. The Ramayana is the oldest and most popular Epic of the Hindus. It consists of seven books and 2,400 couplets. The Mahabharata consists of 18 books and about one lakh of couplets. It is generally believed that the Ramayana was written by Valmiki, while the Mahabharata was written by Vyas. But the Epics in their present forms are neither written by single author nor produced in particular

periods. The different parts of the great Epics were composed by different persons at different periods. The Epics are "the Vedas of the masses who turn in sorrow, in joy and in daily toil to these noble poems for solace and inspiration."

Opinions of the historians regarding the historical value of the Epics

Some of the writers are of opinion that the two great Epics contain very little of history. The view of Jacobi and Macdonell is that the Epics are based on mythology and their heroes and heroines are not historical figures. Rama stands for Indra, the god of rain and thunder who fought against Vritra or Ravana. Regarding the Ramayana Dr. V. A. Smith says, "The poem (the Ramayana) seems to me to be essentially a work of imagination probably founded on vague traditions of the kingdom of Kosala and its capital Ayodhya." The view of Dr. Smith cannot be accepted in toto. There is a possibility of certain additions made by later writers and also of some contribution by the imagination of poets, but the main actors in the Epics are undoubtedly historical figures.

Period of Composition

Dr. Winternitz is of opinion that the original Ramayana was composed by Valmiki in the third century B.C. on the basis of ancient ballets. According to some writers, the composition of the Mahabharata does not appear to be earlier than the 4th century B.C. and not later than the 4th century A.D.

The Ramayana

The theme of the Ramayana is the conflict between Rama and Ravana who can be regarded as the representatives of the Aryan and non-Aryan civilizations. This conflict ended in the victory of the Aryans over the non-Aryans.

Historical background of the Ramayan

Dasaratha, king of Ayodhya (Oudh) had three wives and four sons. When he became old, the thought of appointing his eldest son Rama, who married Sita, the daughter of Janaka (king of Videha), as the *Yuvraja* or crown prince. But the youngest queen, Kaikayai wanted her own son, Bharata to be the ruler of Ayodhya and consequently got two pro-

mises from the king by which Rama was to be banished for 14 years and Bharata was to be made the ruler. Rama decided to carry out the promises of his father and so he left for the jungles accompanied by his wife, Sita and his younger brother, Lakshmana. On the death of Dasaratha, Bharata refused to accept the throne and made attempts to bring back his brother but in vain.

Banishment of Rama

While Rama was in exile on the banks of the river Godavari, Sita was carried off from this place by Ravana, the king of Lanka (Ceylon). Rama and Lakshmana, with the help of the monkey chiefs, invaded Ceylon. Ravana was defeated and killed and Sita was recovered. After the expiry of the period of his exile, he returned to Ayodhya and became its ruler. Rama subsequently banished his beloved wife in order to silence the mumurs of his subjects. The faithful royal lady was brought to the hermitage of Valmiki, where she gave birth to the twins, Kusa and Lava, who ultimately succeeded to their ancestral throne.

Recovery of of Sita

The Mahabharata

Unlike the Ramayana, the Mahabharata describes a conflict among the Aryans themselves. The Mahabharata War of Kurukshetra affected all the Aryan kings of India who were ranged either on one side or the other.

The main theme of the Epic is the great war between two branches (the Kurus and Pandus) of the Bharata family of Hastinapura. A Bharata king had two sons named Dhritarashtra and Pandu. Dhritarashtra had one hundred sons of whom Duryodhana was the eldest. These brothers were known as the Kauravas. Pandu had only five sons, the most eminent among whom were Yudhisthira, Bhimasena and Arjuna. The sons of Pandu strengthened their hands by marrying Draupadi, the Panchala princess and claimed a share of their ancestral kingdom from their cousins. They were given a wild region to the south of the Kuru realm, where they founded a new capital, Indraprastha, near Delhi. The sons of Dhri-

Historical background of the Mahabharata

tarashtra, envious of the prosperity of their rivals, invited Yudhisthira to a game of dice, secured his defeat and sent him as well as his brothers into exile for a period of 13 years. The Pandu princes demanded the return of their kingdom. The Kauravas under Duryodhana paid no heed to their claim and the result was the battle of Kurukshetra. A bloody battle was fought between the Kauravas and the Pandavas for 18 days. All the Kauravas were destroyed, and the Pandavas returned victorious to the Kuru capital. After their victory, the Pandavas performed *Ashvamedhayajna* (horse-sacrifice) and Yudhisthira ascended the throne of Hastinapur. After some time, all the Pandava brothers put Parikshat on the throne and retired to the Himalayas.

Battle of Kurukshetra

Besides the story of the Kurukshetra War, the Mahabharata contains the accounts of many other kings and dynasties which attract the minds of the readers.

Most of the Hindus accept the stories of the great Epics as facts. But the historians are of opinion that those stories are only based on poets' imaginations. The traditions are so much mixed up with legends and imaginary tales that it is very difficult to extract facts from fiction. However, we can learn a lot about the social, political and religious conditions of the Aryans from the two great Epics.

Historical importance of the Epics

Social condition

The social condition as depicted in the great Epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are much alike. But in certain parts of the Mahabharata, there are references to cow-killing and human sacrifices. When the great Epics were finally recast about 200 A.D., the doctrine of *ahimsa* or non-injury to living creatures had gained ground in the society. But still then, there were people who did not hesitate to follow the Vedic practice of animal sacrifice. The caste system had become more rigid and the Brahmanas were held in high respect but the labouring classes and the Sudras came to

Rigidity of caste system

occupy a very low position and were looked down upon. The institution of marriage lost its old sanctity. Polygamy and polyandry were both practised. Dasaratha had three wives. Ravana also had many wives. Similarly, a woman had a number of husbands. The case of Draupadi who married the five Pandavas may be mentioned here. But women in the royal families enjoyed much freedom in the choice of their husbands. This is clear from the *Swayambara* of Sita and Draupadi.

Position of women

The rich were addicted to gambling and drinking. Prostitution was a recognised institution. Kings and rich people used to keep concubines.

Concubine system

Political condition

The small kigdoms of the Vedic period were replaced by powerful kingdoms and these kingdoms were ruled by hereditary monarchies. The Ramayana and the Mohabharata mention a large number of kingdoms, such as Panchala, Kaushala Videha, Magadha, Kashi, etc. There were also small republics. But there is no proof of the existence of a paramount power in the Epic age. The idea of universal dominion was there and the "bid for supremacy was symbolised by the *Digvijaya* or conquest of all the parts of the world". A successful monarch proved his supremacy by the performance of the *Rajasuya* and horse-sacrifices. The king was not an autocrat. He was required to rule according to the principles of justice and morality. The people had the right to depose a wicked king. In the Epic period, there were several sources of taxes for income. But the taxes, on the whole, were not oppressive. A regular army was maintained consisting of cavalry, infantry, chariots and elephants.

Want of paramount power

Power of the king limited

Sources of income

Religious condition

Important changes took place in the field of religion in the Epic age. The nature-worship of the Vedic period was replaced by the worship of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. The Vedic deities, such as Indra, Surya and Varnua had relegated to the background, while many new gods and goddesses

Worship of Brahma, Vishnu & Siva

like Ganesh and Parvati became popular. The doctrine of *Karma* and re-birth came to be believed.

The Puranas

The word *Purana* means old, because much of the contents of the Puranas comes down from remote antiquity. The Puranas are the most valuable religious books of the Hindus.

The Puranas are eighteen in number the most important being the *Bhagwat* and *Vishnu* Puranas. The Puranas deal with five subjects, namely, primary creation, secondary creation, genealogies of gods and patriarchs, reigns of Manus and the history of many dynasties. Many are of opinion that the Puranas in their present form were composed during the Gupta period. In spite of many defects none can deny the historical importance of the Puranas. In the compilation of history, materials are sometimes collected from them.

CHAPTER III

THE CASTE SYSTEM

Meaning of the Caste

A caste may be defined, according to Dr. V. A. Smith "as a group of families internally united by peculiar rules for the observance of ceremonial purity, especially, in matters of diet and marriage." Hindu society is divided into various groups and each group is cut off from the rest as regards marriage, and in some provinces in other respects like diet, etc., also. Such groups or sections are generally called castes.

Origin of the Caste

Difference of opinion regarding the origin of caste

There is a difference of opinion among scholars with regard to the origin of the caste system. According to Prof. Rapson, the origin of the caste system is due to the distinction between the fair-skinned Aryan conquerors and the dark-skinned conquered population (Dasyus) of the country. But according to Dr. Smith, most of the misunderstanding on the subject of caste system has arisen from the persistent mistranslation of Manu's term 'Varna' as caste, whereas it should be rendered by class or order or by some equivalent term. Sham Sastri is of opinion that the words "Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras were names of classes, as for example, white for the Brahmanas, red for the Kshatriyas, Vaisyas yellow and black for the Sudras came to mean a caste in pre-Buddhistic literature."

It has already been discussed that the caste system existed in the age of the Rigveda only in a nebulous form. 'In the age of the Brahmanas it began slowly to crystallize into a form familiar to us. The priesthood and the nobility became hereditary, and the Vaisyas and the Sudras began to be subdivided into an ever-increasing number

of endogamous hereditary groups practising one occupation or at least restricted to a small number of occupations.' In the beginning there was no rigidity in the caste system except that the non-Aryans were ranked as sudras but as time passed the caste system became very rigid. Later on, the four castes came to be divided further into many sub-castes, each with a definite status and position in the bigger caste-group. These sub-castes might have grown out of little faultering here and there. Some new castes were formed by the admission of non-Aryans into the fold of the Aryans. Thus 'the caste system was an instrument of civilization by which the new people as a whole were allotted a status in the Aryan society.'

Evolution of the caste system

The caste system had been well-established before the fifth century B.C. But the rise of the two new religions, namely, Buddhism and Jainism and the invasions of the foreigners, especially the Muslims hardened the caste-system. The rise of Buddhism and Jainism was responsible for the formation of new castes which propagated the doctrine of *ahimsa* or non-injury to living creatures. As a result of this, many abandoned the practice of eating flesh and cut off connection from those who retained the old practices. The Muslim invasion led the Hindus to protect their special privileges from the equalising forces of Islam and thereby they defended themselves by tightening the bonds of caste-association.

Effects of Buddhism and Jainism

Merits and demerits of the Caste System

There can be no denying the fact that the caste system has rendered many services to Hindu society. It is the caste system that has been largely responsible for the preservation of Hindu religion and culture. The caste brotherhoods, on account of their policy of exclusiveness, did not mix with the foreigners and so the foreigners like the Greeks, Huns or Muslims, could not conquer Hindu culture. Secondly, the caste system has also been responsible for preserving the purity of blood among the various groups of Hindus by preventing inter-caste marriage.

Merits of the caste system

In spite of these merits the caste system has done more harm than good. Sir Henry Maine describes the caste system, "as the most diastrous and blighting of human institutions". The caste system is anti-national as it has split up Hindu society into a number of groups often jealous of one another. At the time of grave foreign dangers, only a section of the people, the Kshatriyas, fought against the enemy. Other castes, being ignorant of fighting, stayed away in their homes. This led to many disasters. Secondly, the chief curse of the caste system is "untouchability." The upper castes did not regard the low-caste Sudras as even human beings. They were not treated as men but as cattle. Their shadow defiled the upper classes. They could not touch the utensils, clothes and water of the upper castes. They could not even draw water from the wells of the upper castes to quench their thirst. Thirdly, the caste system is anti-democratic and it denies equal rights to all. A man can neither join any profession or calling nor can he marry the women of his own choice. All these are opposed to the spirit of democracy. Fourthly, by splitting the people into a number of water-tight compartments, the caste system hindered the growth of nationalism and it was one of the reasons why India for centuries was at the mercy of foreign conquerors. Fifthly, the caste-system has broken the solidarity of Hindu society, checked the individual freedom of action and has become the instrument of oppression. "It is a mill-stone round the neck of the Hindus and is dragging them with rapid speed towards political and social decline." The caste-system has outlived its utility. According to Prof. S. R. Sharma 'caste-system is like a bad coin. We should melt it and remint the same for our modern use."

Demerits of the caste system

CHAPTER IV

JAINISM AND BUDDHISM

Introduction

In the sixth century B.C. north-eastern India witnessed a religious revolution. In this age the religious revolution influenced not only the history of Indo-Pakistan but also the history of Greece, Egypt, Babylonia, Persia and China. The great religious leaders like Confucius of China, Zoroaster of Iran and Pythagoras of Greece protested against the then social and religious systems. But in Indo-Pakistan this religious movement was mainly a reaction against the Brahmanical religion.

Causes of the Religious Movement

There were several factors which led to the religious movement in Indo-Pakistan in the sixth century B.C. The simple worship of the Vedic religion had degenerated into a mechanical system. The people 'attached more importance to sacrifice and cumbrous ceremonies than to the act of practical piety.' This system of religion was quite insufficient to satisfy the spiritual cravings of the more ardent spirits who were anxious to save themselves from the clutches of such a religion.

Degeneration of the Vedic religion

With regard to ceremonial details, the Brahmanas themselves were divided into a number of groups. They were not satisfied with their present position and hence they took all sorts of worldly occupations for their livelihood. The worldliness of the Brahmanas disgusted many a religious minded man who sought spiritual protection elsewhere. The rigidity of the caste system increased and the rivalry between the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas hastened the new religious movement. The Brahmanas had occupied the chief and the Kshatriyas the second position in the society. The latter were seeking an opportunity to curb the supremacy of

Division of the Brahmanas into a number of groups

Rigidity of the caste system

the Brahmanas. It should be remembered here that the religious reformers of the 6th century B.C. were all Kshatriya princes. So the degeneration of the rituals, the pursuit of a lifeless system instead of a simple religion, the rigidity of the caste system, the rivalry between the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas for supremacy, etc., were the causes which created in the minds of many thoughtful men a hatred for the prevailing religion. They began to think of some better path to the goal of salvation. As a result of this spiritual unrest, numerous sects and schools sprang up in different parts of the country. Of these different schools, Jainism and Buddhism were the most prominent.

Rivalry between Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas

Rise of Jainism

Teachings of Parsvanath

According to tradition, the rise of Jainism is associated with the names of twenty-four saints styled *Tirthankaras* (those who help people to cross this worldly ocean), the first of whom was Rishaba and the last two, Parsvanath and Mahavira. Parsvanath is regarded by historians as the real founder of Jainism. He was the son of a king of Benares. At the age of thirty he renounced the world and after 84 days of meditation Parsvanath attained supreme knowledge. The doctrines of his religion consisted of four main vows, *viz.*, not to injure life, not to tell lies, not to steal and not to possess property.

Parsvanath

Mahavira

Mahavira was the last prophet of Jainism. His early name was Vardhamana. He was born in a well known Kshatriya clan of Vaisali near North Bihar. His father Siddhartha was the head of the Kshatriya clan and his mother Trisala was the sister of the Lichavi chieftain of Vaisali in North Bihar. Though little is known regarding his early life, Vardhamana married a lady named Yosoda and had by her a daughter. But he had no interest in wordly affair. He left home at the age of thirty and started the life of a wandering monk. He spent twelve years in penance and meditation. In the thirteenth year he reached supreme knowledge and became a *Jina* or conqueror. This was

Career of Mahavira

the conquest of self and not of any worldly territory. Henceforth he was called Mahavira or the Great Hero and his followers are known as Jains.

Mahavira had spent the remaining years of his life in preaching his doctrines in Magadha, Anga, Mithila and Kosala. He had personal touch with the kings of Magadha, Bimbisara and Ajatasatru who are said to have helped him in preaching his doctrines. Mahavira accepted the teachings of Parsvanatha as the basis of his creed, but in addition to the four vows enjoined by his predecessor he added a fifth, namely, that of continence. He was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha. He is said to have died in or about 468 B.C. at Pawa in the modern district of Patna.

His teachings and death

Doctrines of Jainism

The Jains rejected the authority of the Vedas and disliked animal sacrifices. *Ahimsa* or non-injury to living creatures was the main doctrine of Jainism. The Jains did not believe in the existence of God. According to them, every object possesses a soul. Their view was that "God is the only highest, noblest and fullest manifestation of the powers which lie latent in the soul of man." They, like the Hindus believed in the theory of *Karma* and the theory of transmigration of soul (rebirth). The main purpose of Jainism was the attainment of salvation or Nirvana and this salvation, according to the Jains, could be attained by freeing the soul from earthly bondage. This can be done only by practising 'the so-called three jewels', namely, right path, right knowledge and right action.

Ahimsa

Denial of God

Re-birth

Three jewels

Spread of Jainism

Mahavira, the last prophet of Jainism, had preached his doctrines in Eastern Indo-Pakistan and before the end of the 4th century B.C. Jainism had spread in Southern Indo-Pakistan. The Maurya emperor, Chandragupta is said to have accepted Jainism and left for Mysore where he died for the salvation of his soul. In the third century B.C.

Spread of Jainism in Eastern and Southern Indo-Pakistan

the Jains were divided into two sects called *Svetambara* and *Digambara*. The former wore white robes, while the latter remained fully naked. Some historians are of opinion that this division was due to the difference of opinion between Parsava and Mahavira with regard to dress. However, Jainism never spread outside the Indo-Pak sub-continent, 'but for centuries it was one of the most flourishing religions in Southern and Western India'.

Division of the Jains into two sects

Life of Gautama Buddha

Gautama Buddha was the founder of Buddhism. He was born about the middle of the 6th century B.C. in the Lumbini garden in the neighbourhood of Kapilavastu, situated in what is now the Basti district of Uttar Pradesh at the foot of the Himalayas. Suddhodana was the name of his father and Mahamaya the name of his mother and both of them belonged to the Sakya clan. The early name of Gautana Buddha was Siddharta. He was also known as Sakyasingh as he was born in a Sakya clan.

Early career of Siddharta

Siddharta was brought up in great luxury and ease. At the age of sixteen he was married to a beautiful girl of a noble family, called Yasodhara or Gopa and a son was born to them whom they named Rahula. They lived happily for some years; but in the midst of all happiness a strange sadness gradually crept into the mind of the young prince. Gloomy thoughts of decay and death and of the vanity of all earthly delights were always troubling him. The love of his wife and the happiness of home could not check these thoughts which soon turned the sweetness of life into bitterness for him. It was at that time that four ominous sights—an old man, a sick man, a corpse and a monk made a deep impression on his sensitive mind and he felt a strong inclination to renounce the world. One night he left his wife and son sleeping and moved about in search of truth. For some time he studied philosophy at Rajagriha under two Brahmana teachers. But it failed to quench his spiritual thirst. From there he went to Uruvilba near Gaya and

His renunciation

practised so great penances that he was reduced to a mere skeleton. But soon he realised that mere asceticism was useless for attaining salvation. After bathing in the river Nairanjana (modern Lilajan) he sat under a *Pipal* tree at Buddha Gaya and took the following vow : "I will not leave this place till I attain that peace of mind which I have been trying to find for all these years." It was after six years of meditation that he discovered a way to free mankind from the miseries of human life. Henceforth, he came to be known as the Buddha or the enlightened one. This happened when he was 35.

Attainment of supreme knowledge

After the attainment of supreme knowledge Buddha decided to preach it to all mankind and gave his first sermon at Sarnath near Benares. The number of his followers began to increase and he founded a powerful *Sangha* or order. He continued to preach his religion in Magadha and the neighbouring kingdoms. It is said that his father and other members of his family accepted his religion when he went to his native land. Buddha spent 45 years of his life in preaching his religion and died at the age of 80 (*i.e.*, in the about the year 483 B.C.) at Kusinagara.

Period of his preachings

His death

Doctrines of Buddhism

The teachings of Buddha were simple and unostentatious. 'As he had been disgusted with the teachings of the monks at Rajgriha, he did not concern himself with philosophical discussions about the existence of God. He repudiated the authority of the Vedas and discarded the Vedic rites and sacrifices. He laid stress on *Ahimsa* or non-injury to living creatures. He had no belief in the superiority of the Brahmanas or any caste distinctions. But he believed in the transmigration of soul and the law of *Karma* (actions). The soul is born again and again on account of its Karma. If a man does a good thing, he will be rewarded. But if he does otherwise, he will have to suffer punishment in the next birth. According to Buddha, ignorance is the main cause of human suffering. So the main purpose of his teachings was to free human beings from the girm reality of sorrow and suffering. In

Repudiation of sanctity of the Vedas

Ahimsa

Karma

his first sermon at Benares, Gautama Buddha enunciated the Four Noble Truths on which his religion stands. These are : (1) sorrow ; (2) the cause of sorrow ; (3) the removal of sorrow and (4) the way leading to the removal of sorrow. In order to secure deliverance from this sorrow and suffering, Gautama Buddha had advised his followers to follow the Eightfold Path. It consists of right belief, right thought, right action, right speech, right means of livelihood, right endeavour, right rememberance and right meditation. This path was called the Middle Path, because it was midway between severe austerity on the one hand and gross worldliness on the other. By following this Middle Path one can attain *Nirvana* or salvation which 'implied not only the extinction of desire but also the attainment of a tranquil state of mind.' 'Such a state of mind will secure release from the chain of rebirths and the consequent cessation of the sufferings.' Attainment of Nirvana was the sole aim of Buddhism.

Four Noble Truths

Eightfold Path

Nirvana or salvation

Buddhist Councils and literature

Buddha gave verbal instructions about his religion to his followers. He never wrote anything himself. But his teachings are collected and arranged in a systemic form in the Buddhist Councils that were held after his death. There were four such Councils, the first being held at Rajagriha in south Bihar just after the death of Buddha. The second Buddhist Council was held at Baisali in north Bihar a century after the first Council. The third Buddhist Council was held at Pataliputra (Patna) in the reign of Asoka. The fourth Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir or Jullundur under the leadership of Vasumitra and Asvakhosha during the reign of Kanishka. The sacred books of the early Buddhist are included in the comprehensive name of *Tripitaka* or the three baskets. It is divided into three parts, namely, the *Sutra* or sayings and doings of Buddha himself, the *Vinaya* or rules of conduct to be followed by Buddhist monks and nuns and the *Abhidharma* or metaphysical disquisitions on various subjects.

Spread of Buddhism

On the death of Buddha his disciples organised themselves into Sanghas or groups and devoted themselves to the teachings of their master. The number of converts began to increase, but the new religion could not gain a secure foothold till the time of Asoka. With the accession of Asoka to the throne of Magadha, a new chapter was opened in the history of Buddhism. The emperor himself accepted Buddhism and dedicated his life to the propagation of this faith.

Patronage of Asoka

In this Council many minor details of the teachings of Buddha were settled. It was due to his earnest efforts that Buddhism became a great religion.

After the death of Asoka Buddhism found in Menandar, the Indo-Greek king and Kanishka, the Kushan king, great patrons of her cause. It was during the reign of Kanishka that Buddhism spread in China, from where it penetrated into Mongolia, Korea and Formosa. It also spread in certain parts of Africa and Europe in the 6th century A.D.

Patronage of Kanishka

Causes of the success of Buddhism

After the death of its founder, Buddhism spread rapidly in Indo-Pakistan and even in far off countries. It became one of the greatest religions of the world. There were several causes for this success of Buddhism. Firstly, royal patronage under Asoka, Kanishka and Harsha was one of the main causes for the success of Buddhism. Before Asoka, Buddhism was confined to Magadha and the neighbouring regions. But it was the Maurya Emperor who raised it to the dignity of a State religion. The only object of Asoka's life was to spread Buddhism not only among his own subjects but also in other countries outside Indo-Pakistan. He harnessed all the resources of the State to popularise Buddhism. Kanishka and Harasha also did a lot to propagate Buddhism within their territory. Secondly, the simplicity of the teachings of Buddha was another

Royal patronage

Simplicity of Buddhism and degeneration of Hinduism

factor of its success. Buddha's philosophy of life was a simple code of conduct which did not require the employment of priests and expenditure of money. The whole thing was put in such a simple way that even the most common man could understand it. There was nothing to create confusion in the minds of men. The result was that the people who were tired of the Brahmanical rituals and animal sacrifices welcomed Buddhism. Thirdly, Buddhism did not believe in any caste system. To the Buddhists people of all ranks were equal. So, the people of the lower order of society who were generally looked down upon in the Hindu society embraced Buddhism in large number. Fourthly, the adaptability of Buddhism was another cause of its success. The new faith adapted itself to the needs of the foreigners and so it spread to foreign lands where it still flourishes, although it has nearly died in the land of its birth. Fifthly, the Buddhist Sangha or group of monks was also responsible for the spread of Buddhism. Missionary zeal and fervour inspired the people of the *Sangha* to ignore all sorts of hardship and trouble for the diffusion of Buddhism both in and outside Indo-Pakistan.

Liberal spirit of Buddhism

Adaptabi- of the Buddhism

Activity of the Sangha

Comparison between Jainism and Buddhism

Both Jainism and Buddhism rose in revolt against the Brahmanical religion. As such, there is a lot of similarity between the two religions. Both the religions are silent about the existence of God. The Jains and the Buddhists denied the authority of the Vedas and supremacy of the Brahmanas, and they were opposed to animal sacrifices. Both of them laid stress on the doctrine of *Ahimsa* and advocated a highly moral life. Both Jainism and Buddhism put stress on right conduct and right knowledge and not on religious ceremonies and rituals as the way to obtain salvation. The Jains and the Buddhist did not believe in any caste distinctions and united all sections of people in their fold. Both of them believed in the doctrines of *Karma* and transmigration of soul. The sole aim both the religions was to attain *Nirvana* or salvation. Both Jainism and Buddhism were congrega-

Points of similarity

tional and depended on the support of an organised body of monks.

In spite of these similarities there are fundamental differences existing between the two religions. Jainism greatly emphasised the practices of penance and self-mortification, while Buddhism followed the middle path lying between luxury and asceticism. Both the religions believed in the doctrin of *Ahimsa*, but the Jains were more strict in this respect. One of the sects (*Digambaras*) of the Jains believed in nudity, but the Buddhists did not like it. Jainism had more similarities with Hinduism than Buddhism. The Jains accepted the chief Hindu gods and worshipped some of them, though they considered them subordinate to their own saints. But there was no place of Hindu gods and practices among the Buddhists. The Jains assigned an important position to the laity, while the Buddhists attached great importance to the organised body of monks called *Sangha*.

Points of difference

Comparison between Buddhism and Hinduism

There are similarity and dissimilarity between Buddism and Hinduism. Both the religions had common goal of life, *i.e.* to attain *Nirvana* or salvation, although they adopted different paths for the attainment of their goal. Both Buddhism and Hinduism believed in the theories of *Karma* and rebirth.

Points of resemblance

Buddhism believes in Matter and Soul and there is no place for God, while Hinduism, in addition to Matter and Soul, considers God as the creator of the universe. Buddhism denies the authority of the *Vedas* and dislikes animal sacrifices, while Hinduism believes in the authority of the *Vedas* and attaches special importance to the *Vedic* rituals. Buddhism does not believe in the superiority of the Brahmans or any caste distinctions, while Hinduism puts emphasis on the caste system and considers the same as the bedrock of the whole social system. Buddhism is a missionary religion which aims at converting entire mankind to the doctrines of Buddha, while Hinduism never seeks converts

Points of difference

and it has no definite organisation like the Buddhist *Sangha.* A personal element is introduced by Buddism in the form of Buddha as the saviour, while there is no such personal elements in Hinduism.

Causes of the decline of Buddhism

There were many causes which were responsible for the gradual decline and fall of Buddhism in the land of its birth, although it continued to flourish in countries beyond Indo-Pakistan. Firstly, the spread of Buddhism was dependent on royal patronage. But when Buddhism was deprived of this patronage, it began to decline. With the fall of the Maurya dynasty Buddhism lost the powerful patronage of imperial authority in Indo-Pakistan. After the death of Kanishka, no powerful ruler except Harshavardhan patronised Buddhism. Secondly, in course of time the Buddhism was divided into two sects—the *Mahayanas* and the *Hinayanas.* The growth of Mahayanism brought Buddhism into close contact with Hinduism and thereby facilitated the task of its absorption into Hinduism. It not only made him (Buddha) a god but also started his worship. Thus Buddhism got merged into Hinduism in the country of Buddha. Thirdly, corruption in the *Sangha* was one of the important causes for the decline of Buddhism. With the passage of time, the *Sangha* became the hot bed of intrigues and corruption. Instead of the Buddhist *Viharas* (monasteries) 'serving as places of congregations of the Buddhist monks for the spread of their faith, they were used for mutual bickerings and quarrels'. The admittance of women in the Buddhist *Sangha* proved fatal to Buddhism. The monks became ease-loving and began to lead a domestic life based on marriage. As a result, the people lost respect for them. Fourthly, with the revival of Brahmanical Hinduism the cause of Buddhism suffered a setback. The patronage of the Gupta rulers and their subsequent royal dynasties gave a new life to Hinduism. The Gupta rulers were great patrons of Brahmanical religion and they did a lot to strengthen that religion. The activities of the great Hindu reformers like Kumarila Bhatta, Sankaracharya, and

Want of royal patronage

Buddhist divided into two sects

Corruptions in the Buddhist Sangha

Hindu revivalism supported by reigning monarchs

others dealt a severe blow to the hold of Buddhism. Fifthly, the assimilative power of Hinduism was also a great factor for the decline of Buddhism. Hinduism reformed itself according to the needs of the time. The Hindus regarded Gautama Buddha as an incarnation of God and they also believed in the principle of *Ahimsa.* As a result of this, Hinduism became popular and Buddhism ultimately lost its identity in the reformed Hinduism. Sixthly, the rise of new sects like the Sri Vaishnavas and the Lingayats in southern India and the Muslims invasions in the north, went a long way to weaken the power of Buddhism in the land of its birth.

Assimilative power of Hinduism

Rise of new sects

CHAPTER V

PERSIAN AND GREEK INVASIONS

Persian invasion

The Indo-Pakistan sub-continent has been the scene of frequent invasions by foreigners for its immense wealth. During the reign of Bimbisara (in the 6th century B.C.) Cyrus or Kurus, the ruler of Persia invaded the north-western part of the sub-continent and conquered the region lying between Kabul river (Coppen) and the Indus.

Darius I

The Persian dominion in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was further extended by Darius I (522-486 B.C. He annexed Gandhara (North-West Punjab) and conquered the Indus Valley as far as the deserts of Rajputana. The conquered territory of the Indus became a satrapy or province. Xerxes, the son of Darius maintained some control over the regions of the sub-continent. But the hold of the later Persian monarchs on their Indo-Pakistan possessions became very weak and it was overthrown by Alexander the Great, the king of Macedonia in South-West Europe.

Extent of the Persian dominion

Results of Persian invasion

Kharosthi script introduced

The Persian influence made a deep impression upon the minds of the Indians. The *Kharosthi* alphabet 'introduced by the Persians in their official documents remained in use in the North-West Frontier till the 4th century A.D. Persian influence may also be traced in the remains of Persian customs at Taxila. According to H.G. Rawlinson, the Maurya emperors lived in Persian style. Besides these, "the Buddhist architecture of Asoka, with its bell-shaped and winged lion capital, shows many traces of Persian influence."

Persian influence on architecture

Political condition of Indo-Pakistan on the eve of Alexander's invasion

It is learnt from the Greek writers that on the eve of Alexander's invasion there was no political unity in North-Western Indo-Pakistan which comprised the provinces of the Punjab and Sind. This region was split up into a number of small independent states. 'Some of them were monarchies, while others were tribal republics.' A number of tribes and states have been mentioned by the Greek historians and the most important of them were: (1) the kingdom of Taxila, (2) the kingdom of Poros, (3) the kingdom of Abhisara, (4) the kingdom of Gandaris and (5) the kingdom of Kathoi.

North-West India split up into a number of small states

The kingdom of Taxila was situated between the Indus and the Jhelum in the Northern Punjab. It formed the eastern part of the old kingdom of Gandhara and was ruled by Ambhi. The kingdom of Poros was an extensive territory and it lay between the Jhelum and the Chenub. The kingdom of Abhisara 'occupied the territory never covered by the districts of Punch and Naoshara in Kashmir. The kingdom of Gandaris comprised of a small territory between the Chenub and the Ravi. It was ruled by a nephew of Poros, but there was no good relationship between the nephew and the uncle. The kingdom of Kathoi was a confederacy of independent tribes. It had its stronghold at Sangula.

Taxila

Kingdom of Poros

Abhisara

Gandaris

Kingdom of Kathoi

Of the republican states, the names of the Kshudrukas or Oxydrakai, the Malloi, the Abastanoi, etc., may be specially mentioned. The states mentioned above were not on friendly terms and mutual jealousies led to frequent conflicts. As these states were often at war with one another, they could not offer a combined resistance against Alexander. But at that time Magadha was a very powerful State in North-East Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. It covered the whole of the Gangetic valley and was ruled by the Nanda dynasty.

Republican states

Want of political unity

Early career of Alexander

Conquest of Persia

Alaxander was the son of Philip, the king of Macedonia. After the death of his father, he ascended the throne. He was a great conqueror and an ambitious ruler. He wanted to found a world-wide empire. With this end in view, he embarked upon a career of conquests and within a short period he was able to conquer Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Babylonia and Persia. After the conquest of Persia, Alexander took the title of "the Great King of Persia".

Alexander's invasion of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent

Causes of his invasion

Alexander was not satisfied with these conquests and he decided to be the master of 'the land of milk and honey' (Indo-Pakistan). The political condition of this country favoured his design. In 327 B.C. he crossed the Indus and engaed himself in subduing the wild tribes of the valley of Swat and Bajaur. He then crossed the river Indus by a bridge of boats built at Ohind above modern Attock and proceeded towards Taxila. His fame had preceded him and Ambhi, king of Taxila submitted to him with the hope that he would get Alaxander's support against his enemy Poros.

Submission of Ambhi

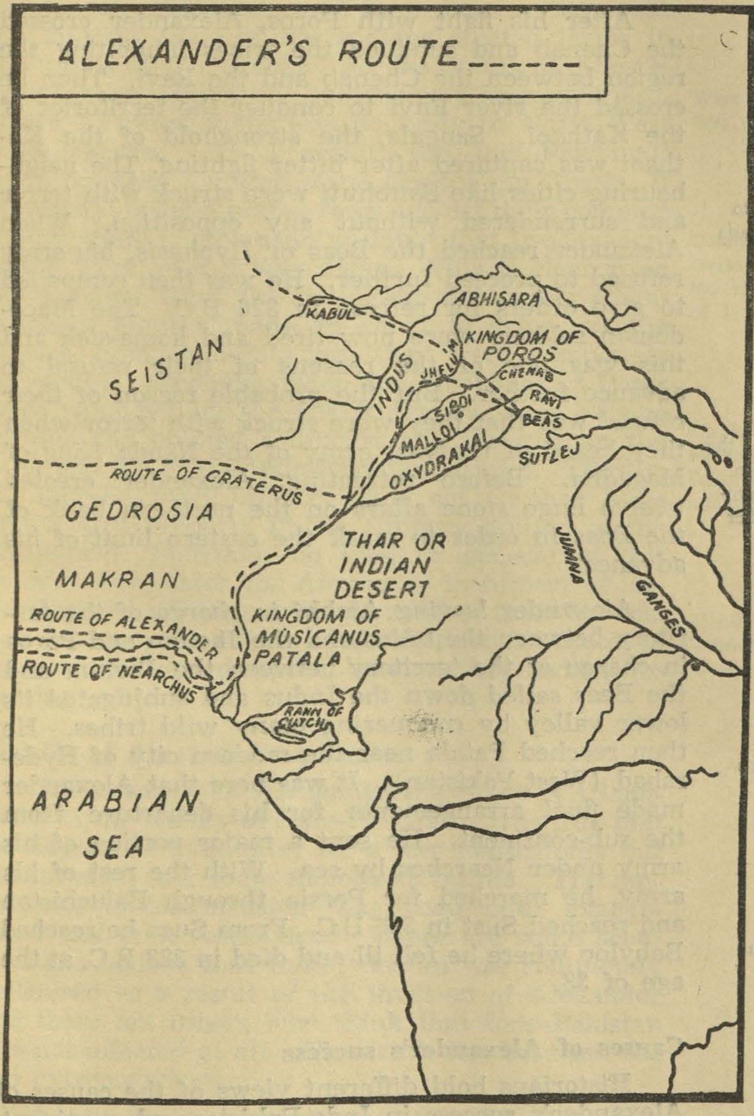
Poros refused to surrender

After the submission of the king of Taxila, Alexander attacked the king of Poros and asked him to surrender, but the latter refused to do so. The armies of Alexander and Poros faced each other on the opposite banks of the river Jhelum or Hydaspes. Alexander found it difficult to cross the river in the face of opposition from the enemy and so he was seeking an opportunity to attack the enemy. He crossed the river under the cover of a dark stormy night and made a sudden attack on the army of Poros. Poros was taken by surprise and though he offered stubborn resistance at the plain of Karri, he was defeated, wounded and taken prisoner. It is said that Alexander, struck with admiration at the prowess of his vanquished enemy, asked him how he would like to be treated. Poros replied bravely, "Like a King". Pleased with the answer, Alexander treated his captive generously

Battle of Hydaspes

Defeat of Poros

and gave him back his kingdom with some new



districts added to it. In order to commemorate this great victory Alexander founded two cities called

Boukephala and Nikaia on both sides of the Sydaspes near the battlefield.

After his fight with Poros, Alexander crossed the Chenab and subdued the tribes inhabiting the region between the Chenab and the Ravi. Then he crossed the river Ravi to conquer the territories of the Kathaoi. Sangala, the stronghold of the Kathaoi was captured after bitter fighting. The neighbouring cities like Saubhuti were struck with terror and surrendered without any opposition. When Alexander reached the Beas or Hyphasis, his army refused to proceed further. He was then compelled to give orders for retreat in 326 B.C. The Macedonian soldiers were now tired and home-sick and this was one of the reasons of their refusal to advance further. But the probable reason of their refusal was that they were struck with terror when they heard of the vast army of the Nanda King of Magadha. Before retreating, Alexander erected twelve huge stone altars on the northern bank of the Beas in order to mark the eastern limit of his advance.

Advance to the Hyphasis

Refusal of the Mecedonian army to proceed further

Alexander leaving Ambhi in charge of the territory between the Indus and the Jhelum and Poros in charge of the territory between the Jhelum and the Beas sailed down the Indus and subjugated its lower valley by conquering many wild tribes. He then reached Patala near the modern city of Hyderabad (West Pakistan). It was here that Alexander made final arrangements for his departure from the sub-continent. He sent a major portion of his army under Nearchos by sea. With the rest of his army, he marched for Persia through Baluchistan and reached Sust in 325 B.C. From Susa he reached Babylon where he fell ill and died in 323 B.C. at the age of 33.

Alexander's retreat

His death

Causes of Alexander's success

Historians hold different views of the causes of Alexander's success in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. According to some European scholars, the inherent military weakness of the Indians was the cause of

their defeat. But this view cannot be fully accepted. The Greek writers speak highly of Poros's bravery and valour. It is also learnt from their writings that the military fame of the Indians created terror in the minds of the Greeks. So the causes of Alexander's success against the Indians may be sought elsewhere . Firstly, there was no unity in North-West Indo-Pakistan. As a result, the Indo-Pakistanis could not take a united stand against the Greeks. If they could make a united from against their common enemy, there is no reason to doubt that the invaders would have been driven away. This is clear from the fact that when the Indo-Pakistanis under Chandragupta Maurya made an effort to drive out the Greeks from Indo-Pakistan, they were completely successful. Secondly, when the elephants of Poros were wounded by the Greek arrows, they became furious and created confusion and disorder in the rank and file of the Indo-Pakistani armies. Thirdly, the Indo-Pakistani infantry could not use their bows and arrows properly in the slippery ground of the battle-field. Fourthly, no king or general of this country was match for Alexander in respect of leadership and military skill. In spite of their heroism and bravery, the armies of the Republican States of the Punjab were defeated, because they lacked leadership.

Want of political unity

Confusion created by the elephants of Poros

Disadvantage for the Indo-Pakistani infantry

Alexander's leadership in war

Results of Alexander's invasion

The invasion of Alexander the Great is a landmark in the history of Indo-Pakistan. It is true that he stayed in this country for a few months only but his invasion had some important results. This importance of his invasion 'has been both exaggerated and under-estimated.' There are some scholars who believe that Indo-Pakistan was completely hellenised as a result of the invasion of Alexander and there are others who think that Indo-Pakistan was not affected at all. The truth lies between the two extreme views.

The direct results of Alexander's invasion were not so important in the history of Indo-Pakistan. According to Dr. Smith, the invasion of Alexander

'produced no direct effects upon the ideas or institutions of India.' Within a few years of Alexander's death, the Macedonian rule in this country was overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya. 'No Indian author, Hindu, Buddhist or Jain, makes even the faintest allusion to Alexander or his deeds.' Indian polity and structure of society resting on the caste basis remained substantially unchanged, and "even in military science Indians showed no disposition to learn the lessons taught by the sharp sword of Alexander. The kings of Hind preferred to go on in the old way, trusting to their elephants and chariots, supported by enormous hosts of inferior cavalry. They never mastered the shock tactics of Alexander's cavalry."

Direct results of Alexander's invasion

No influence on Indian polity, society and military system

The only direct result of Alexander's invasion was the establishment of a number of Greek settlements in North-Western Indo-Pakistan. Some of the cities established by him survived for a long time. One of Asoka's edicts refers to the existence of Yavana (Greek) settlers on the north-western fring of his empire.

Establishment of some Greek settlements

Though the direct results of Alexander's invasion were not so important, its indirect results had an appreciable influence on the history of Indo-Pakistan. (1) The invasion of Alexander helped the cause of Indian unity. Alexander had crushed the military pride of the tribal states and thereby paved the way for the political unification of Northern Indo-Pakistan. As a result of this it was possible for Chandragupta Maurya to establish his supremacy there in later days. (2) After the fall of the Maurya Empire the Bactrian Greeks established a number of Greek kingdoms in the north-western region and the establishment of Greek rule in this country brought for the first time the East and the West into close contact with each other. It ensured a certain amount of exchange of ideas between Indo-Pakistanis and Bactrians. As a result of cultural contact between the two countries, there grew up a school of art in Gandhara which was indirectly the result of Greek influence. Likewise, Greek influence on Indo-Pakistani coins and astronomy has also to

Alexander's invasion paved the way for political unity

Greek influence on Indian culture

be admitted. According to Dr. Smith, Buddhist teaching was considerably modified by contact with with the Greek gods, and the use of images in particular as an essential element in the Buddhist cult was mainly due to Greek examples. As Alexander was the first Greek invader of the sub-continent "whatever Hellenistic elements in Indian civilisation can be detected, were all indirect consequences of Alexander's invasion." (3) The invasion of Alexander opened up four lines of communication—three by land and one by sea between Indo-Pakistan and Europe. It led to close contact between the East and the West and thereby established secure routes for trade. (4) The Greeks had a very poor knowledge of the geography of this country. As a result of Alexander's invasion, the geographical knowledge of Indo-Pakistan spread in Europe and the people of this sub-continent also acquired valuable information about the civilization of their far-western neighbours.

Discovery of land and sea-routes

Increase of geographical knowledge

CHAPTER VI

THE MAURYA EMPIRE

A new Era

The foundation of the Maurya Empire was a unique event in the history of ancient Indo-Pakistan. Its importance in history lies in many factors. Firstly, Chandragupta, founder of the Maurya Empire, expelled the Greeks and liberated this country from the foreign yoke. Secondly, at the time of Alexander's invasion the Nandas were ruling this country. The people became disgusted with their cruelty and oppression. Chandragupta ascended the throne of Magadha by defeating the last king of the Nanda dynasty and thereby saved the people from the hands of oppressors. Thirdly, with the advent of the Maurya, the political consolidation and unification of Indo-Pakistan 'was resumed with re-doubled energy and the result was the foundation of a vast empire.' Fourthly, an enlightened system of administration was established during this period. Fifthly, friendly relations were established with foreign countries and diplomatic missions were regularly exchanged with them. Sixthly, Buddhism reached the climax of its progress during the Maurya period. Buddhism spread even outside Indo-Pakistan due to the sincere efforts of the Maurya emperors. Lastly, the growth of trade and commerce was fostered and the cultivation of intellectual and other pursuits was developed under the patronage of the Mauryas.

Characteristics of the period

Origin of the Maurya Dynasty

There are differences of opinion regarding the ancestry of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty. The dynasty to which he belonged was called the *Maurya.* Hindu literary tradition derives the term, *Maurya* from his mother or grandmother Mura, and represents him as a scion of

the Nanda dynasty. Jaina tradition represents Chandragupta as the son of a daughter of the chief of a village of peacock-tamers and hence the name of his family was Maurya. But according to Buddhist tradition, Chandragupta belonged to the Kshatriya clan of Moriyas which ruled over the little state of Pippalivana and the dynasty foundded by him was so called after the Moriyas. Modern historians prefer the Buddhist tradition of Hindu and Jaina legends.

Chandragupta Maurya (324—300 B. C.)

No authentic details are known about the early life of Chandragupta. It is said that he incurred the displeasure of the Nanda ruler of Magadha and was forced to go into exile. During his exile, he saw Alexander with the intention of securing his help to put an end to Nanda rule. According to the Greek writer (Justin), Alexander gave orders to kill this brave youngman for his boldness of speech, but Chandragupta saved himself by a hasty flight.

Early life

Having failed to put an end to the Nandas, Chandragupta sought help of Chanakya or Kautilya, a crafty Brahmin of Taxila, who had been insulted by the Nanda king. With the help of Chanakya, he overthrew the Nanda king and ascended the throne of Magadha in 324 B.C. Afterwards he made war with the generals of Alexander, defeated them and put an end to the Greek rule in the Punjab (West Punjab).

Overthrown of the Nanda dynasty

Chandragupta followed up his success with the conquest of all the states in Northern India. In the west he pushed his conquests as far as Surastra or Kathiawar and this is proved by the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman.

Seleukos, one of the ablest commanders of Alexander, who had carved out a kingdom for Asia, made an attempt to recover the Indian conquest of Alaxander. With this end in view he crossed the Indus in 305 B.C. and attacked the Indian sovereign. But he was defeated and forced to enter

into a humiliating treaty with Chandragupta. By it he had to give to Chandragupta the four satrapies of Aria (Herat), Arachosia (Qandhar), Gedrosia (Beluchistan) and Paropanisadai (Kabul) in exchange for only 500 elephants. He also entered into a matrimonial alliance with Chandragupta and sent to his court an ambassador named Megasthenes.

The overthrow of the Greeks made Chandragupta the undisputed ruler of an empire that extended over the whole of Northern India and soon included the distant provinces of Surastra or Kathiwar. Chandragupta is said to have established a conection with the southern country of Mysore. According to Plutarch, he overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men.

Chandragupta's Administration

According to Jaina tradition, Chandragupta embraced Jainism and spent the last days of his life in Mysore abdicating the throne in favour of his son. In 300 B.C. he committed suicide by slow starvation in the approved Jain manner at Sravana Belgola.

Chandragupta was not only a soldier and conqueror but also a great administrator. Our information about his administration is derived from the accounts of Megasthenes, the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya and the Edicts of his grandson Asoka.

Sources of information

The Central Government consisted of two parts, (1) the 'Raja' or the King and (2) the 'Councillors' and 'Assessors'. The king was the head of the State. He enjoyed extensive executive, legislative, judicial and military powers. He had the absolute authority with regard to the appointment and dismissal of officers.

Central Government

The formulation of the broad lines of policy, issuing of rescripts for the guidance of officers and people, posting of watchmen, attending to the accounts of receipts and expenditure, appointment of minister, priests and superintendents, correspondence with the council of ministers, reception and

Powers of the king

despatch of envoys—these were the executive functions of the king. About the legislative functions of the king, Kautilya tells us that *Rajasana* or king's order was included among the sources of law. The Edicts of Asoka are the best illustration of such royal orders. The king was the fountain of justice. Kautilya lays the greatest emphasis on the judicial duties of the king. He says, "When in the court, he shall never cause petitioners to wait at the door." As regards the military powers of the king it is evident that Chandragupta himself was a great military leader. He considered plans of military operations with his *Senapati* or Commander-in-Chief and led the army on many occasions. As an administrator, Chandragupta led a very active and busy life.

The king conducted the administration of his empire with the help of ministers. According to Kautilya, there were two classes of ministers—*Mantrins* and *Amatyas*. The Mantrins or high ministers who are most probably described by Asoka in his Edicts as *Mahamatyas* enjoyed the right to be consulted in administrative measures. They held high position in the organisation of the government. It addition to the Mantrins, there was a *Mantri Parisad* or Council of Ministers. Its members were not identical with the Mantrins and they occupied a comparatively inferior position. They were summoned only in case of emergency. The king was not bound to accept their advice but usually he did not reject their recommendations. The Amatyas were the administrative and judicial officers of the Empire.

Council of Ministers

Besides the Mantrins, the Mantri Parisad and the Amatyas, there was another class of officials who formed the pivot of the Maurya administration. They were the *Adhyakshas* and these officials are described by the Greek writers as ministers. Straba, a Greek writer says, "Of the Magistrates some have the charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiers." Some looked after rivers, roads, collection of taxes, supervision of various occupations connected with land, etc.

Other high officials

According to Kautilya, the capital city was divided into four wards for the convenience of administration. Each ward was placed in charge of an officer called *Sthanika.* The whole city was under the charge of the *Nagar-adhyaksha.* But according to Megasthenes, Patliputra, the capital was administered by a council of 30 divided into six boards of five members each. Each board was responsible for a particular department.

(1) The first board was to look after arts and industries of the city.

(2) The second board was to look after the comfort of foreigners.

(3) The third board was charged with the registration of births and deaths.

(4) The fourth board was to check weight and measures and to regulate trade.

(5) The fifth board was to supervise manufactures and to prevent the frauds arising from adulterations.

(6) The sixth board was to collect ten per cent. tax on goods sold in the market. In their collective capacity they looked after general affairs, such as public buildings, markets, water supply, sanitations, etc. This system of administration was also prevalent in other cities.

Civil Administration

Sources of revenue

The revenue of the empire was derived from different sources. In rural areas the principal source of revenue was the land. In urban areas the revenue was mainly derived from birth and death rates, fines imposed for various offences and tithes on sales. The king's share was fixed at one-fourth or one-sixth of the total produce.

Severity of criminal law

There was the severity of the criminal law and it was attested by both Kautilya and Megasthenes. Punishment for offences ranged from fines to mutilation, torture and death. 'Torture could be used to elicit confession under certain circumstances.' For the purpose of exercising proper control over

the administrative machinery in the empire, Chandragupta employed a good number of spies. They were to keep the king informed of every detail of public affairs. According to Kautilya, there were two classes of spies, namely, *Samsthah* or 'Stationary Spies' and *Sancharah* or 'Wandering Spies'.

Espionage

For the convenience of administration, the Maurya empire was divided into several provinces. Neither Kautilya nor Megasthenes has mentioned the number of provinces in Chandragupta's empire. We come to know from the inscription of Asoka that there were five provinces during the reign Chandragupta. These were: (1) Uttarapath, (2) Dakshinapath, (3) Prachya, (4) Kalinga and (5) Avantirtha. Of these provinces Kalinga was not surely included in the dominion of Chandragupta, because it was conquered during the reign of his grandson Asoka. The outlying provinces were governed by Viceroys, generally chosen from the princes of the royal blood. The provinces were divided into several districts and each district was sub-divided into a number of villages. The district officers were known as *Sthanikas*. The village was the unit of administration. The administration of villages was carried on by the *Gramikas* who were helped by the village elders. They were the heads of the village administration. The Gramikas were not paid servants of the States but were elected by the people of the villages. Above the Gramikas was the *Gopa* who looked after a group of ten villages. He played an important role in the village administration. On the whole, the administration of the Maurya empire in Chandragupta's time was efficient and it is almost modern in character.

Viceroys

Sthanikas

Village administration

Military Administration

We come to know many things about the military organisation of Chandragupta from the accounts of Megasthenes. Chandragupta had the credit of organising a vast army. His army consisted of cavalry, infantry, chariots and elephants. He had 6,00,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants and about 8,000 chariots. The army was paid in cash.

Four-fold division of the army

Council of thirty members divided into six boards

The administration of the army was under the control of a War Officer. According to Megasthenes, the military administration of Chandragupta was carried on by a council of thirty, divided into six boards of five members each. These boards were to look after the following departments, *viz.*, the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots, the war-elephants, transport and commissariat and the navy.

Ambulance service

The army was well-equipped. Lance, buckler, sword, javeline, bows and arrows were the weapons usually used by the army. Kautilya speaks of an ambulance service, medicines and dressings and of female nurses.

Accounts of Megasthenes

Megasthenes came to the court of Chandragupta as the envoy of the Greek ruler, Seleukos and stayed there for some times. He wrote a history of this country called *Indika* which might give to posterity a faithful account of what he saw there. But unfortunately we do not possess the Indika of Megasthenes in its original form and only a few extracts taken from here and there by other Greek writers like Strabo, Arrian and Diodorus from the Indika have come down to us. However, we must be cautious while using the information given by Megasthenes as he did not know any Indian language and was acquainted only with the Punjab and the royal road to Pataliputra. Being a foreigner, he might not have understood rightly the customs and institutions of the people of Indo-Paksitan. In spite of all these short-comings, the account of Megasthenes gives us a lot of useful information about the social, political, and administrative conditions of this sub-continent.

The capital

According to Megasthenes, Pataliputra, the imperial capital stood at the confluence of the Son and the Ganges. The city was nine miles in length and about two miles in breadth. It was protected by a deep ditch and by high walls. There were 570 towers and 63 gates in the walls.

The royal palace was chiefly built of wood but it excelled in splendour the palaces of the kings of Persia. The pillars of the palace 'were plaited with gold and ornamented with designs of silver birds and golden vines.'

The palace

The king lived in magnificence and maintained his court with great grandeur. Within the palace he relied for protection on a body-guard of armed women who always attended him. He generally lived in seclusion and appeared in public only on four occasions, *viz.*, in times of war, to administer justice, to offer sacrifice and to go on huntings. There were two favourite habits of the king: (1) He took pleasure in the massage of his limbs and (2) performed the ceremony of hair-washing on his birth-day.

Habits of the king

Megasthenes gives a detailed account of the administration of Chandragupta. According to him, the officers who were placed in charge of the rural areas 'looked after river and irrigation works, collected taxes, superintended the occupations connected with land and had charge of the public roads.' With regard to the administration of the urban areas, Megasthenes mentions that the administration of the capital city was placed in charge of a council of thirty divided into six boards of five each. They were entrusted with the following duties, *viz.*, supervision of the industrial arts, care of foreigners, registration of births and deaths, control of trade and commerce, supervision and sale of manufacturing articles and collection of the tenth of the prices of the articles sold. There was the severity of the penal laws. Mutilation was one of the moods of punishment.

Civil government

Rural and urban administration

Chandragupta had a vast army, which consisted of 6,00,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants and a large number of chariots. There was also a fleet under an admiral. The affairs of the army and the navy were, like those of the municipality, entrusted to a council of thirty divided into six boards of five each. One board was appointed to co-operate with the admiral of the fleet. Another had the charge of transport and commissariat,

The army and the navy

while the rest looked after the foot soldiers, the horses, the war chariots and the elephants.

Social condition

Megasthenes found the people of India divided into seven castes, namely, (1) philosophers, (2) husbandmen, (3) herdsmen and hunters, (4) artisans and traders, (5) soldiers, (6) spies or overseers, and (7) councillors. According to him, 'inter-marriage was not allowed among these castes and no one was allowed to adopt any calling or art outside his own caste'.

Economic and moral life

We come to know from the account of Megasthenes that there was no want in the country in Chandragupta's time and people lived in peace and prosperity. The Indians were reputed for their piety and honesty. Theft was a thing of very rare occurence among them. They never drank wine except at a sacrifice. They seldom went to law and they confided in each other. No Indian was accused of lying and it was contrary to usage for an Indian either to do or to suffer wrong. In certain parts of the country slavery was unknown.

The Arthasastra of Kautilya

Importance of the Arthasastra

It is said that Chandragupta, with the help of a Brahman named Kautilya or Chanakya, overthrew the Nanda dynasty and ascended the throne of Magadha. He appointed Kautilya as his minister. Kautilya was not only a king-maker but also a past-master in the art of government. He wrote a book on politics entitled the *Arthasastra* which thows a flood of light on the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. Like Megasthenes, the author of the *arthasastra* refers to an elaborate system of administration. The king was assisted by a body of officials styled *Mahamatya* and *Amatyas*, who corresponded to the councillors of Megasthenes. There was a council of ministers (*Mantriparisad*) whom the king consulted in times of emergency. The king usually worked according to the decision of the majority. Various departments of administration were placed in charge of officers called *Adhyakshyas*. *Nagardhyaksha* was in charge of the city, while *Baladhyaksha* was in charge of the army.

Administrative departments

Reference is also made to the division and subdivision of the empire into provinces and villages. Control over officials as well as the people was maintained by an elaborate system of espionage. The king had a female guard. He was enjoined to look upon himself as a servant of the people and to regard the happiness of his subjects as his own happiness and their welfare as his own welfare.

Spies and female guard

According to Jain tradition, Chandragupta embraced Jainism and spent the last days of his life in Mysore abdicating the throne in favour of his son. In 300 B.C. he committed suicide by slow starvation in the approved Jain manner at Sravana Belgola.

His death

Achievements and Character of Chandragupta

The achievements of Chandragupta Maurya entitle him to rank as one of the greatest rulers of ancient Indo-Pakistan. With the exception of the propagation of Buddhism, almost all the achievements of the Maurya dynasty were due to him. He established peace in the empire after overthrowing the oppressive rule of the Nandas. But one of the greatest achievements of Chandragupta was the liberation of his country from the foreign (Macedonian) yoke. He repulsed the attack of Seleukos (one of the generals of Alexander) and extended the Maurya empire up to the Persian frontier. He also realised the importance of friendly relation with his neighbours and that was why he cemented the treaty of alliance with Seleukos by a matrimonial alliance. Chandragupta brought almost the whole of Northern India under his sway. It was no small credit for him to found a vast empire from an ordinary position by sheer personal genius. Dr. Smith gives an estimate of Chandragupta in these words, "In the course of some eighteen years Chandragupta had expelled the Macedonian garrisons from the Punjab and Sind, repulsed and humbled Seleukos the Conqueror, and established himself as an undisputed supreme lord of at least all Northern India and a large part of Ariana. These achievements fairly entitle him to rank among the greatest and most successful kings known to history".

As a conqueror and saviour of the country

Chandragupta was not only a conqueror and saviour of the country but also an empire-builder. He introduced a well-regulated system of administration in the conquered territories. Megasthenes and Kautilya speak highly of his administrative system. The main aim of his administration was the welfare of his subjects. Kautilya says, "In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness, in their welfare his welfare, whatever pleases himself he shall not consider good." The military organisation of Chandragupta, the municipal administration of his capital, etc., bear ample testimony to his genius as a ruler.

Aa a ruler

Chandragupta was a kind and benevolent ruler. He took paternal care of his subjects. As a great soldier and general, he had much reputation. In consideration of all these, Chandragupta Maurya deserves a special place in the history of ancient Indo-Pakistan.

Character

Bindusara, 300—273 B. C.

On the death of Chandragupta his son, Bindusara, ascended the throne of Pataliputra. His title was *Amitraghata* or slayer of foes. From it the scholars think that he was a warrior like his father. He maintained the integrity of the empire and suppressed revolts in the outlying provinces. He is also credited by some writers with the conquest of the Deccan. Antiochos, the son and successor of Seleukos sent to his court an envoy named Deimachos. The king of Egypt also cultivated good relation with him by sending an envoy to his court. Bindusara died after a reign of 5 years.

Diplomatic relations

Asoka the Great, 273-232. B. C.

Asoka was undoubtedly the greatest ruler of the Maurya dynasty. We get a lot of information about him from (1) his own inscriptions and (2) the Ceylonese Chronicles and Buddhist literature. Of these two sources of information, the former is the most authentic and reliable.

After the death of his father, Bindusara, Asoka ascended the throne. According to the Buddhist tra-

dition, he served as viceroy first at Taxila and afterwards at Ujjayini during the reign of his father. According to the Ceylonese Chronicles, there arose a dispute among the sons of Bindusara after his death over the question of succession and Asoka captured the throne by defeating and killing all his ninety-nine brothers. For this act of great killing Asoka was known as *Chandasoka.* There is a difference of opinion among the historians about the truth of this story. However, the coronation of the new monarch was delayed about four years of his accession. According to Dr. Smith, this long delay was due to the dispute over the question of succession.

Early years of Asoka

Fratricidal war over the question of succession

We do not know much about the early years of Asoka's reign. Like his predecessors he led the life of an ordinary Hindu king enjoying the pleasures of the chase, taking fleshy food freely and entertaining the people with festive assemblies. During the 13th year of his accession, Asoka carried on the traditional policy of expansion within India and friendly relations abroad.

The Kalinga War

Eight years after his coronation (261 B. C.) Asoka went to war with Kalinga, the country on the coast of the Bay of Bengal between the Mahanadi and the Godavari rivers and conquered it in spite of stubborn resistance offered by the inhabitants of the place. Regarding the Kalinga war Asoka says in Rock Edict XIII, "One hundred and fifty thousand persons were carried away captive, one hundred thousand were slain and many times that number perished". The newly conquered territory was, however, annexed and constituted into a viceroylty with its capital at Tosail (in the Puri district). The conquest of Kalinga was the last military expedition of Asoka.

The Kalinga war was one of the decisive events in the history of the sub-continent. It produced far-reaching consequences in Indo-Pakistan history in many ways. Firstly, the sight of the misery and bloodshed in the Kalinga campaign made a deep im-

Results of the Kalinga war

pression on the Emperor and awakened in his breast feelings of remorse and sorrow. A thorough change came over him and he abandoned once for all the idea of aggressive warfare. He propounded a new theory of conquest of men's heart not by the sword but by righteousness (*Dharmavijaya*). Regarding the results of the Kalinga war Dr. Raychaudhuri says, "It marks the close of that career of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisara's annexation of Anga. It opens a new era—an era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation and perhaps, of military inefficiency during which the material spirit of imperial Magadha was dying out for want of exercise. The era of military conquest or *Digvijaya* was over, the era of spiritual conquest or *Dharmavijaya* was about to begin." Secondly, the horrors of the Kalinga war brought a great change in the mind of Asoka and it was the change which led him to embrace Buddhism. He followed the policy of *Dharmavijay* instead of military conquest. It was due to the patronage of Asoka that Buddhism became one of the principal religions of the world. In the history of Buddhism the importance of the Kalinga war cannot be denied. Thirdly, the change produced by the Kalinga war in the mind of Asoka and his conversion to Buddhism had greatly influenced the internal and foreign policy of the Maurya empire. Asoka established institutions for the welfare of men and beasts and sent to foreign contemporaries not soldiers to fight, but missionaries to preach the law of duty. He directed his subjects to practise the law of duty or piety, so that they might live in peace in this world and the world to come.

Extent of Asoka's Empire

It will not be improper to discuss here the extent of Asoka's empire as the Kalinga war was his last military enterprise. There are two main sources of information about the extent of his empire, *viz.*, his inscriptions and the writings of the historians. The discovery-places of his inscriptions also

help us to know the extent of his empire. Different editions of the fourteen inscriptions of Asoka have been found in different places. It is evident from these inscriptions that the Maurya empire under Asoka comprised the whole of Northern India except Assam, some district of East Pakistan and a considerable part of the Deccan. In the north-west Asoka's empire touched the borders of the Empire of Antiochos II of Syria and thus included Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Makran and Sind. It may be mentioned here that this region was ceded by Seleukos, the predecessor of Antiochos II to Chandragupta Maurya. We come to know from the records of Hiuen Tsang and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* that Kashmir was included in Asoka's empire. The inclusion of the Himalayan valleys including Nepal and the Tarai is proved by the pillar inscriptions of Asoka at Rummiendi, Nigali Sagar and other places. This is corroborated by Rock Edict XIII which refers to the Nabhapamtis of Nabaka who were the inhabitants of the Tarai region. In the east Asoka's dominion seems to have extended up to the river Brahmnputra and this evidenced by Asokan stupas which Hiuen Tsang saw near Tamralipti (South Bengal), in Pundravardhana (North Bengal) and in Samatata (East Bengal). In the west his empire extended up to the Arabian Sea and Saurastra was governed by the Yavanaraja Tushapa as his vassal. In the south Asoka's dominion extended to the Pennar river and the Tamil kingdoms of the Far South (Chera, Chola, Pandya and Pallava) are referred to as border states. There were various tributary tribes in the south of his empire. The empire of Asoka extended from the Himalayas in the north to Mysore in the south and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Brahmaputra in the east. Thus the Maurya empire under Asoka comprised the whole of Indo-Pakistan except Assam in the extreme east and the Tamil kingdoms of the Far South.

Extent of Maurya empire under Asoka

Asoka's empire extended from the Himalayas to Mysore and from the Arabian Sea to Bengal

Asoka's conversion

Chandragupta became a Jain in life. Bindusara was perhaps a Brahman and Asoka was the fol-

lower of his father's religion. But the horrors of the Kalinga war brought a great change in Asoka's mind and he became a convert to Buddhism. It is said that the conversion of Asoka was brought about by a Buddhist saint of Mathura named Upagupta.

Was Asoka a Buddhist ?

There arises a doubt in the minds of many scholars as to whether Asoka had really accepted Buddhism. But historians like Bhandarkar and B.M. Barua have expressed their opinions in favour of Asoka's acceptance of Buddhism. After his conversion to Buddhism, Asoka, with Upagupta visited the principal holy places of the Buddhists. In all these places he set up memorials. It proves that he was a Buddhist. A number of inscriptions bear testimony to his faith in Buddhism and love for it. It is also found in the Minor Rock Edict I where Asoka said, "It was more than two years and a half that I was a lay worshipper, but did not exert myself. It is one year, indeed more than one year, that I have been living with *Samgha* and have exerted myself". This Samgha means Buddha-Samgha. After the acceptance of Buddhism Asoka gave up hunting and forbade the slaughter of animals for the royal kitchen. At first he led a life of an ordinary Buddha-worshipper, but afterwards he led a life like a Buddha monk. Though a Buddhist, Asoka never showed any hostility to other sects.

Fundamental principles of Dharma or Law of Piety preached by Asoka

Asoka attached the greatest importance to the practice of *Dharma* or Law of Piety. A few references from his inscriptions will give us a clear idea of the religion preached by him. In the Second Minor Rock Edict, it is stated thus : "Father and mother must be obeyed ; similarly, respect for living creatures must be enforced ; truth must be spoken. These are the virtues of the law of piety which must be practised. Similarly, the teacher must be reverenced by the pupil, and proper courtesy must be shown to relatives. This is the ancient standard of piety—this leads to length of days, and according to this men must act." In Edict VII, he put stress on mastery over the senses, purity of mind, gratitude and steady devotion. In Edict XIII, he laid down the following : "Hearkening to superiors, hearkening

to father and mother, hearkening to teachers (to elders), and proper treatment to friends, acquaintances, comrades, relatives, slaves and servants, with steadfastness of devotion." In the Second Pillar Edict, Asoka declared that "Dharma consisted in little impiety, many good deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness and purity."

Measures for the spread of Buddhism

After his conversion to Buddhism Asoka devoted himself to the spread of the Dharma or Law of Piety not only in his own dominions, but also in foreign countries. He adopted many measures for the propagation of Buddhism. Firstly, the king himself went on tours of the country to preach Buddhism to the people. In place of *Viharayatras* or tours of pleasures he undertook *Dharmayatras* or tours of piety to preach the teachings of Dharma to his people. Secondly, he employed his officers like the Yuktas, Rajukas, Purushas and Pradeshikas and directed them to go on tours to preach his Law of Piety to the people. These officers were to perform this duty in addition to their official duties. Thirdly, Asoka appointed a special class of officials called *Dharmmahamatras* for he spread of Buddhism. These officials were specially entrusted with the duty of enforcing imperial commands regarding the sanctity of animal life. Fourthly, he inscribed the fundamental teachings of Buddhism on rocks and pillars throughout his empire for the spread of his law of piety. The *Dharmalipi* or inscriptions on religion inculcate reverence for parents and other superiors, proper treatment of fellow men, kindness to living creatures, truthfulness, toleration and other virtues. The inscriptions were distributed in different parts of the empire and they were written in local dialects, so that they might be easily understood by the common people. The display of the principles of the Law of Piety at different places must have helped the spread of Buddhism in the country. Fifthly, he strengthened Buddhism by suppressing dissensions and also by calling a Buddhist Council to secure doctrinal uniformity. Sixthly, 'the

Tours of piety

Official propaganda

Appointment of a special class of officials for the spread of Buddhism

Inscription of his teachings on rocks and pillars

Suppression of dissensions

moral regulations enforced by Asoka were supplemented by works of practical piety.' He did a lot of benevolent works for the happiness of both men and beasts. He ordered the digging of wells, the construction of rest-houses and the plantation of trees on both sides of the public roads for the comfort of travellers. He made provision for the treatment of men and animals. Medical herbs were not only planted in the country but were also imported from outside. Lastly, the missionary activities of Asoka were not confined to his dominion only, but he also sent missionaries to foreign countries. In Rock Edict XIII there is an authentic account of the missionary activities of Asoka in foreign countries. According to his own confession, he sent missions to preach the Law of Piety to the Tamil kingdoms of the Far South, to Ceylon and to the Hellenistic kingdoms of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia and Epirus. His missionary organisation thus included three continents, namely, Asia, Africa and Europe. According to the Ceylonese tradition, Asoka sent his son, Mahendra and daughter, Sanghamitra to Ceylon where his missionary activities were completely successful due to the patronage of Tissa, the ruler of Ceylon.

Measures for the material welfare of his subjects

Missionary activities in foreign countries

Asoka's Foreign policy

The Kalinga war not only changed the religion of Asoka, but also influenced his foreign policy. After the war, he abandoned the policy of conquest. He even asked his sons and grandsons to give up the policy of conquest. In Edict IV he has rightly said that "the reverberation of the war durms has become the reverberation of Dharma." Instead of trying to annex the frontier States in the Far South (Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputra and Keralaputra) he maintained friendly relations with them. As a result of this change in foreign policy a period of stagnation set in the history of Indo-Pakistan.

Asoka's ideal of kingship

Asoka had a very high ideal of kingship and we can have an idea of the same from the two Kalinga Edicts and Rock Edict VI. In Kalinga Edict I Asoka

clearly expresses: "All men are my children; and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and the next, so for all men I desire the like happiness and prosperity." He also directed his officers to carry on administration on the principles of justice. Asoka says, "There are, again, individuals who have been put in prison or torture. You must attempt to stop unwarranted imprisonment or torture. Again there are many who suffer acts of violence. It should be your desire to set such people in the right way." In Rock Edict VI Asoka said, "Whatever exertions I make are for the end that I may discharge my debt to animate beings and that while I make some happy here, they may in the next world gain heaven." Paternal feelings and sense of responsibility are the principles of his conception of kingship. Though primarily bent upon the moral welfare of the people, Asoka was alive to the needs of their material comfort. He took various measures to improve the material condition of his subjects.

Paternal care for the people

Sense of responsibility

Administration of Asoka

Although Asoka is known to us primarily as a monk and a missionary, he was a great ruler too. He inherited a well-organised autocratic government from his predecessors who had a strong army and an all-pervading espionage system. He fully utilised its machinery for maintaining peace and order in the empire. But his was a despotism paternal in character. As a ruler he was hard-working and enlightened, and he made himself always available. He tried to promote the moral and material welfare of his subjects. The paternal aspect of his rule is well-illustrated in the famous dictum of the Emperor, "All subjects are my children." Perhaps like Fredrick the Great of Prussia Asoka thought of himself as the first servant of the State. He, no doubt, 'inherited a despotic system, but unlike the later Bourbons of France, he was never the slave but always the master of his system.'

Nature of his government

Enlightened despotism

Asoka, like his predecessors, carried on the work of administration by a large body of graded

Administrative reforms

His direction to provincial officers to administer with sympathy and justice

Provincial tour of royal officers

Functions of Dharmamahamatras

Functions of the Rajukas

Reforms of criminal law

Regulations for the prevention of animal slaughter

officials. He did not change the administrative system which he had inherited, but here and there he made certain reforms for better government. Firstly, maladministration in the provinces and miscarriage of justice attracted his attention. He directed his offiecrs in the provinces and the districts to carry on the administration with sympathy and justice. Secondly, in the beginning of his reign Asoka organised a system of quinquennial and triennial tours of royal officers like the Yutas, the Rajukas and the Pradesikas for the spread of Dharma or Law of Piety and for taking necessary steps in establishing peace and justice in the outlying provinces. Thirdly, in the thirteenth year of his reign Asoka appointed a new class of officers called *Dharmamahamatras*. These officers in addition to their duty of preaching the Dharma and of ameliorating the moral and material interests of the people, were entrusted with the work of supervising the judicial administration in provinces and districts. Fourthly, during this time he introduced another important measure for the benefit of the people. In order to redress their grievances without delay, he made himself available at all hours and in all places. Fifthly, the duty of the Rajukas was to look after the moral and material welfare of the subjects. But Asoka enhanced their power and entrusted them with the "sole charge of the judicial investigation and the adjustment of punishment." He also granted them independence in the award of honours and titles. Sixthly, Asoka reformed the criminal law by granting a respite of three days to condemn men lying in prison under sentence of death. He also used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation. Asoka was a true Buddhist believing in the doctrine of non-violence. But although he tempered justice with mercy he did not abolish the system of punishment—even capital punishment. He considered punishment necessary to maintain order and justice in the empire. Lastly, Asoka prohibited the slaughter of animals in the empire. He introduced various measures for preventing the injury and killing of living beings. He himself gave up the habit of eating flesh.

The main aim of Asoka's administration was the welfare of his subjects. He loved his subjects like his own sons. He planted shady trees on both sides of the road, dug wells and constructed rest-houses for men and beasts. He also built hospitals for men and beasts, and imported rare drugs and medicines from foreign countries for patients. Great importance was attached to the distribution of alms for the relief of the distressed and the disabled. As a result of these beneficient measures, the subjects under Asoka lived in peace and happiness.

Benevolent works of Asoka

Asoka died in 232 B. C. after a reign of forty years. As an ideal ruler and a man, he will remain immortal in the history of the world.

An Estimate of Asoka

Asoka was one of the greatest rulers of all countries and of all ages. As a sagacious warrior, a tireless worker, a benevolent ruler, his achievements are imperishable. According to the old tradition, he conquered Kalinga after capturing the throne. But the horrors of the war struck him with remorse and it proved to be the turning point of his career. He abandoned the idea of aggressive warfare and devoted hmself to the "true conquest", *i.e.*, the conquest of men's hearts with Law of Duty. He was gradually drawn towards the teachings of Buddha and eventually embraced Buddhism.

A king of peaceful disposition

According to Dr. Raychaudhuri, 'Asoka is one of the most remarkable personalities in the history of India. He was tireless in his exertions, and unflagging in his zeal—all directed to the promotion of the spiritual and moral welfare of his people whom he called his children'.

Asoka occupies a unique place in the history of the world. He was the apostle of peace and non-violence. His earnest desire was to establish peace —"peace between man and man, and between man and every sentient creature." He realised from the horrors of a single war that it was absolutely impossible to establish peace by war. Thenceforth he turned to other fields of conquest—the conquest of

Asoka's place in history

men's hearts and devoted all the resources of his empire to the moral and spiritual progress of humanity. He also realised that the true glory and fame of a king did not depend upon the immoral progress of the people. To achieve this end Asoka utilised the whole administrative machinery of the State. There were rulers in the world who strove for the welfare of their people ; but it was Asoka who desired and did good to the people of all countries. Here lies the greatness of this ruler. H. G. Wells says, "Amidst the tens and thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, the name of Asoka shines and shines alone almost as a star. From the Valga to Japan, his name is still honoured. China, Tibet and even India, though it has left his doctrines, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory to-day than have heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne."

Apostle of peace and non-violence

Asoka's place in the history of one of the great religions (Buddhism) of the world was next to that of the founder himself. He made Buddhism as one of the greatest religions of the globe and "the missions of king Asoka are amongst the greatest civilsing influences in the history of the world." But toleration of other religions was one of the characteristics of his religious efforts. Himself a sincere devotee to his own religion, he was very generous to other religions. In consideration of all these, Asoka may rightly be called one of the greatest rulers of the world.

Patronage of Buddhism and its influence on the life of the people

Inscriptions of Asoka

Asoka's inscriptions or edicts are the best sources of information about his reign. These inscriptions are distributed in different parts of India. About 34 or 35 of them have so far been discovered. The inscriptions are mainly divided into three classes, namely, (1) Rock Edicts, (2) Minor Rock Edicts and (3) Pillar Rock Edicts.

Classes of inscriptions

The Rock Edicts are fourteen in number. In these edicts Asoka's principles of government and ethical system have been stated. These inscriptions

were probably issued between 257 and 256 B.C. Copies of these edicts have been found at Shahbazgarhì (Peshawar district), Mansehra (Hazara district), Kalsi (Dehradun district, U.P.), Girnar (near Junagadh in Kathiwar), Sopara (Thana district, Bombay Presidency), Dhauli (Puri district, Orissa), Jangada (near Orissa) and Yerragudi (Karnul district, Madras Presidency).

Places of inscriptions

The Minor Rock Edicts are two in number. The first Minor Rock Edict deals with the personal history of Asoka and the second Minor Rock Edict gives a summary of the Law of Piety or Dharma. These inscriptions date from about 258 or 257 B.C. Copies of these edicts have been found at Sasharam in the Shabad district of Bihar, Rupnath in the Jabbalpur district, Bairat (Jaipur state, Rajputana), Siddapur, Jatinga—Rameswar and Brahmagiri (all in the Chitaldrag district, Mysore), Maski (Raichur district, Nizam's dominions), Yerragudi (Madras Presidency) and Kopbal (in the Nizam's dominions).

The Minor Edicts Rock

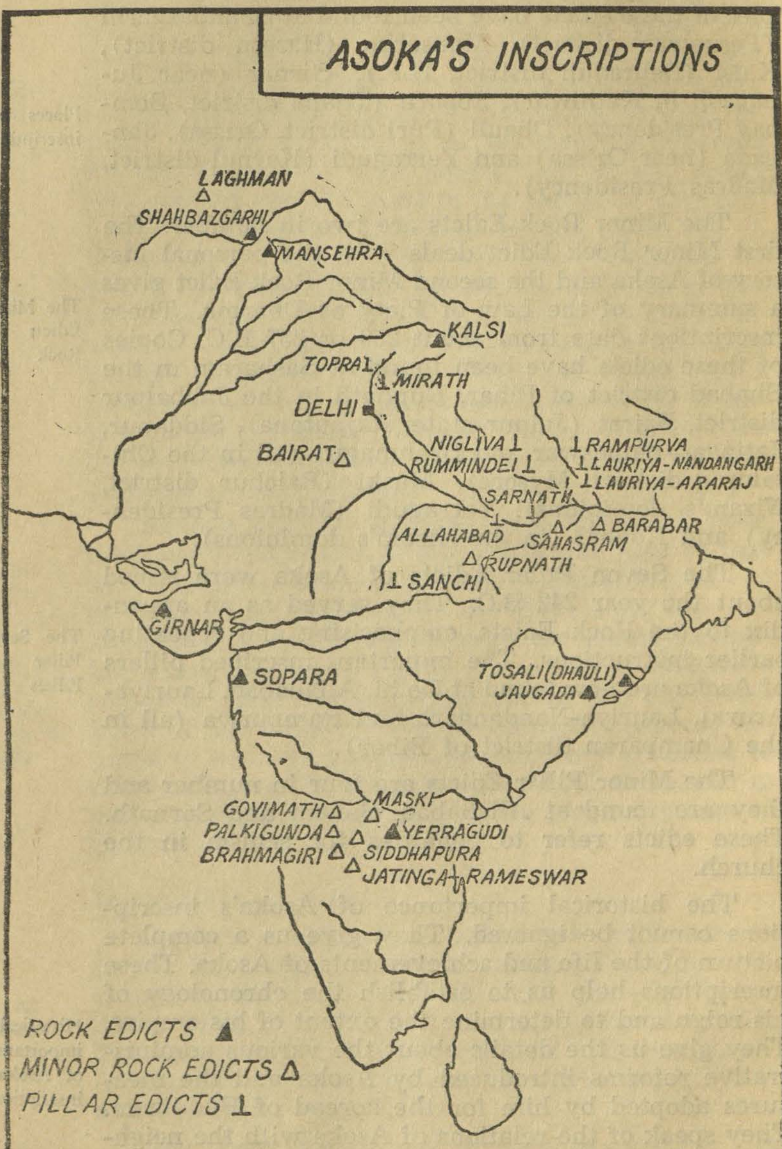
The Seven Pillar Edicts of Asoka were issued about the year 242 B.C. They served as an appendix to the Rock Edicts, emphasising and repeating earlier instructions. The important inscribed pillars of Asoka are now found at Delhi, Allahabad, Lauriya-Aruraj, Lauriya-Nandangarh and Rampurwa (all in the Champaran district of Bihar).

The Seven Pillar Edicts

The Minor Pillar Edicts are four in number and they are found at Allahabad, Sanchi and Sarnath. These edicts refer to penalties for schism in the church.

The historical importance of Asoka's inscriptions cannot be ignored. They give us a complete picture of the life and achievements of Asoka. These inscriptions help us to establish the chronology of his reign and to determine the extent of his empire. They give us the details about the various administrative reforms introduced by Asoka and the measures adopted by him for the spread of Buddhism. They speak of the relations of Asoka with the neighbouring countries, and also the foreign states. It is also from these edicts that we can form an idea about Asoka's conception of an ideal king.

Historical importance of Asoka's inscriptions


ASOKA'S INSCRIPTIONS
LAGHMAN
SHAHBAZGARHI
MANSEHRA
KALSI
TOPRA
MIRATH
DELHI
BAIRAT
NIGLIVA
RAMPURVA
LAURIYA-NANDANGARH
RUMMINDEI
LAURIYA-ARARAJ
SARNATH
BARABAR
ALLAHABAD
SAHASRAM
RUPNATH
SANCHI
GIRNAR
SOPARA
TOSALI (DHAULI)
JAUGADA
MASKI
GOVIMATH
PALKIGUNDA
YERRAGUDI
BRAHMAGIRI
SIDDHAPURA
JATINGA-RAMESWAR
ROCK EDICTS ▲
MINOR ROCK EDICTS △
PILLAR EDICTS ⊥

Successors of Asoka

We know from the inscriptions that Asoka had several sons. But it is difficult to reconcile the different accounts regarding the succession to the Maurya throne after his death. However, all his successors were weak and inefficient. It is said that one of his sons established an independent sovereignty in Kashmir and another son obtained the throne of Pataliputra. But the rule of the latter was probably nominal and two grandsons of the late king are said to have governed the imperial dominions. The last of the imperial Mauryas was Brithadratha who was killed in or about 187 B.C. by his general Pushyamitra.

Fall of the Mauryas

Causes of the fall of the Maurya Empire

Mahamahopadhya Haraprasad Sastri is of opinion that the decline of the Maurya empire was due to a Brahmanical reaction. But according to Dr. H. C. Roychaudhuri, Asoka's policy towards the Brahmanas had nothing to do with the decline of the Maurya empire. The real causes of the fall of the Maurya empire are to be sought elsewhere.

Firstly, although the system of administration in the centre was good, the oppressive rule of the Maurya officials in the outlying provinces led to discontent. It is pointed out that the people of Taxila twice revolted against the oppressive rule of the officials during the reigns of Bindusara and Asoka. The reality of ministerial oppression is affirmed by Asoka himself in the Kalinga Edicts. It is learnt from the inscriptions that Asoka appointed officials named *Dharmamahamatras* and Rajukas to supervise the administration of the outlying provinces. But in spite of all his precautions, maladministration in the provinces continued and after his death these provinces declared independence one after another. Secondly, the successors of Asoka were weak and inefficient and so they were unable to bear the great burden of the mighty imperial fabric. Taking advantage of the latter Mauryas the foreigners, *viz.*, the Bactrian Greeks invaded Indo-Pakistan and thereby weakened the stability of the empire.

Provincial maladministration

Weak successors of Asoka

Military weakness

Assassination of the last Maurya ruler by Pushyamitra

Thirdly, the military weakness of the Maurya Empire was one of the causes of her downfall. After the Kalinga war Asoka gave up the fore-fathers' policy of conquest and devoted himself to the propagation of the Law of Piety. Such a policy, however noble, had seriously undermined the military efficiency of the empire. Lastly, when the Maurya Empire had become weak due to the above causes, Pushyamitra killed Brihadratha, the last ruler of the Maurya dynasty and thus brought an end to the rule of the Maurya Empire.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION AND FOREIGN INVASIONS

Political condition

With the fall of the Maurya Empire Indo-Pakistan lost her political unity. Several independent kingdoms arose in the south and the north. Thus the supremacy of the Sunas and the Kanvas was established one after another at Magadha. Kalinga asserted its independence under a powerful ruler named Kharavela. The Andhras or the Satavahanas established a powerful empire in the south and brought a portion of northern Indo-Pakistan under their sway. From the north-west the Greeks attacked again and again and conquered Sind and a large portion of the Punjab. The Greek invasions were followed by those of Sakes, the Parthians and the Kushans. After the fall of the Kushan empire up to the rise of the Guptas the history of Indo-Pakistan remained obscure.

Establishment of different kingdoms

The Sunga Dynasty of Magadha

Pushyamitra, the Commander-in-Chief of Brihadratha, the last ruler of the Maurya dynasty killed his royal master and ascended the throne of Magadha in or about 185 B.C. The dynasty founded by him is called Sunga dynasty. Most of the historians are of opinion that the Sungas were of Brahmana origin. With the coming of the Sungas to power Buddhism began to decline and the revival of Brahmanism ushered in the history of Indo-Pakistan.

Pushyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty

Pushyamitra was a capable ruler. His empire extended to the river Narmada in the south and probably the Beas in the north. Pataliputra was his capital. Often he had to fight with the neighbouring kings and the foreign invaders. After his acces-

sion to the throne Pushyamitra had to encounter the hostility of the kingdom of Vidarbha or Berar. Vidarbha became independent during the confusion that followed over the question of succession to the throne of Pataliputra. Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra defeated Yajnasena, the ruler of Virdarbha and forced him to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sunga dynasty. According to some scholars, Pushyamitra's position was threatened by the Kalinga king, Kharvela who invaded Magadha and defeated him. But Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri do not accept this view. According to them, Kharavela was not the contemporary of Pushyamitra. So this dispute between Kharavela and Pushyamitra does not arise.

Extent of Pushyamitra's empire

We come to know from the Mahabhashya of Patanjali and the Malavikagnimitram of Kalidas that the most formidable danger which Pushyamitra had to face was the invasion of the Greeks. The Greeks (Yavanas) advanced as far as Oudh and a place near Chitor in Rajputana, and even threatened Pataliputra, but they were repulsed. In order to celebrate his two victories, one over the Vidarbhan rival and the other over the Greeks, Pushyamitra performed two horse-sacrifices. In the opinion of some scholars, the famous grammarian Patanjali witnessed the performance of horse-sacrifices. The revival of animal sacrifices marked the recrudescence of Brahmanical influence at the imperial court, and Buddhist writers represent Pushyamitra as a persecutor of their religion. But many Buddhist monuments erected during the reign of the Sunga kings do not bear out the theory that the latter led a movement of militant Brahmanism.

The Greek invasion repulsed

Horse-sacrifices

Brahmanical revival

Pushyamitra died after a reign of 36 years in 149 B.C. He was succeeded by his son Agnimitra. He fought successfully against the ruler of Vidarbha. After Agnimitra we know very little about the Sungas. The weakness of the later Sungas was the main cause of the downfall of this dynasty. Devabhuti, the tenth and last ruler of this dynasty was killed by his minister named Vasudeva (75 B.C.)

Successors of Pushyamitra

The Kanvas

Vasudeva usurped the throne of Magadha by killing his royal master and founded a new dynasty—that of the Kanvas. According to the Puranas, four rulers of this dynasty, namely, Vasudeva, Bhumimitra, Narayan and Susarman, ruled for about 45 years. Susarman, the last ruler of this dynasty was killed by a king of the so-called Andhra or Satavahana dynasty of the Deccan in 30 B.C.

Vasudeva, the founder of the Kanvas

Kingdoms of the Deccan

The fall of the Maurya empire was followed by the rise of two great powers in the Deccan, *viz.*, the Chetti kingdom of Kalinga and the Satavahana kingdom of Dakshinapath.

The Chetas of Kalinga

On the death of Asoka, Kalinga regained its independence and became very powerful under a dynasty called the Cheta. Kharvela was the greatest ruler of this dynasty. He defied the military power of the Satavahana king, Satkarani and forced the Rathikas and Bhojakas to acknowledge his supremacy. He also extended his influence to the north. But with his death the hegemony of the Deccan passed into the hands of the Satavahanas.

Kharvela was the greatest king

The Satavahana Dynasty

The Satavahanas or Andhras were a Dravidian people who lived in the territory between the rivers Godavari and Krishna on the eastern coast of the Indo-Pak sub-continent. The founder of the Satavahana dynasty was Simuka. According to a Puranic tradition, Simuka flourished in the latter half of the first century B.C. Dr. Smith and other scholars place Simuka towards the close of the third century B.C. But this view cannot be accepted on the ground that the Hathigumpha inscription shows that Kharavela of Kalinga who lived and ruled in the last quarter of the first century B.C. was the contemporary of Satkarni, son of Simuka.

Simuka, the founder

As regards the origin of the Satavahanas, there is also a good deal of controversy. Some scholars

Origin of the Satavahanas

think that the Satavahanas were not Andhras (Telegus) but Andhra-bhrityas (servants of the Andhras) of Kanarese origin. According to Dr. R. C. Raychaudhuri, the Satavahanas or the so-called Andhras were "Brahmanas with a little admixture of Naga blood."

Satkarni was a great ruler of this dynasty

The total number of rulers of this dynasty was thirty and they ruled about four hundred years. The third ruler of this line was Satkarni I, son of Simuka. He raised the power of Satavahana to prominence in the Deccan, conquered Eastern Malwa and performed the horse-sacrifice. His capital was at Pratisthana, modern Paitan in the Aurangabad district of the Nizam's dominions.

War with the Sakas

After the death of Satkarni his wife Nayanika was proclaimed regent during the minority of the princes. Under the succeeding rulers the prestige of the Satavahanas sank very low and a considerable part of their empire was occupied by the Sakas.

Achievements of Gautamiputra

The fortune of the Satavahana dynasty was restored by Gautamiputra Satkarni who dealt a severe blow at the power of the Sakas. He waged wars against the foreigners and defeated the Sakas, the Yavanas (Greeks) and the Parthians. He not only freed his country from foreign yoke, but carried his arms as far as Malwa in the north and Kanara in the south. Gautamiputra was not only a conqueror but also a social reformer. He crushed the pride of the Kshatriyas, furthered the interest of the Brahmanas and the lowest orders and stopped the contamination of the four castes. He probably reigned from 106 to 130 A.D. He was succeeded by his son

Pulumayi

Pulumayi who married the daughter of Rudradaman, the Saka Satrap of Ujjain. But in spite of this matrimonial connection the relation between the two rulers was not cordial. The last great ruler of this dynasty was Yajnasri Satkarni, after whom the empire split up. The Abhiras rose to power in the dis-

Fall of the Satavahanas

tricts round Nasik, the Kadambas and the Ganges in south Bombay, Mysore, the Vakatakas in Berar and the adjoining provinces, the Ikshvakus and the Pallavas in the territory extending from the lower basin of the Krishna to the neighbourhood of Madras.

Kingdoms of the Far South

During the Maurya period there were four independent kingdoms in the extreme south of India. These were: (1) Chola (Tanjore and Trichinopoly), (2) Pandya (Madura and Tinnevelly), (3) Keralaputra (south Malabara and part of Travancore) and (4) Satyaputra (North Malabar). In later times Satyaputra disappeared and a new power—the Pallava arose in the district near Madras. The Pallava kingdom was firmly established in the 4th century A.D. and had its capital at Kanchi (modern Conjeveram). The Pallava king Vishnugupta acknowledged the authority of Samudragupta after his defeat in the hands of the latter. Among the other Tamil powers the Cholas showed great political and military activity. A chief of Chola origin ruled in Ceylon in the second century B.C. But in the 3rd and 4th centuries the Chola kingdom became weak. The Pandya kingdom was famous for its commerce. A Pandya king sent a mission to the Roman emperor, Augustus, in the first century B.C. Madura, the Pandya capital, was the centre of a literary academy in the early century of the Christian era.

Pallava kingdom

Cholas and Pandyas

Foreign Invasions

It was with the disintegration of the Maurya Empire that the north-western region of Indo-Pakistan was inundated by successive waves of foreign invasions. Of these foreign invaders the Bactrian Greeks were the first to take the advantage of Indian disunion.

The Bactrian Greeks

On the death of Alexander his empire was partitioned among his generals and Bactria (the region lying between the Hindukush and the Oxus) fell to the share of Seleukos. Bactria was the centre of Hellenic (Greek) civilization in Asia.

About 250 B.C. Bactria revolted against the Seleukidian king. Antiochos, grandson of Seleukos became independent under its governor, Diodotos. Diodotos I was succeeded by his son, Diodotos II who made an alliance with the king of Parthia.

Diodotos

Euthydemos

During the reign of Euthydemos, the third king of Bactria, Antiochos, the Seleukidian king made an unsuccessful attempt to occupy Bactria. He then made peace with Euthydemos by giving his daughter in mariage to Demetrios, son of Euthydemos.

Demetrius

Euthydemos was succeeded by his son, Demetrius, who was destined to play a prominent part in the history of Bactria and Indo-Pakistan. Demetrius was the person who was responsible, after Alexander, for carrying the arms of the Greeks to the interior of Indo-Pakistan. He conquered a large portion of north-west India including the Punjab and Sind. While he was busy in conquering new territories in Indo-Pakistan, a Greek general named Eukratides headed a revolt and made himself master of Bactria. Demetrius could not re-establish his authority in Bactria. His authority was confined to India only, and this was why, he was known as the "King of the Indians." Eukratides was soon murdered by his son.

His achievements

Achievements of Menander

Menander was the greatest of the Indo-Greek kings. According to Strabo, he conquered more nations than Alexander. He established his authority at Sakala (modern Sialkot in Pakistan) and penetrated into the interior of Indo-Pakistan. From the great variety of his coins and the wide area of their distribution, it is concluded that Menander was the ruler of many kingdoms and was also a great conqueror. According to Mr. D. C. Sarker, the dominions of Menander appear to have comprised the central parts of Afghanistan, North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Sind, Rajputana and Kathiawar and probably also a portion of Western Uttar Pradesh. The Milinda Panha, a Buddhist philosophical treatise tells us that Menander became a convert to Buddhism.

End of Greek rule

The Greek rule in north-west region of Indo-Pakistan lasted more than a century. As a result of internal dissensions the Greek power became weak and was overthrown by hordes of fierce tribes who came from Central Asia and Iran. The newcomers belonged to three main nationalities, *viz.*, the Sakas, the Palvas or Parthians and the Yuch-Chi.

The Sakas

The Sakas or Scythians were nomadic tribes who originally belonged to Central Asia. They were turned out of their original home by the Yuch-Chi. Thus being driven out by the Yuch-Chi they came to this country and founded several kingdoms in north-west region of Indo-Pakistan. Moga was the first powerful king of the Sakas. He extended Saka suzerainty over large parts of north-western India. He took up the title of "great king of kings." Moga

The greatest of the Ujjain Satraps (viceroyalty) was Rudradaman who ruled in the middle of the second century A.D. and extended his dominions from Sind to Konkan. He contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Satavahanas and was a patron of Sanskrit literature. Of the Satraps associated with Broach the most eminent was Nahapana. He exercised his authority over a large kingdom extending from Maharashtra to Kathiawar. The power of this ruler was overthrown by Gautamiputra Satkarni. The rule of the Sakas was brought to an end by Chandragupta II towards the close of the fourth century A.D. Rudradaman Nahapana

The Parthians

The Parthians succeeded the Sakas as the ruling power of North-West India. Gondophernes was the greatest of the Parthian kings. He conquered the district of Peshawar. It is said that during his reign the apostle, St. Thomas came to Indo-Pakistan to preach Christianity, and the king embraced the new faith at his hands. After his death the Parthian empire was divided into a number of small States. At last the Parthian rule was overthrown by the Kushans. Gondophernes

The Kushan Empire

Of the foreign nations who established kingdoms in the north-west India, the Kushans played an important role in the history of ancient Indo-Pakistan. "The Kushan period", says, G. H. Rawlison, "is one of the utmost importance in the history of Indian culture. During this period nascent Importance of the Kushan period

Christianity met full grown Buddhism in the academics and markets of Asia and Egypt, while both religions were exposed to the influences of surrounding paganism in many forms, and of the countless works of art which gave expression to the forms of polytheism. The ancient religion of Persia contributed to the ferment of human thought, excited by improved facilities for international communication and by the incessant clash of rival civilizations." Buddhism itself was transformed into a world religion, and spread along the Central Asia trade routes, through Khotan, to China itself. "It was a time of intense artistic and literary activity. Buddha and the Hindu deities appear for the first time in human guise, and Indian art, by virtue of its contact with Hellenistic Asia, acquires a fresh impetus. New literary forms come to light; the drama and the court epic make their appearance and classical Sanskrit is evolved. The Kushan period is a fitting prelude to the Age of the Guptas." *

Who were the Kushans?

The Kushans were a branch of the Yuch-Chi race. The Yuch-Chi were nomadic hordes and they originally lived in north-west China. The Chinese historians mention that in the middle of the second century B.C. they were driven out by another nomadic tribe called Hiung-nu. In the course of their wanderings the Yuch-Chi came into conflict with another smaller horde known as the Wu-sun and defeated them in the basin of Ili river. Next they encountered the Sakas in the valley of the river Jaxartes and occupied their territory. But within a short time they were again defeated by the Wu-sun tribe and were forced to resume their march. They occupied the valley of the Oxus and gradually the Yuch-Chi extended their sway over Bactria and Sogdiana. In course of time they lost their nomadic habits and led a settled life. The Yuch-Chi were divided into five branches of which the Kushans became the most powerful and prominent.

In the first century A.D. Kadphises I, the chief of the Kushan branch of the horde established himself as the undisputed monarch of the Yuch-Chi

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* *India, A Short Cultural History,*

nation. He defeated the Parthians and conquered Kabul and part of Gandhara. He became master of a vast empire extending from the frontiers of Persia to the Indus. According to many, Kadphises I was a Buddhist. He was succeeded by his son, Vima or Kadphises II who conquered a large part of the interior of India probably as far as Benares and placed it under a military viceroy. It appears from his coins that he was a worshipper of Siva.

Kadphises I

Kadphises II

Kanishka

Kanishka, successor of Kadphises II, was undoubtedly the greatest of the Kushan kings. But the historians are not unanimous regarding the date of his accession to the throne. According to Dr. Fleet, Cunningham, Dowson, Frange and Kennedy, Kanishka reigned before the Kadphises kings and founded the Vikrama era commencing in 58 B.C. But this view cannot be accepted in view of the fact that Kanishka ruled definitely over Gandhara. But according to the Chinese chronicles, Gandhara was not under the Kushan rule in the second half of the first century B.C. Moreover, it is found that there is the influence of Roman coins on Kanishka's coins issued in the first century A.D. Hence it leads us to believe that Kanishka was the successor of the Kadphises kings, though nothing is known about them. The views of Marshall, Dr. Smith and other scholars were that the rule of Kanishka began about 125 A.D. and ended in the second half of the second century A.D. But this view also cannot be accepted, because Kanishka himself introduced an era. As all these arguments are unsatisfactory, most of the historians are inclined to accept the view of Fergusson, Thomas, R. D. Banerjee, Rapson and other modern scholars who think that Kanishka was the founder of the Saka era and consequently he ascended the throne in 78 A.D. The latter historians' view finds support in the coins of Kanishka.

Different views about Kanishka's date

Conquest of Kanishka

Kanishka was a great conqueror and his military success made him master of a vast empire. Dur-

ing the early years of his reign he conquered Kashmir and annexed the Indus Valley. Tibetan and Chinese writers mention his conflicts with the rulers of Saketa (Oudh) and Pataliputra. His coins and inscriptions prove that he completed the conquests of Upper India and ruled over a wide realm which extended from Kapisa, Gandhara and Kashmir to Benares. His coins have been found in considerable quantities as far east as Ghazipur and Gorakhpur. Epigraphic records give us contemporary notices of him not only from Peshawar and the Yusufzai country, but also from Rawalpindi, Bahawalpur, Mathura, Sravasti and Sarnath. The eastern provinces of his empire were governed by governors bearing titles like 'Maha-kshatrapa' and 'Kshatrapa', while the northern provinces by military governors. His capital was Purushapura or Peshawar which he adorned with many buildings.

Conquest of Kashmir

After making himself master of Indo-Pakistan, Kanishka turned to the west and defeated the Parthians. Next he came into conflict with the Chinese emperor. As a result of his war with the Chinese, Kashgar, Khotan and Yarkand were captured. Hiuen Tsang, a Chinese pilgrim speaks of a Chinese Prince detained at the court of Kanishka. But during the reign of the emperor Ho-ti, the Chinese tried to recover their influence in Central Asia and under the generalship of Pan-Chao they defeated Kanishka. In spite of his repeated campaigns his efforts against the Chinese were not successful. In his old age he led an army against China but died while crossing the mountains between the Pamir Plateau and Khotan.

Defeat of the Parthians

War with China

Religion of Kanishka

It is very difficult to ascertain the religious beliefs of Kanishka as his earlier coins bear the figures of Greek, Zoroastrian, and Hindu gods. The images of Buddha are also found on some of them. According to the Peshawar inscriptions, Kanishka was really a Buddhist. He became a Buddhist at the beginning of his reign and this is proved by numismatic and epigraphic evidence.

Like Asoka, Kanishka did a lot for the spread of Buddhism. Many old monasteries were repaired and many new ones were also built. It is learnt from the accounts of al-Beruni and Hiuen-Tsang that he erected a great *Chaitya* at Peshawar. Missionaries were also sent to foreign countries. It was with the help of those missionaries that Buddhism spread to China, Japan, Tibet and Central Asia. In order to settle disputed questions of Buddhist faith and practice Kanishka called the Fourth Buddhist Council which was attended by about 500 monks including Vasumitra, Asvaghosha, Nagarjuna and Parasvwa. The Council met at Jalandhar and prepared authoritative commentaries of the Buddhist scriptures. Though a patron of Buddhism, he showed respect to the Greek, Sumerian, Zoroastrian, Mithraic and Hindu gods worshipped in different provinces of his far-flung empire.

Patronage of Buddhism

Kanishka's patronage of Buddhism is significant for three reasons in the history of Indo-Pakistan. Firstly, it shows how foreign princes had submitted to the glamour of Indian religions. Kanishka was not alone in this respect. He was preceded by Greeks like Menander and Heliodoros. Secondly, his reign witnessed the growth of the Mahayana school of Buddhism which symbolised the union of Buddhism with non-Indian elements. Thirdly, the Gandhara school of art flourished during the reign of Kanishka. Buddhist deities were represented in figures after Hellenic models which were well-known in Gandhara.

Significance of Kanishka's patronage of Buddhism

Patron of art and literature

Kanishka was a great patron of art and learning. He built many monasteries and stupas. His Greek engineer named Agesilaos built a great *Chaitya* or monastery at Peshawar which excited the admiration of Chinese and Muslim travellers in later times. The headless statue of Kanishka which has been found at Mathura bears testimony to the artistic sense of that age. Mathura became a great centre of arts, and Kanishka beautified it with a large nnmber of fine buildings. He founded a city

Architecture

near Taxila and it is probably that the town in Kanishkapura in Kashmir was built by him. It was during his reign that the Gandhara school of art made great progress. The Gandhara art is so called, because most of its specimens have been found in the Gandhara region of Indo-Pakistatn as a result of contact with the Greek countries. Sometimes it is also called Graeco-Buddhist art, 'because the forms of Greek art were applied to Buddhist subjects'. Previously the presence of the Buddha was indicated by various symbols such as footmarks, a wheel or an umbrella. But during the Kushan period the sculptors adopted the novel method of representing the Buddha as a human being and curved stone image of him surrounded by the Bodhisattvas.

The Gandhara art

The reign of Kanishka was also famous for intellectual and cultural development. It witnessed the production of large quantities of Sanskrit literature, both religious and secular. His court was graced by a galaxy of brilliant scholars like Asvaghosha, Charaka, Nagarjuna and others who "played a leading part in the religious, literary, scientific and artistic activities of the reign." Asvaghosha was the greatest literary figure of his court. In richness and variety his works have been compared to those of Milton, Goethe, Kant and Voltaire. Ashvaghosha was a poet, philosopher, playwright and musician. He was the author of the *Buddhacharita* and *Sutralankar* which speak of his scholarship and genius. Nagarjuna, the great exponent of the Mahayana School, was another great figure of the court of Kanishka. Hiuen-Tsang called him "one of the four lights of the world." His philosophical treatises have greatly enriched Buddhist literature. Vasumitra was another great figure of his court. He presided over the deliberations of the Fourth Buddhist Council. His *Mahavibhasha Sastra* was a commentary on the Tripitika of the Buddhists. It has been called an Encyclopaedia of Buddhism. Charaka, the greatest authority on the Ayurvedic system of medicine was another important figure of Kanishka's court. He was the author of the book called *Susruta* on medicine. In short, this period

Intellectual development

Asvaghosha

Nagarjuna

Vasumitra

Charaka

formed a glorious chapter in the history of ancient Indo-Pakistan in the field of art and literature.

An Estimate of Kanishka

Kanishka was unquestionably one of the greatest rulers of ancient Indo-Pakistan. He was a great conqueror, a successful ruler and a great patron of art and literature. There was no Indian ruler who, like Kanishka, had ruled over a vast empire in Central Asia. He was the only Indo-Asiatic king whose territories extended beyond the Pamirs. Kanishka was not only a great conqueror, but also a great administrator. It may be mentioned here that there was not a single revolt during his reign. He patronised learning and the learned. His court was adorned by a number of great scholars.

Achievements of Kanishka

An attempt has been made to compare Kanishka with Asoka. Both of them were cruel and bloodthirsty before they came to the throne and before their conversion to Buddhism. Both of them were completely changed under the influence of Buddhism. Asoka called the Buddhist Council at Pataliputra, while Kanishka convened the Buddhist Council in Kashmir. Both of them devoted themselves to the spread of Buddhism. While Asoka spread Buddhism in Indo-Pakistan, Ceylon and the neighbouring countries, Kanishka spread the same to Tibet, China and Japan. What was left incompleted by Asoka, was completed by Kanishka. This is why Kanishka is called the second Asoka. But the comparison between the two is not happy. Asoka belonged to the Hinayana School, but Kanishka belonged to the Mahayana School. Kanishka did not adopt the principle of non-violence in his life and he continued to fight to the end of his life. In personality Asoka is greater than Kanishka. Hence to call Kanishka a second Asoka is to under-estimate the greatness of Asoka "who was not only a king but also a *Rishi*."

Comparison between Kanishka and Asoka

Successors of Kanishka

The immediate successor of Kanishka was Vasishka whose inscriptions prove that he had control over Mathura and Eastern Malwa. He was

succeeded by Huvishka. He was a patron of Buddhism and built a splendid monastery at Mathura. The last great king of Kanishka's time was Vasudeva who gradually lost his hold over the north-western portion of the empire. He was a Saiva.

Fall of the Kushans

According to Dr. Smith, the dissolution of the Kushan empire in India was connected in some way with the rise of the Sassanian power in 226 A.D. However, the Kushan empire stood firm in the Kabul valley until the fifth century, when the Huns overran the whole area.

Indo-Pakistan civilization of the Post-Maurya period

The period after the fall of the Mauryas up to the rise of the Guptas is an eventful one in the history of Indo-Pakistan culture. A critical study of the coins and inscriptions of the Kushans helps us to form an idea about the culture of the post-Maurya period. The administrative system of the period under review had certain foreign as well as Indian elements in it. The Persian system of government by Satraps was the important foreign element that prevailed in many parts of Indo-Pakistan. There were some officials who had foreign names.

Post-Maurya period in the history of Indo-Pakistan culture

The name *Strategos* (Greek title) stood for military Governor and the name *Meridach* for District Magistrate. The officers, named *Amatyas* and *Mahasenapati*, were officers of Indian origin. The conception of monarchy underwent a great change. The exaltation of monarchy is evident from the fact that the reigning monarchs assumed the high-sounding semi-divine titles. "While a great ruler like Asoka remained content with the simple title of Raja, rulers who controlled territories much smaller than those of the Maurya Emperor assumed titles like *Chakdavartin.* While Asoka called himself mere *Devanapiya*, many foreign rulers, probably following the Chinese model, claimed the majesty of *Devaputra.*" The Kushan rulers took up such titles as *Mahisvara*, *Devaputra*, *Khaiser* and *Shahi-Shahanushahi.* They also introduced the Roman practice of defying ancestral kings. The Mathura inscription of Huvishka refers to a shrine where the statue "the grand-father of Kanishka"

was installed. There was a system of two kings ruling at the same time during the Kushan period. This system of joint rule of two kings was of Graeco-Roman origin.

The post-Maurya period was one of great religious activity. It witnessed the spread of Buddhism to a great extent. The catholicity and universal appeal of Buddhism attracted the foreign invaders to this religion. It is said that Indo-Pakistan captivated her captors and many of the foreign rulers and statesmen accepted Indian faiths. Many of the rulers became active patrons of Buddhism. Menander, the greatest of the Indo-Greek kings, became a Buddhist and Kanishka, the greatest of the Kushan kings, not only accepted Buddhism but also did much to spread it to different countries. A new form of Buddhism, known as the Mahayana, was developed by sages and philosophers like Nagarjuna. But religious activity was not confined to Buddhism. It also saw a remarkable progress of the theistic movements within the fold of orthodox Hinduism. "The cult of Siva made converts of some of the greatest of the Kushan kings, while the rival cult of Bhagavatas (later called Vaishnavas) found favour with Greek statesmen like Heliodoros, ambassador of a king of Taxila".

Religious activity

Spread of Buddhism

Rise of Saivaism and Vaishnavism

The period not only witnessed the religious activity but also saw the progress of literature, philosophy, science and art and architecture. The Buddhacharita of Asvaghosha was written during this period. The *Mahabhashaya* of Patanjali, the *Brihatkatha* of Gunadhya, the medical works of Charaka and probably of Susruta, the philosophical treatise of Nagarjuna, the earliest version of the famous "questions of Menander" entitled *Milanda Panho*, the astronomical work of Garga and the plays of Bhasa are the greatest wealth of this period. According to some historians, the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya, the *Kamasurta* of Batsayana and the compilations of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata in the present form are the contributions of this age. The extent code of Manu has also been assigned to this age. Like the Indian rulers, the Scythian princes were patrons of Sanskrit learning.

Development of literature and science

Art and architecture made a great stride during this period. The artistic products of the first two centuries are mostly connected with Buddhism, the most popular religion of Indo-Pakistan. There were four schools of sculpture, namely, Mathura School, Saranath School, Amaravati School and Gandhara School, and each school had its own peculiarities of style and technique. The Chaitya Hall at Karle, the famous gateway of the great Stupa at Sanchi in the State of Bhopal, the stone railings at Bharhut in Central India and at Amaravati in the Guntur district in the Madras Presidency are among the most interesting specimens of the art of the age. The sculptures and reliefs decorating these structures show much artistic skill. The Gandhara School of art flourished in the North-West Frontier of Indo-Pakistan. This region was ruled over by a number of Greek princes for 300 years and was a meeting ground of the East and the West. The sculptures found in this region resemble in style the Graeco-Roman work of the early centuries of the Christian era. The Gandhara art, though Hellenistic in form and execution, was certainly Indian in content and subject-matter. But its influence on Indian art was not very great. The Gandhara art failed to penetrate deeply into the interior and had no share in the later development of Indian art. "But outside India the Gandhara School achieved a grand sucecss by becoming the parent of the Buddhist art of Eastern or Chinese Turkistan, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan."

Architecture and sculpture

Gandhara School of Art

The post-Maurya period was also one of great maritime activity. Indo-Pakistan carried on a good deal of foreign trade with the Roman and Chinese empires. It is said that a Roman author complains that every year Indo-Pakistan took from Italy large sums of money in return for spices, perfumes and ornaments. The *Milanda Panho* alludes of traffic with China by sea, and in the Arthasastra it is found that Chinese silk was in great demand in Indo-Pakistan. "The conquest of the Kushan kings opened up the path of commerce between China, Roman empire and India" and they maintained an active

Maritime activity

trade connection with Western Asia. The finest muslin of the age was produced in lower Bengal and found customers in the Roman empire. The economic life of the people was regulated to a great extent by the trade and craft guilds.

Trade with China and Rome

The maritime actvity of Indo-Pakistan during the post-Maurya period 'was displayed in the establishment of colonies in the neighbouring countries and islands.' A Hindu kingdom was established in Champa, and Cambodia and Java were colonised as early as the first or second century A.D. It is also pointed out that the islands of Sumatra, Bali and Borneo were occupied by Indo-Pakistani adventurers. As a result of these conquests, Indian art, literature and religion spread to these colonies.

Colonisation of Champa, Cambodia and Java

CHAPTER VIII

THE GUPTA EMPIRE

A new Era

On the fall of Maurya Empire northern Indo-Pakistan had no paramount power for about five centuries. The country had to pass through confusion and disturbance and many independent states sprang up. But with the rise of the Gupta dynasty in the beginning of the fourth century A.D. Indo-Pakistan entered upon a new era of peace and progress. The founders of this new era were the Guptas. They freed the country from foreign domination and unified almost the whole of northern India under their imperial sceptre. Their attainment in the field of culture and civilization was unrivalled in the history of ancient Indo-Pakistan.

A brilliant period of ancient Indo-Pak history

Rise of the Gupta

No detail is known about the origin of the Gupta dynasty. It appears from the inscriptions that in ancient times there was the existence of the Gupta dynasty in northern and southern Indo-Pakistan. There were many "Guptas" among the officials of the Satavahana kings. But we do not know about the relation between the Guptas and imperial Guptas of northern India. According to the Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta, Sri Gupta was the founder of the Gupta dynasty. He took the title, *Maharaja*. He was succeeded by his son, Ghatotkacha. Ghatotkacha also took the title, *Maharaja*. It is difficult to say whether these Guptas were independent chiefs or feudatories, for the title 'Maharaja' was applied to both petty independent chiefs and feudatories. But it is better to regard them as the independent rulers of small kingdoms.

Sri Gupta

Ghatotkacha

Chandragupta I

Chandragupta I succeeded his father, Ghatotkacha in 320 A.D. He was a powerful king and assumed the title of *Maharajadhiraja* or king of kings. Generally he is called the founder of the Gupta empire. He strengthened his position by marrying a Lichchavi princess named Kumaradevi. As a result of this marriage, the two kingdoms (Kingdom of Gupta and Kingdom of Lichchavi) were amalgamated. He extended his dominions along the Ganges Valley as far as Allahabad and Oudh. In order to signalise the crowning event of his reign Chandragupta founded the Gupta era in 320 A.D. He died after a short reign nominating his son Samudragupta as his successor.

Chandragupta's marriage with the Lichchavi princess

Foundation of Gupta era

Samudragupta

On the death of Chandragupta I his worthy son, Samudragupta ascended the throne of Magdha. He was the greatest king of the Gupta dynasty.

We have several sources of information for the history of Samudragupta. The most important sources of information are his inscriptions and coins. Of the inscriptions, only four have so far been discovered. These are: (1) Allahabad Pillar Inscription, (2) the Eran Stone Inscription, (3) the Nalanda Copper Plate Inscription and (4) the Gaya Copper Plate Inscription. Of all the inscriptions the Allahabad Pillar Inscription is the most important, and it forms the chief source of information for the reign of Samudragupta. The coins of Samudragupta give us a lot of useful information about him. There are as many as eight different types of coins of Samudragupta, and all of them are made of gold. The various types are known as standard type, archer type, tiger type, asvamedh type, battle-axe type, etc.

Sources of information

His conquests

Samudragupta was a great conqueror and perhaps the greatest of the ancient Indo-Pakistan. In view of his conquests Dr. Smith has given him the title of the Indian Napoleon. Like Mahapadma-

nanda and Chandragupta Maurya, he wanted the political unification of Indo-Pakistan. With this end in view he took the role of a *Digvijayi.* The Allahabad Pillar Inscription gives a detailed account of his conquests.

Conquest of Northern India

Samudragupta first led campaigns against the rulers of Northern India and after defeating them annexed their states to his empire. Among the kings of Aryavatra whom he exterminated, only ten names are mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. They are: (1) The Kota Prince (who ruled in the region of the East-Punjab and Delhi), (2) Achyuta (modern Ramnagar in Bereilly district), (3) Nagasena (Nagaraj of Padmabati), (4) Ganapati Naga (Nagaraj of Mathura), (5) Nagadatta (Nagaraj), (6) Nandi (nothing is known about his territory), (7) Mattila (ruler of Bulandshar in United Province), (8) Rudradeva, (9) Balavarman and (10) Chandra Varman (perhaps ruler of Bankura district in West Bengal). These kings have been identified by various scholars.

Conquest of the Atavika kingdoms

After the conquest of northern India Samudragupta turned his attention towards the 'forest countries' or 'Atavika kingdoms'. According to the Eran Inscription, he completed the conquest by subjugating the kings of all the Atavika kingdoms. These kingdoms included Ghazipur and the forest countries connected with the Jabbalpur territory.

His conquest in south India

Samudragupta's most daring exploit was an expedition to Southern India where he defeated as many as twelve kings. The kings who felt the weight of his arms are: (1) Mahendra of Kosala, (2) Vyaghraraja of Mahakantar, (3) Mantaraja of Korala, (4) Mahendragiri of Pistapura, (5) Svamidatta of Kottura, (6) Daman of Erandapala, (7) Vishnu Gopa of Kanchi, (8) Ugrasena of Palaka, (9) Nilaraja of Avaumkta, (10) Hastivarman of Vengi, (11) Kavura of Devrashtra and (12) Dhananjaya of Kushthalpura. Samudragupta did not annex the territories of these potentates, but only exacted a temporary submission in the manner of a righteous conqueror. He probably realised the difficulty of administering these states from a far off capital and

so he adopted this liberal policy towards the vanquished kings of the south.

The rulers of the frontier states both in the east and the west became so much terrified with the conquest of Samudragupta that they submitted to him "by giving all kinds of taxes, obeying his orders and tendering homage." The states in the east were the kingdoms of Samatata (in Eastern Bengali), Kamrupa (in Assam), Davaka, Kantripura and Nepal. The states in the west were not kingdoms but republics of peoples called the Malavas, Arjunayananas, Yaudheyas, Modrikas, Abhiras, Prarjunas, Sanakanikas, Kakas and the Kharaparikas. After the completion of his conquests Samudragupta performed the *Asvamedha* (horse-sacrifice).

Submission of the frontier states

Extent of his empire

The empire of Samudragupta, according to Dr. R.C. Majumdar, 'comprised nearly the whole of Northern India, with the exception of Kashmir, Western Punjab, Western Rajputana, Sindh and Gujrat with the highlands of Chhatisgarh and Orissa and a long stretch of territory along the eastern coast extending as far south as Chingleput and probably even further.' In the opinion of Dr. R.K. Mokerjee, Samudragupta was the master of a wide empire extending in the east to Brahmanputra, in the south to the Narmada and in the north to the Himalayas and Kashmir.

His empire included the most of Upper India

His foreign relations

The military success of Samudragupta had exercised such influence on the contemporary rulers of North-West India, as to make Malwa and Kathiawar establish diplomatic relations with him. The Kushan king of the north-west region of India (Daivaputra Shahi) recognised the imperial power by sending him rich presents. It is also learnt from the Buddhist sources that king Meghavarman of Ceylon sent a mission with costly presents to Samudragupta and obtained his permission to build a monastery at Gaya for the use of the Buddhist monks.

Diplomatic relations with the Kushan king and the ruler of Ceylon

An Estimate of Samudragupta

Samudragupta was undoubtedly one of the greatest rulers in the history of ancient Indo-Pakistan. His father was a ruler of a small kingdom extending from Magadha to Oudh. But Samudragupta, by his own efforts and ability, made this small kingdom into a vast empire. His conquests of almost the whole of Northern India and his victorious progress through the Deccan bear ample testimony to his military prowess and genius. Samudragupta's empire extended from the Himalayas to the Normada and from the Brahmaputra to the Chambal. In view of his conquests Dr. Smith's statement of Samudragupta as the Indian Napoleon is most appropriate. The remark of Dr. R.K. Mokerjee is that while Asoka stands for peace and non-violence, Samudragupta stands for war and aggression. The one had hatred for conquests and the other had a passion for them. He was fired by the ideal of the Chakravarti king. "A hero of hundred fights, he was able to make all parts of India acknowledge his paramount sovereignty by a victorious march through them." To his gifts as a conqueror Samudragupta added a rare sense of reality and statemanship. He had the vision of an all India empire, and for this he established an imperial authority strong enough to ensure internal peace of India by checking the disruptive tendencies of the minor states. He did not bring all the outlying kingdoms under his direct control, but tried to win them over by his policy of conciliation. He realised the difficulty of maintaining effective control over the distant regions in the south from his remote base in the north-east of India, and so he did not annex them to his empire. He established diplomatic relations with the foreign powers and kept up commercial and cultural contacts with the colonies in the Indian Ocean.

Achievements of Samudragupta

As a conqueror

As a statesman

Samudragupta was not only great in the field of conquests but also famous in the arts of peace. He established an efficient administration which gave peace and order to the people. A great conqueror, a statesman, a ruler, Samudragupta was also a scholar, poet and musician. The Allahabad Inscription

describes him as a *Kaviraja* and composer of a large amount of poetry. It is said that Samudragupta "put to shame the preceptor of the Lord of gods and Tamburu and Narada and others by his sharp and polished intellect and choral skill and musical accomplishments." He is shown on his coins as playing in a lute. He was well-versed in the *Shastras*.

Personal accomplishments of Samudragupta

Samudragupta was not only a learned man, but he also took delight in the society of the learned. He was very kind towards his people. He was ready to forgive those who submitted before him. He restored the wealth of those rulers whom he had conquered. He was the very incarnation of kindness to the poor, the helpless and the afflicted and bestowed upon them 'hundreds of thousands of cows." Himself a Brahmanical Hindu with special devotion to Vishnu, he was tolerant to other faiths. He showed favour to Vasubandhu, a celebrated Buddhist author, and allowed the king of Ceylon to build a monastery at Gaya.

His generosity

His toleration

Samudragupta died in 375 A.D. after a long reign of about 45 years.

Chandragupta II (375—415 A.D.)

On the death of Samudragupta, his son Chandragupta ascended the throne about the year 375 A.D. He was probably selected out of many sons by his father as best fitted to succeed him. After his accession to the throne Chandragupta took the title of *Vikramaditya*.

According to some scholars, Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Ramgupta. This view rests on the latest literary evidence, but it finds no support in Gupta inscriptions and coins.

There are several sources of information for the reign of Chandragupta II. Inscriptions and coins of his reign are the chief sources of information about him. Five or six inscriptions have so far been found. These are: (1) The Mathura Pillars Inscriptions of the year 61, (2) the Udaygiri Cave Inscription of the year 82, (3) the Undated Udaygiri Cave Inscriptions, (4) the Godhera Stone Inscriptions, (5)

Sources of information

the Sanchi Stone Inscription, and Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscriptions of king Chandra. Besides silver and copper coins, nine different types of coin have been found. His coins show his annexation of the Saka territory and his fondness for high-sounding titles. The account of Fa-hien, a Chinese traveller is another important source of information. It supplies us with information about the administrative, social and religious conditons of his reign.

Matrimonial alliances

Chandragupta II inherited a vast empire. He strengthened it by matrimonial alliances with the Nagas and the Vakatakas. He married a Naga princess and gave one of his daughters to Rudrasena II, the Vakataka king of the Deccan. This marriage alliance with the Vakataka monarch was probably of great use in his campaign against the Sakas of Western India, for "the Vakataka king occupied a geographical position in which he could be of much service or disservice to the northern invader of the dominions of the Saka Satraps of Gujrat and Surashtras." Perhaps he also established marriage connections with the Kadamba ruler of Kanares country.

His conquests

The marriage alliance of Chandragupta II was a diplomatic move in the field of conquest in Western Indo-Pakistan. After strengthening his position by this alliance he conquered Malwa and Surashtra or Kathiawar and annexed them to his empire. The extinction of foreign domination in Indo-Pakistan by defeating the Saka Satraps was the greatest military achievement of Chandragupta II. The conquest of Malwa and Surashtra is mentioned in his Udaygiri and Sanchi inscriptions. As a result of this conquest, the domination of the foreigners came to an end and the fame and glory of Chandragupta II spread far and wide. Secondly, it not only brought two provinces of exceptional wealth and fertility to the Gupta Empire, but its territory also extended from the Bay of Bengal in the east to the Arabian Sea in the west. Lastly, it opened up "to the paramount power, free access to the ports of the western

Importance of the conquest of Malwa and Surashtra

coast and thus placed Chandragupta II in direct touch with the sea-borne commerce with Europe through Egypt and brought his court and subjects under the influence of the European ideas which travelled with the goods of the Alexanderian merchants."

It is stated that Chandragupta II conquered Bahlikas which has been identified with Balka or Bactria. But we have got no detailed information about this campaign. It was during the reign of Chandragupta II that the Chinese traveller Fa-hein came to Indo-Pakistan and left an account of the condition of the country in those days.

Vikramaditya of the legends

Some of the coins of Chandragupta bear the legend Vikramaditya and he is apparently described as, "the lord of Patali and Ujjaini, the best of towns," in several inscriptions of Karnata in South Indo-Pakistan. These facts support his identification with the traditional Vikramaditya Sakari (destroyer of the Sakas) of Ujjayini whose court was adorned by nine "gems" including Kalidas. It is, however, doubtful if all the nine "gems" flourished about the same time. But there is evidence to show that at least Kalidas, the greatest of the "gems", was the contemporary of Chandragupta II and enjoyed his patronage. In short, Chandragupta II satisfies in a greater degree the requisite tests of legendary hero than other monarchs whom some scholars identify with the legendary hero, Vikramaditya.

Chandragupta II is identified with the legendary hero

Account of Fa-hein

Fa-hein came to Indo-Pakistan during the reign of Chandragupta II (399 A.D.). His main object of visiting Indo-Pakistan was to procure an authentic text of the *Vinaya-pitaka* or the Buddhist Book on monastic discipline. Besides, he had a desire to visit personally the Buddhist shrines and to know the condition of the Buddhist in Indo-Pakistan.

Fa-hien's object of visiting Indo-Pakistan

The route of Fa-hein lay across the Gobi desert and the mountainous regions of Khotan, the Pamirs,

Swat and Gandhara. In Indo-Pakistan he visited Peshawar, Mathura, Qanauj, Sravasti, Benares, Kapilavastu, Kusinagar, Vaisali, Pataliputra and some other places. He spent three years at Pataliputra and two years at Tamralipti (modern Tamluk in West Bengal). He went back by the sea route, sailing from Tamralipti and visiting Ceylon and Java on the way. He has left an account of his travels and experiences which throws a flood of light on the state of this country.

His routes to his country and back

Fa-hein does not mention the name of Chandragupta II, but he gives a vivid and pleasing picture of the country. He spent three years in Pataliputra and studied Sanskrit there. According to Fa-hein, Pataliputra was then a flourishing city with many beautiful buildings. The people were rich and prosperous, and charitable institutions were numerous. There was an excellent hospital at Pataliputra endowed by benevolent citizens. It supplied free food and medicine to the deserving patients. Fa-hein found two Buddhist monasteries in the city which attracted students from far and near : He was so deeply impressed by the massive stone-work of Asoka's palace and halls that the structure seemed to him the work of spirits.

Pataliputra

According to Fa-hein, Buddhism was in a flourishing condition, particularly along the course of the Jamuna. He says that everywhere in the country the kings were firm believers of Buddhism and they built "Viharas" for the priests in different places after the death of Buddha. He found a Buddhist Stupa at Peshawar and two monasteries at Qanauj fiilled with the students of *Hinayana* school. But in the capital the Mahayanas and the Hinayanas lived side by side. He marked a Buddhist procession with the image of Buddha. The humane teachings of Buddhism influenced the lives of all classes of people. All these led him to believe that Buddhism was still in a flourishing state. But he did not notice that Buddhism was already on the road to decay and the Brahmanical faith was predominant in the land.

Religious condition

The people were divided into several castes in society. Fa-hien does not make any explict men-

tion of their classes. But he has indicated the names of the Brahmans, the Vaishyas, the Chandalas and the body-guards of the king. From these it is clear that in spite of the Brahmanical influence the people were divided into four classes. As regards the system of education, Fa-hien remarks that the subjects of study were not written into books. Instructions were received directly from the teachers. About the food and drinks of the people the Chinese traveller says that throughout the whole country the people did not kill any living creatures, nor drank intoxicating liquor, nor ate onions or garlic. The inhabitants with the sole exception of the Chandalas were vegetarians and they generally observed the Buddhist rule of conduct. But this statement of Fa-hein is not correct, as he, being a Buddhist, moved only in the Buddhist circles. It is learnt from the works of Kalidas that meat was one of the main articles of food during the Gupta period.

Social condition

About the economic condition Fa-hien says, "The inhabitants (of Pataliputra) are rich and prosperous and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness." They built hospitals and rest houses for travellers by the side of roads. The benevolent citizens had established an excellent hospital at Pataliputra from where free food and medicine were supplied to the deserving patients. It appears that the country was economically prosperous and the people lived in peace and happiness. Trade and commerce flourished and Tamralipti in Bengal was an important sea-port in that age.

Economic condition

Fa-hien speaks much of the administrative system of the Guptas. There were peace and order throughout the country. The government was enlightened and efficient. The people were not troubled by harsh laws. "They have not to register their house-holds, or attend to any magistrates and their rules." There was no severity of the criminal law. "Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances of each case. Even in case of repeated attempts at rebellion, they only have their right hands cut off." There was no

Administrative system of Chandragupta II

necessity of securing passports for moving in the country from one place to another. The revenue was mainly derived from crown lands. The royal officers had fixed salaries. On the whole, as depicted by Fa-hien, the empire of Chandragupta II was well-governed.

An Estimate of Chandragupta II

Achievements of Chandragupta II

The legendary hero Chandragupta II was one of the greatest kings of the Gupta dynasty. He was the worthy son of a worthy father, and he completed what had been started by his father. He strengthened his position by matrimonial alliance with the Vakatakas, and assimilated into the organisation of the empire not only the tribal states and kingdoms on the border but also the territories ruled by the Sakas and Kushans. In the opinion of Dr. R. D. Banerjee Chandragupta II raised the kingdom left by his father to the status of an empire. He became the virtual master of Northern Indo-Pakistan by destroying the Scythians of the Punjab and Western Indo-Pakistan.

As a conqueror

As a ruler

Chandragupta II was a capable ruler. It was in his reign that the Gupta system of administration was well-established. Dr. Smith says, "Probably India has never been governed better, after the oriental manner, than it was during the reign of (Chandragupta II) Vikramaditya." The criminal law was mild and the people were happy and prosperous under his rule. According to Dr. Smith, he was a strong and vigorous ruler well-qualified to govern and augment an extensive empire.

Patron of learning

Chandragupta II was a liberal patron of arts and literature. His patronage attracted men of great talents to his court. Kalidas, the Shakespeare of India was his court poet. Although Chandragupta II himself was a worshipper of Vishnu, he was tolerant to all and did not hesitate to appoint men of other sects to high offices in the state.

Kumargupta I Mahendraditya (413-455 A.D.)

Chandragupta II was succeeded by his son, Kumargupta I in 413 A.D. Kumargupta assumed the

title of *Mahendraditya.* But very little is known about his political career. But it appears from the coins and inscriptions found during this period that the strength and prestige of the Gupta empire remained unshaken in his reign. Like his grandfather, Samudragupta, he performed the horse-sacrifice. Towards the end of his reign, his empire was seriously threatened by the invasion of the Pushyamitras, a tribe living probably in the Narmada Valley. But the crown prince, Skandagupta saved the empire from the impending danger by repulsing the invaders. Kumargupta I died in the midst of these trouble. His age was famous for the development of art and literature.

Invasion of the Pushyamitras

Skandagupta Vikramaditya (455-467 A.D.)

Skandagupta was the last great ruler of the Gupta dynasty. On his accession to the throne after the death of his father, he had to face an enemy more terrible than the Pushyamitras. A ferocious people called the Huns poured into Central and Western Indo-Pakistan. He successfully repelled the invaders and thereby maintained the integrity of his ancestral empire. Like his predecessors, Skandagupta was tolerant to other faiths. With his death the glory of the Gupta Empire passed away, although his successors continued to rule over restricted areas.

War with the Huns

The Later Guptas

Skandagupta was followed one after another by his immediate successors, Purugupta, Narasinhagupta Baladitya and Kumargupta II who had short reigns. Then came Buddhagupta who ruled from Bengal to Malwa for a period of about 18 years. On his death the Huns renewed their invasions and established their power in the Punjab and Central Indo-Pakistan. After Baladitya who has been identified with Bhanugupta, nothing is known about the Gupta dynasty.

Buddhagupta

Causes of the fall of the Gupta Empire

The Gupta Empire which was built up by Samudragupta and Chandragupta II began to decline towards the end of the 5th century and its disinteg-

ration was complete by the middle of the 6th century A.D. The decline and fall of the Gupta Empire can be attributed to the following causes.

Foreign invasions

The foreign invasions played an important part in bringing about the downfall of the Gupta Empire. During the reign of Kumargupta the stability of the Gupta Empire was seriously threatened by the Pushyamitras. Although the danger was averted by Skandagupta, a much more danger came in the person of the Huns who invaded the central and western parts of the empire. Skandagupta, son and successor of Kumargupta defeated the Huns and checked their advance for a time, but their repeated attacks must have exhausted the resources of the Gupta Empire. After the death of Skandagupta the later Guptas had not the ability to save the empire and the Huns under their leaders Tormana and Mihirakula renewed their invasion in the reigns of Bhanugupta and Narasinhagupta and wrested the western provinces of the empire from the Guptas.

(1) Invasion of the Pushyamitras

(2) Invasion of the Huns

While the foreign invasions were weakening the stability of the empire, the insubordination and rebellions of the provincial governors hastened the disintegration of the empire. The provincial governors were all powerful in their respective territories. They took the advantage of confusion and disorder that came over the empire as a result of weak succession and foreign invasions. Thus Bhatarka, a leader of the Maitraka clan, renounced the allegiance of the Guptas and established himself as an independent ruler in Surashtra (in Malwa). In 533 A.D. Yasodharman of Mandasor declared independence and set up pillars of victory in order to commemorate his conquests. The Maukharis in the United Provinces were successful in setting up an independent kingdom by the middle of the 6th century A.D. The rulers of Bengal also declared independence. As a result of these rebellions the stability of the Gupta Empire became weak.

Insubordination and rebellions of the Governors

The Gupta Empire was based on sheer force and it could be maintained by force alone. But the later Guptas had not the ability and power of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. They were quite unfit

to face the situation of the then empire. Moreover, there were frequent quarrels among the princes and the later Guptas "sometimes took opposite sides in the struggles and political convulsion of the period." The Buddhist leaning of some of the later Guptas might have weakened the military efficiency of the Guptas.

Week successors and dissensions among the royal princes

The Gupta Civilization

The Gupta period forms one of the brightest chapters in the history of ancient Indo-Pakistan. Some of the rulers of the Gupta dynasty were men of exceptional ability and the empire under them was well-governed and prosperous. The Guptas gave unity to a large portion of Indo-Pakistan for about two centuries, but when their political authority declined under the pressure of foreign invasions, they continued to rule the greater portions of Northern Indo-Pakistan. Under their patronage arts, science and literature made a gigantic stride and Hinduism received a new impetus. In consideration of all-round peace, prosperity and intellectual development the Gupta period may be rightly regarded as the Golden Age of ancient Indo-Pakistan.

Golden Age of ancient Indo-Pakistan

Age of Hindu Renaissance

The Gupta period witnessed a distinct revival of Brahmanism. With the exception of a few rulers of the Gupta dynasty almost all of them were the worshippers of Vishnu. But the revival of Brahmanism or Hinduism does not mean that Brahmanism had vanished from Indo-Pakistan during the period of the supremacy of Buddhism. It is true that from the time of Asoka, Buddhism had become the State religion and consequently Hinduism had been thrown into the background. However, after a temporary eclipse, it soon came into prominence and many of the foreigners like Heliodoros, the Saka Satraps of Ujjain and some of the Kushan kings, succumbed to the influence of Hinduism and embraced it. Again, Indian princes like Gautamiputra Satkarni kept up the tradition of Hindu religion by their reforming activities. The *Asvamedha* sacrifice

Theory of Hindu revivalism not acceptable

trict, U.P.), Bhitergaon (Cawnpur district, U.P.) and Sarnath. The Gupta sculpture was one of the fine arts Indo-Pakistan has ever produced. It exhibits pleasing characteristics. "The physical beauty of the figures, the gracious dignity of their attitude, and the refined restraint of the treatment are qualities not to be found elsewhere in Indian sculpture in the same degree." Patna, Mathura, Benares, Udaygiri and some places in Central Indo-Pakistan were the main centres of Gupta sculpture.

Sculpture

CHAPTER IX

HISTORY OF THE POST-GUPTA PERIOD

Political condition

On the fall of the Gupta Empire Northern Indo-Pakistan again became the scene of anarchy and disorder. It was at this period that a number of small independent dynasties arose in Northern Indo-Pakistan. Of these dynasties the names of the later Guptas of Magadha, the Maukharies of the United Provinces and the Gaudas of Bengal were the most prominent. The Gupta emperor, Skandagupta, repulsed the attack of the Huns for the time being, but the later Guptas could not check the advance of the Huns. The Huns firmly established their power in the Punjab and Central Indo-Pakistan.

Hun Invasions

The Huns were a nomadic tribe of Central Asia. They were ferocious and destructive. One part of the Huns went to the Volga and the other part to the Oxus. The Huns, who went to Europe, were called the Black Huns and those who came and settled in Persia and Indo-Pakistan were known as the White Huns or Ephthalites.

Huns inroads into Indo-Pakistan

Towards the close of the 5th century A.D. the Huns invaded the Indo-Pak sub-continent, but their attack was repulsed by Skandagupta. A few years later they renewed their attacks and their leader, Tormana conquered a large part of Western Indo-Pakistan. Even Eran was included in his dominion. The coins of Tormana prove that he ruled over the parts of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, the Punjab and Kashmir.

Tormana

Tormana was succeeded by his son Mihiragula (about 502 A.D.). According to Hiuen Tsang, Sialkot was his capital. He also states that he subdued all the neighbouring provinces without exception. He was a powerful king. An inscription of the year 530 A.D. shows that his sovereignty exten-

ded at least upto Gwalior. At first he took some interest in Buddhism, but later on he "issued an edict to destroy all the priests through the five Indies, to overthrow the law of Buddha and leave nothing remaining." He was a man of violent disposition and his persecution of Buddhism provoked a national rising against the Huns. A strong opposition was organised and Baladitya, a Gupta king of Magadha led an expedition against him. Mihiragula was defeated and taken prisoner. But afterwards Baladitya released him at the order of his mother. Mihiragula again began his career of oppression but was defeated by Yasodharman of Mandasor sometimes before 533 A.D. Mihiragula took shelter in Kashmir, where the king treated him very kindly. But he put the king to death and seized the throne. The Huns ruled in North-West India for some years. In course of time they were absorbed in Hindu society.

Effects of the Hun invasions

According to Dr. Smith, the Hun invasions constituted a turning point in the political and social history of Northern and Western India. Politically, they contributed to the fall of the Gupta Empire and the rise of numerous petty states on its ruins. Socially, "they marked a revolution culminating in the rise of the so-called Kshatriya Rajputs."

Yasodharman of Malwa

During the declining period of the Gupta Empire, a local ruler of the Guptas named Yasodharman founded an independent kingdom at Mandasor (in Malwa). It has been mentioned before that Yasodharman crushed the power of the Huns by defeating their leader, Mihiragula. Flushed with this success, he defeated the authority of his Gupta sovereign and set up pillars of victory to commemorate his conquests. An inscription of 533 A.D. shows that "homage was tendered to him by chieftains from the river Brahmaputra in the east to the Western Ocean (Arabian Sea), and from the Himalayas in the north to the Eastern Ghats in the south."

Later Guptas of Magadha

We come to know about the rulers of Magadha from the Aphsad (in Gaya district) inscription of Adityasena. All of these rulers except one had names ending in Gupta. They are known as the Later Guptas of Magadha. Some of them were also connected with Malwa. It is still uncertain whether they were in any way connected with the Imperial Guptas.

Krisnagupta was the founder of this new line of rulers. Most probably he came to power after 510 A.D. He was a great hero and won victories over his enemies. His two immediate successors were Harshagupta and Jivagupta I. Very little is known about them except that they fought against their external enemies. Kumargupta III was the fourth rulers of this line. According to the Aphsad Inscription, Kumargupta had to fight with the Gaudas (of Bengal), the Andhras and the Sulikas, probably the Chalukyas. But the Maukhari king, Isanavarman was his greatest enemy. At first the relation between the two was friendly. But the assumtion of the imperial title by Isanavarman led to the dispute and the Maukhari king was defeated at the hand of Kumargupta III.

After the death of Kumargupta III his son, Damodargupta, ascended the throne. He died fighting against the Maukharis. His son, Mahasenagupta was a clever ruler. He strengthened his position against the Maukharis by forming a matrimonial alliance with Prabhakaravardhana of Thaneswar. This policy was successful, for there was no trouble from the Maukharis during his reign. But he had to face a new trouble in the east. He inflicted a crushing defeat on Suthitavarman, the ruler of Kamrupa, when the latter assumed an aggressive attitude against him.

Devagupta II succeeded his father, Mahasenagupta. During his reign the relation between Magadha and Thaneswar was broken. He resented the matrimonial alliance which Prabhakaravardhana of Thaneswar had made with Grahavarman, king

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of the Maukharis. Devagupta, in order to punish the Maukharis who were the enemies of the Guptas, formed a counter-alliance with Sasanka, king of Gauda and made a joint-attack upon the Maukhari kingdom. Grahavarman was killed in the fight and Rajyasri was taken prisoner. Devagupta II was subsequently defeated by Rajyavardhana, the eldest son of Prabhakaravardhana.

Devagupta II

Adityasena, the successor of Madhavagupta, was the greatest of the Later Guptas. It appears from the inscriptions found at Aphsad, Shahpur and Deogir that he ruled over a wide kingdom. He assumed the title, *Maharajadhiraj* and performed the *Asvamedha* sacrifice. He gave his daughter in marriage to a Maukhari chief and maintained friendly relations with the Gaudas and the Maukharis. Jivagupta II was the last ruler of the Later Guptas. The fall of the Later Guptas was brought about by the expanding power of the Gaudas.

Adityasena, the greatest of the Later Guptas

The Maukharis

In the later half of the sixth century A.D. the Maukharis rose to power in the present United Provinces of Oudh. The Maukhari kings were often engaged in wars with the Later Guptas.

Harivarmana was the founder of the Maukharis who lived and ruled in the Gaya district. Isanavarmana was the greatest king of this dynasty. It was during his reign that the power and influence of Maukharis increased. He successfully fought against the Huns and saved the country from their invasions. The last ruler of this dynasty was Grahavarmana who married the daughter of Prabhakaravardhana, king of Thaneswar. But after the death of Prabhakaravardhana, the king of Gauda, Susanka with the help of Devagupta (king of Malwa), attacked his kingdom and killed him. With the death of Grahavarman the Maukhari dynasty came to an end.

Isanavarmana

Grahavarman

End of the Maukharis

The Maitrakas of Valabi

Towards the close of the 5th century A.D., a chief named Bhatarka belonging to the Maitraka

clan established a dynasty at Valabi (Surashtra). Valabi was the centre of the Budhist learning. One of its rulers named Siladitya conquered South Rajputana and was staunch supporter of Buddhism. In the 7th century Dhruvabhatta or Dhruvasena led an expedition against Harsha of Thaneswar, but he was defeated in the battle. The Valabi rule was probably overthrown by the Arabs of Sind in the later part of the 8th century.

The Gaudas

The Gaudas were one of those rulers who asserted their independence after the fall of the Imperial Guptas. Sasanka was the greatest of the Gauda kings. His capital was at Karnasuvarna in the Murshidabad district. The hostility between the Guptas and the Maukharis gave him a chance to extend his power to the west. He entered into an alliance with Devagupta, king of Malwa and the two rulers made a joint attack on Kanauj. Grahavarmana, the Maukhari king of Kanauj was defeated and killed and his wife, Rajyasri was taken prisoner.

Rajyavardhana's murder

In order to avenge the wrongs done to his sister and sister-in-law, Rajyavardhana, son and successor of Prabhakaravaman, defeated Devagupta, but he was treacherously killed by Sasanka. Harshavardhana, on his accession to the throne made an alliance with the ruler of Assam and attacked him to avenge the death of his brother. But as long as he lived, Harsha could not bring him under his control. It was after his death that Gauda was occupied by Harsha.

The House of Thaneswar

Origin of the Pushyabhuti dynasty

Towards the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century, the Pushyabhuti dynasty was established in a small district of the Eastern Punjab. Thaneswar was its capital. After the fall of the Gupta Empire a number of small kingdoms arose as a result of chaos and confusion in Northern Indo-Pakistan. The mutual dissensions among these petty States invited the Huns to renew their attacks

in the North. There was the necessity of a strong government for restoring peace and order in the country. Most probably these small kingdoms owed their origin to the disturbances created by the Huns. Some of the rulers of this dynasty gave ample proof of political sagacity and military genius
ample proof of political sagacity and military genius
ment was established in northern Indo-Pakistan.

Sources of information

We have several sources of information for the history of the 7th century A. D. The following are the chief sources of information for the history of the Pushyabhuti dynasty. Firstly, we get valuable information from the account of Hiuen Tsang, who visited Indo-Pakistan during this period. Secondly, official Chinese historical works help us to know many obscure matters. Thirdly, the *Harsha-charita* of Bana gives us a good deal of information about the life and career of Harshavardhana. Fouthly, the coins and inscriptions of this period enable us to know the political conditions of the country.

The founder of the Pushyabhuti dynasty was Pushyabhuti.

Pushyabhuti

He was probably a man of the Vaisya caste. Very little is known about him and his two immediate successors. Adityavardhana was the fourth ruler of this dynasty. He strengthened his power and position giving his sisters in marriage to

Adityavardhan

Mahasenagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty. But it was under his son and successor Prabhakaravardhan that the kingdom of Thaneswar rose to prominence towards the later part of the sixth century. Prabhakaravardhan waged successful wars

Prabhakaravardhan

against the Malavas, the Huns of the North Western Punjab and the Gurjaras of Rajputana and extended his influence in those regions. His power became so great that Grahavarman, the Maukharis

Expedition against the Huns

of Qanauj, courted his friendship by marrying his daughter. In 604 A. D., Prabhakaravardhan sent an expedition under the command of his son, Rajyavardhana against the Huns. But while Rajyavardhana was engaged against the Huns, his father suddenly fell ill and died.

On the death of Prabhakaravardhan, his eldest son, Rajyavardhana, ascended the throne in 605 A.D. Hardly had he ascended the throne of Thaneswar when he got the news that Grahavarman, the husband of his sister Rajyasri, had been killed by Devagupta, the king of Malwa. He also heard the news that his sister, Rajyasri had been imprisoned. Leaving his younger brother, Harsha in the capital, Rajyavardhana at once marched against the ruler of Malwa and defeated him with great ease. But he himself was allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauda (Bengal), an ally of the king of Malwa and was murdered by him. Rajyasri fled from the prison and took shelter in the forests of the Vindhyas.

Accession of Rajyavardhana

Harshavardhana (606—647 A. D.)

The death of Grahavardhan and the murder of Rajyavardhana rendered vacant the throne of Qanauj as well as that of Thaneswar. The ministers invited Harshavardhana, brother of Rajyavardhana and of Rajyasri, to undertake the responsibility of the royal office. Harshavardhana probably took charge of both the kingdoms in 606 A.D., when he was only sixteen years old. He commemorated his accession by founding a new era known as the Harsha Era. But he abstained at first from assuming the royal title.

Harsa Era

The immediate task which confronted Harsha was to recover his widowed sister. Harsha got the information that his sister Rajyasri, had escaped from the prison and entered the Vindhya forests. With the help of forest chiefs he was able to rescue Rajyasri who was just going to burn herself by throwing herself into fire. A Chinese work named Fang-chi indicates that after her release Rajyasri helped her brother in the administration of her husband's kingdom. The union of the two kingdoms created a large State in the Upper Ganges valley. Harsha transferred his capital from Thaneswar to Qanauj and made it the centre of the political activity in Northern Indo-Pakistan.

Military campaign of Harsha

The next task of Harsha was to punish Sasanka, the king of Gauda and for this purpose he made an alliance with Bhaskarvarman, king of Kamrupa (in Assam). No detailed account of the result of his military campaign with the king of Bengal or Gauda is available. But there is a proof that Sasanka reigned in full glory till 619 A.D. and died sometime before 637 A.D. It was probably after his death that Bhaskaravarman, Harsha's ally, occupied his capital.

War with Sasanka, ruler of Gauda

After his alliance with the king of Kamrupa, Harsha launched upon a career of warfare and conquests in order to bring Northern Indo-Pakistan under his control. According to Hiuen-Tsang, he waged incessant warfares until he became "lord of the five Indies". The five Indies are referred to as the Punjab, Qanauj, Gauda or Bengal, Mithila and Orissa. Although the annexation of Gauda and the conquest of Orissa were made late in his reign, the whole of Upper Indo-Pakistan was brought under his sway.

His conquests in Upper Indo-Pakistan

Flushed with success in the north, Harsha led his victorious soldiers into the Deccan. But there he met with a powerful rival in the person of Pulakesin II, the Chalukya king who defeated him on the bank of the Normada and utterly routed his army (before 634 A.D.). His defeat at the hands of the Chalukya king shattered his ambition of southern expansion and he gave up the idea of expansion of his empire in the south.

His unsuccessful campaign in the South

In 634 A.D. Harsha waged war against the ruler of Valabhi in Kathiawar and defeated him. According to Hiuen Tsang, Dhruvasena II, king of Valabhi married the daughter of Harsha's daughter. In 643, he led his military expedition against the Kongoda region (Ganjam district) and conquered it. The kings of Assam and Nepal also acknowledged his supremacy. There are references of Harsha's expeditions to Sind and Kashmir in the contemporary works, but no authentic account is available.

Campaigns in western Indo-Pakistan

Extent of his empire

There are differences of opinion among the historians regarding the extent of Harsha's empire. According to a group of scholars like Dr. Smith and Dr. R. K. Mukherjee, Harsha's empire comprised the whole of the Northern Indo-Pakistan from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas. But the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, does not support this view. According to him, Assam, Nepal, Kashmir, Sind, Malwa and Surashtra were independent during the reign of Harsha. In his opinion Harsha reduced the neighbouring States to subjugation, invaded the States which had refused him allegiance and ultimately brought the Five Indies of Surashtra, Qanauj, Gauda, Mithila and Orissa under his rule. According to some modern historians, "the emperor's army had over-run almost the whole of Northern India, from the snowy mountains of the north to Narmada in the south and from Ganjam in the east to Valabhi in the west." * However, it may be concluded from the opinions of different historians and the Chinese traveller that the empire of Harsha "consisted of portions of Eastern Punjab, almost the whole of the present United Provinces (excepting Mathura and Matipura), Bihar, Bengal and Orissa including Kongoda or the Ganjan region." It is doubtful whether his suzerainty was acknowledged in Surashtra and Kamrupa.

Different opinioons about the extent of his empire

His relation with China

Harshavardhana, from the beginning of his reign realised the necessity of establishing diplomatic relations with the neighbouring and foreign countries. At the beginning of his reign he concluded an alliance with the king Kamrupa or Assam. In 641 A.D., he sent a Brahman envoy to the court of Chinese emperor Tai-Tsung. In 641 A.D. this envoy returned along with a Chinese mission who brought the reply of the Chinese emperor. In 646 A.D. another Chinese mission was sent to Indo-Pakistan, but unfortunately Harsha died before it reached his court.

* Advanced Historv of India.

Administration of Harshavardhana

Personal supervision of civil administration

Harshavardhana was a benevolent ruler. He was of the opinion that the king must constantly exert himself in order to maintain administrative efficiency. He personally supervised the affairs of the State. Hiuen Tsang was much impressed by his administrative system. He tells us that Harsha was indefatigable and the day was too short for him. He divided his day into three periods of which one was given to affairs of government. He further informs us that the king undertook tours of inspection throughout his dominion which enabled him to watch and check the activities of the chieftains. He only suspended his inspection tours during the rainy season on account of the difficulties of weather and communication.

Harsha's Council of Ministers

However, deligent and active the king was, it was not possible for one man to run the administration of a vast empire. Harsha was probably assisted by a council of ministers (Mantriparisad). The general system of administration was the same as that of the Gupta. The outlying provinces were governed by viceroys or feudatories. All the officers of the State were paid by grants of land but not by cash. The empire was divided into provinces and the provinces were divided into districts. The village was the lowest unit of administration. The administration of the village was in the hands of a headman called *Gramakshapatalika.*

Provincial administration

Taxes

The people were not unnecessarily harassed in their works by their official interferences and they had their liberty in their own spheres. The government officials were paid according to their work. Taxation was light. The cultivators had to pay one-sixth of their produce as rent. The king paid special attention to the material comforts of his subjects and helped the poor and the sick. He established benevolent institutions, such as charitable dispensaries, rest-houses, etc., for the travellers.

Public works

Criminal law was more severe than that of the Guptas. For certain offences, the nose or ears of the offender were cut off and he was turned out

from the city to live in jungles for the rest of his life. But for minor offences, fines were imposed. There was also the system of trial by ordeal. In spite of the severity of law the roads were not safe for the travellers. Hiuen Tsang was more than once molested by brigands in the course of his travels.

Criminal law

Religion of Harsha

The ancestors of Harsha were the worshippers of the Sun. Harsha was at first a worshipper of Siva and the Sun. He showed respect to the Hindu gods and goddesses and even built temples. But later in life he was attracted towards Buddhism, probably under the influence of his sister, Rajyasri and Hiuen Tsang. He forbade the slaughter of animals and is said to have built many Buddhist Stupas and monasteries. He showed favour for the Mahayana form of Buddhism. Harsha summoned an assembly at Qanauj for the discussion of Buddhism. It is doubtful whether he became a convert to Buddhism. But there are sources to prove that the Brahmans became displeased with him and made a conspiracy to kill him for his patronage of Buddhism.

Patronage of Buddhism

His patronage of learning

Harshavardhana was not only a conqueror and administrator but also a great patron of learning. Bana has paid a high tribute to Harsha on account of his poetical skill, originality and wide learning. He was a famous dramatist. His three well-known dramas, named *Ratnavali*, *Priyadarsika and Nagananda* are invaluable wealth of Sanskrit literature and bear ample testimony to his literary genius. Himself a great poet and an accomplished scholar, Harsha extended his patronage to men of letters. Bana, the author of *Kadambari* and *Harshacharita*, and other poets like Maurya Haradatta and Jayasena adorned his court and enjoyed his bounty. According to Hieun Tsang, one-fourth of his revenue from the crown lands was earmarked for rewarding scholars and literary men. He made large endowments

Harsha himself was a great poet and dramatist

Patronage to men of letters

to Nalanda University, the famous centre of Buddhist learning. Hiuen Tsang studied at the Nalanda University for several years and he spoke highly of it.

An Estimate of Harsha

Harshavardhana was one of the greatest rulers of ancient Indo-Pakistan and the last great Hindu emperor of this sub-continent. He ascended the throne at the age of sixteen and began his reign in the midst of perils and dangers. But it was due to his courage and military genius that peace and order was restored and fresh territories were conquered. His conquests of almost the whole of northern Indo-Pakistan bear testimony to his ability as a conqueror.

As a conqueror

Harsha was a benevolent ruler. Hiuen Tsang tells us that "he was indefatigable and forgot sleep and food in his devotion to good works." Harsha devoted all his time to promote the welfare of his people. His ideal of kingship was lofty and noble. He was guided by the principle, "service and sacrifice." Himself a patron of Buddhism, he honoured his old gods and was tolerant of other religions. Generosity, charity and patronage of learning were the attributes of his character. It is said that he gave away everything in charity at the Prayaga Assembly. He may be called the Indian Hatem on account of his generosity. He was a great poet, an accomplished scholar and a liberal patron of men of letters. His dramas in Sanskrit, *viz.*, *Ratnavali*, *Nagananda* and *Priyadarshika* speak of him as a poet and dramatist. His court was graced by many renowned poets and scholars who enjoyed his bounty. The Nalanda University received his patronage. As a military leader, great ruler, a patron of learning and a man of noble impulses and distinguished personality, Harsha will ever have an honoured place in the history of ancient Indo-Pakistan.

An accomplished scholar and a patron of learning

Account of Hiuen Tsang

Hiuen Tsang was a famous Chinese pilgrim who came to Indo-Pakistan during the reign of Harsha

with the object of collecting authentic Buddhist scriptures. He stayed in this country for about 15 years (630-645 A.D.) and left an interesting account of the country and its institutions. His account of the state of affairs of the country under Harsha is of great value from the historical point of view.

Hiuen Tsang was much impressed by the administrative arrangements of Harsha. He has mentioned in his account that like Asoka he personally supervised all the departments of administration and undertook tours of inspection to know the condition of the empire. There were roads, rest-houses, hospitals, charitable institutions, etc., everywhere in the country. Harsha built many Buddha stupas and monasteries and maintained them. He prohibited the slaugther of living creature in the empire. Criminal law was very severe in the reign of Harsha. Ordeals by fire, water, poison, etc., were in vogue for determining the offence of the accused. In spite of the severity of the laws the roads were not safe from brigands. Taxation was light and one-sixth of the produce was taken as rent. The people were not subjected to forced labour.

Administratiation of Harsha

Hiuen Tsang tells us that many new cities had come into prominence and the old ones were on the decline. Pataliputra was in a decadent condition, while Qanauj was growing in prosperity. According to Hiuen Tsang, Qanauj was 10 'li' in length and about 5 or 6 'li' in breadth. There were hundreds of Sangharamas and 200 Hindu temples. The prosperity of Qanauj was expressed "in its lofty structures, beautiful gardens, tanks of clear water and the museum of rarities collected from strange lands." Prayaga had also become an important place, while Sravasti was in ruins.

Qanauj and other cities

The people were divided into four castes. Intercaste marriage and widow re-marriage were not known in the society. Hiuen Tsang speaks highly of the character of the Indo-Pakistan. He says, "Although they are naturally light-minded, yet they are upright and honourable. In money matters they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerable. They dread the retribution of another state of existence and make light of the things of pre-

Character of the people

sent world. They are not decietful or treacherous in their conduct and are faithful to their oaths and promises."

Education was patronised and it was widely diffused during the reign of Harsha. Hiuen Tsang has given an account of the famous Nalanda University. The Nalanda (Bargaon, in the district of Patna) University was the greatest educational institution of the then Indo-Pakistan. It was primarily a Buddhist Vihara and was established with a view to propagating the teachings of Buddha. But in course of time subjects in addition to Buddhism came to be taught. Harsha made large endowments to this University. There were 10,000 students who studied various subjects in this University. They came from Korea, Mongolia, Japan, China, Tibet, Ceylon, Tukhara and various parts of Indo-Pakistan. The students were provided with free board and lodging. The revenues of about 100 villages were remitted for the maintenance of the Nalanda University. The Nalanda University was meant for advanced studies and so admission to this University was very difficult. Before admission an examination was held in which hardly 20 per cent. students could pass. The teachers and the taught of the Nalanda University were men of the highest talent. Shilvadra, a great Bengali scholar was the head of this University. Hiuen Tsang tells us that people came to the Nalanda University to perfect their knowledge. After acquiring the knowledge, they went to the various parts of the world.

The Nalanda University

It was a centre of advanced learning

Harsha summoned a religious assembly at Qanauj to discuss and spread the teachings of Buddha in the country. Hiuen Tsang was the chief guest and main participator in the discussion. This meeting lasted for 23 days. The assembly was attended by twenty tributary Rajahs, 3,000 Buddhist monks, 3,000 Brahmans and Nigrodhas (Jains) and about one thousand Buddhist scholars from the Nalanda University. Everyday a procession was brought out with an image of Buddha. The canopy was carried by Harsha himself. As Harsha moved along, "he scattered on every side pearls, golden flowers and other precious things. He washed the image of Bud-

Religious assembly at Qanauj

dha at the altar with his own hands and carried it on his shoulders to the western tower. There he offered to it thousands of silk robes, embroidered with gems." Then a sumptuous dinner and religious discussion took place. The meeting was a one-sided preaching of Mahayanism.

After the conclusion of the Qanauj Assembly, Harsha took his Chinese friend to Prayaga, (Allahabad) to witness the great periodical distribution of religious gifts at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna. The emperor bestowed alms on all alike without any distinction of caste or creed. His distribution of gifts was such that in the words of Hiuen Tsang, "the king freely gave away his gems and goods, his clothing and necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets, chaplets, neck-jewel and bright head-jewel —all these he freely gave without stint. All being given away, he begged from his sister (Rajyasri) an ordinary second-hand garment, and having put it on, he paid worship to Buddha, and rejoiced that his treasure had been bestowed in the field of religious merit." Harsha used to make such distribution of gifts after every five years.

In 645 A.D., Hiuen Tsang returned to his country after a stay of nineteen years in Indo-Pakistan.

Fall of the Pushyabhuti dynasty of Thaneswar

Although Harsha was endowed with many qualities of head and heart, he could not leave behind a well-governed empire. He had no heir and almost the whole of his life was spent in wars and conquests. So after his death (647 A.D.) the vast empire built up by him fell to pieces. One of his ministers named Arjuna occupied the vacant throne. Arjuna opposed the entry of the Chinese envoy sent before Harsha's death and killed some of his attendants. The Chinese envoy, Wang-hiuentse managed to escape to Nepal which was then tributary to Tibet. Strong-tsam Gampo, the king of Tibet took up his cause and helped him in punishing the usurper. Arjuna was defeated and taken prisoner to China. Tirhut region remained under Tibetan rule until 703 A.D. Thus, with the death of Harsha, Northern Indo-Pakistan again lost its political unity.

Effect of the death of Harsha

Throne seized by Arjuna

Unity of Indo-Pakistan lost

CHAPTER X

NORTHERN INDO-PAKISTAN AFTER HARSHA

Political condition

The death of Harsha was followed by a period of anarchy and confusion and a large number of States came into existence in Northern India. But it is not possible to know the systematic account of these States. The States which contended for supremacy were Qanauj, Kashmir, Magadha and the Rashtrakutas. For some time, the Pratiharas of Qanauj became supreme. Later on their place was occupied by the Pala kings. The Rashtrakutas held their sway in the Deccan.

Yasovarman of Qanauj

Conquest of Gauda and Magadha

In the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Yasovarman ascended the throne of Qanauj. Inspired by the idea's of Harsha he established a vast kingdom in Northern India and tried to revive the imperial tradition of Qanauj. We come to know from Vakpati, court-poet of Yasovarman that he extended his empire to the east by defeating and killing the ruler of Gauda and Magadha. Like Harsha, he also sent his minister on a mission to China in 731 A.D. But at last he was defeated and killed by Lalitaditya of Kashmir. With him the glory of Qanauj temporarily set in.

Kashmir

Durlabhavardhana

According to the Rajatarangini of Kalhana which forms the chief source of our information for the history of Kashmir, Durlabhavardhana founded a new royal dynasty named Karkota dynasty in Kashmir about the middle of the 7th century A.D. It was during the reign of this ruler that the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir. Muktapida, better known as Lalitaditya who ascended the throne about 724 A.D. was the greatest ruler of this dynasty.

He conquered Tibet and some parts of Central Asia. He defeated Yasovarman, the king of Qanauj about the year 740 A.D. Besides these, Magadha, Bengal, Kamrupa and Orissa acknowledged his supremacy. The famous Martanda temple in Kashmir was built during his time and it bears testimony to his love of architecture.

Lalitaditya Muktapida was the greatest ruler of this dynasty

Lalitaditya was succeeded by some weak rulers who could not maintain the power and prestige of Kashmir. Jayapida or Vinayaditya, the grandson of Lalitaditya tried to revive the reputation of the Karkota dynasty. It is said that he defeated and dethroned the king of Qanauj. Vinayaditya was a patron of scholars.

Jayapida Vinayaditya

The Karkota dynasty was replaced by the Utpala dynasty about the middle of the 9th century. Avantivarman (855-83), the founder of the new dynasty, was an able ruler and a famous patron of literature. Kashmir was able to retain its independence till it was conquered by the Muslims in 1339 A.D. It was annexed to the Mughal empire by Akbar in 1587.

Avantivarman

Rise of the Rajputs

The most prominent feature of this period was the rise of the Rajputs. It is the Rajputs who dominated of politics of Northern Indo-Pakistan after the death of Harshavardhana. They established a number of States and it is from them that the Muslims conquered Northern Indo-Pakistan.

The origin of the Rajputs is a matter of controversy. According to Tod, the Rajputs were the descendents of the Sakas, Huns, Kushans, Gurjaras, etc., who came to Indo-Pakistan and succeeded in establishing their supremacy in the period of confusion that followed the death of Harsha. They entered the sub-continent from the north-west and settled in the Punjab and Rajputana. In course of time, the Rajputs were merged into Hindu society and thus they lost the basic features of their old tribal organisation. The upper ranks of these foreigners, whose main occupation was war, began to call themselves Rajputs or Kshatriyas, while the humble folk ranked

The Rajputs were mostly of foreign origin

low in social status and they came to be known as Gurjaras, Jats, Ahirs, etc. 'The division of the same class of people into different social grades was based not on birth but on occupation.'

This view of Tod was accepted by European scholars. But his theory of foreign origin is not accepted by scholars like C.B. Vaida and Gaure Shankar Ojha. According to them, the Rajputs were pure Aryans and not the descendants of the foreigners.

Remarks of Dr. Smith

According to Dr. V. A. Smith, the Rajputs were a mixed race. Some of the Rajput clans were the descendants of foreigners like Huns, Sakas and Kushans and others belonged to the old Kshatriya tribes. In the beginning, these two groups were opposed to each other but in course of time they got mixed up with each other.

When the Muslims entered Indo-Pakistan "through the passes of the north-west, the political supremacy of the Rajputs had become so thoroughly established that the historians have often referred to these times as the Rajput period. Dr. Smith says,

Importance of the Rajputs

"They became so prominent that the centuries from the death of Harsha to the Muhammadan conquest of Hindustan, extending in round numbers from the middle of the seventh to the close of the twelfth century, might be called with propriety the Rajput period. Nearly all the kingdoms were governed by families or clans which for ages past have been called collectively Rajputs." The importance of the Rajputs does not confine only to political domination. In an age of foreign aggression they were the defenders of Hindu faith and did much to patronise Hindu culture and traditions. Tod speaks highly of their heroism in the following words : "What nation on earth would have maintained the semblance of civilization, the spirit or the customs of their forefathers, during so many centuries of overwhelming depression, but one of such singular character as the Rajputs ? Rajasthan exhibits the sole example in the history of mankind, of a people withstanding every outrage barbarity can inflict or human nature sustain, and bent to the earth, yet rising buoyant from the pressure and making calamity a whetstone to

courage." The Rajputs cultivated a spirit of chivalry and lived up to it in spite of difficulties. According to the said historian, "High courage, patriotism, loyalty, honour, hospitality and simplicity are qualities which must at once be conceded to them" (Rajputs). The Rajputs took pride in honouring women and sacrificed all for their honour and chastity. 'Public as well as private warfare had become the chief feature of their political life'. They offered the stiffest resistance to the foreign invaders. But the 'rigorous caste distinctions had made the ruling class vain and proud, and rendered the rest of the population unfit for war. Under these circumstances it was not possible for the people to develop any feeling of common nationality.'

Famous for chivalry and patriotism

On the eve of Muslim conquest the Rajputs kept on quarrelling among themselves. They fought separately against the foreign invaders and each one of the clans was defeated separately. They wasted all their time and energy in mutual bickerings and jealousies. Had the Rajputs learned to pool all their sources together, it would have been impossible for the Muslims to defeat them.

The Palas of Bengal

On the death of Sasanka Bengal passed through a period of disorder and confusion. The absence of political unity invited foreign aggression and this intensified the political instability of the country. This state of anarchy and confusion continued for more than a century (650-750), when "Gopal was made king by the people to put an end to a lawless state of things (*matsyanyaya*) in which every one was the prey of his neighbour." It was Gopal who founded the Pala dynasty. On becoming king, he established peace in the distracted land and laid the foundation of the future greatness of his dynasty. He consolidated his position over the whole of Bengal (eastern and western). Gopal ruled for twenty years (750-770 A.D.). He was a Buddhist and founded many religious institutions.

Gopal, the founder of the Pala dynasty

Dharmapala (770-810 A.D.)

Dharmapala was the greatest of the Pala kings

Gopal was succeeded by his son Dharmapala in 770 A.D. He was the greatest ruler of the Pala dynasty. He sought to raise the Pala kingdom to the position of the imperial power and for this he had to encounter the hostilities of the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Rajputana and the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan who were also fighting for the imperial position in Northern India. The first encounter took place between Dharmapala and Vatsaraja, the Pratihara king in which the former was defeated. But Vatsaraja could not enjoy the fruits of his success as he himself was defeated by the Rashtrakuta king, Dhruva who forced him to take refuge in the desert of Rajputana. Dhruva then advanced to the Doab and inflicted a defeat on Dharmapala, but he soon returned to the Deccan. The departure of the Rashtrakuta king from the north and the crushing defeat of the Pratihara king at the hands of Dhruva gave an opportunity to Dharmapala to achieve his end. Taking this opportunity he defeated and deposed Indrayudha, the ruler of Qanauj and put in his place his own nominee Chakrayudha. On this occasion he held a Darbar at Qanauj and it was attended by a large number of vassal chiefs.

His struggle with Vatsaraja and Dhruva

However, Dharmapala was not left undisturbed in his newly acquired possessions. Nagabhata II, son and successor of Vatsaraja revived the power of the Pratiharas towards the beginning of the 9th century A.D. It is stated that he made an alliance with the rulers of Sindhu, Andhra, Vidarbha and Kalinga. Having thus strengthened his position he attacked Dharmapala and defeated him. Chakrayudha was deposed and Qanuj was occupied by Nagabhata II. But again Dharmapala was saved by the timely intervention of the Rashtrakuta king, Govinda III. The latter defeated Nagabhata II and crushed his power. The Rashtrakuta records tell us that both Dharmapala and Chakrayudha acknowledged the overlordship of Govinda III who soon returned to the Deccan.

His submission to the Rashtrakutas

According to Dr. R. C. Majumder, Dharmapala was the hero of a hundred fights. Under him, Ben-

gal emerged as the most powerful kingdom in Northern India. Dharmapala was a Buddhist. He founded the famous monastery at Vikramsila in Bihar which ultimately developed into a great centre of Buddhist learning. He also founded a great Vihara at Sonapuri near Rajshahi district. He was a patron of learning. Haribhadra, a famous Buddhist writer adorned his court. In consideration of these activities it can rightly be said that Dharmapala was great both in arts of war and peace.

Under him Bengal became a powerful kingdom in Northern India

Devapala (810-850 A.D.)

On the death of Dharmapala (810 A.D.), his son Devapala ascended the throne. He was a powerful king. He not only maintained intact the territories of his father but also added new provinces to them. Like his father he adopted a policy of military expeditions. Devapala claims to have conquered Kamrupa (Assam) and Utkala (Orissa). He humbled the pride of the Huns and defeated the rulers of the Dravidas and the Gurjaras. In fighting against these rivals, he was helped by his ministers, Dhruvapani and Kedaramisri. It appears from the Monghyr Copper Plate that his victorious arms reached the Kamboja country in the north and the Vindhya in the south. He had friendly relations with the Sailendra kings of Sumatra. It was in this reign that the power of the Pala dynasty reached its zenith.

His conquests

Devapala was a great patron of Buddhism. He gave five villages to the Buddhists. He built many temples and monasteries in Magadha.

The Later Palas

The glory of the Pala dynasty began to decline rapidly after the demise of Devapala. Devapala was succeeded by his nephew, Vigrahapala who was a man of religious disposition. After few years, he abdicated the throne in favour of his son Narayanapala who ruled for more than half a century. It was in that reign that the Rashtrakutas invaded Bengal and the Palas lost Magadha. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Palas, the Pratiharas, under

Vigrahapala

Narayanapala

Nagabhata II and Bhoja I gradually established their supremacy in Northern India. Mahendra, the son of Bhoja I, seems to have wrested even North Bengal from the Palas. Shortly afterwards, a hill-tribe known as the Kambojas invaded Bengal and weakened the power of the Pala empire.

Mahipala I

Towards the close of the 10th century, A.D. Mahipala, the ninth ruler of the dynasty, restored the lost prestige of the Palas to some extent. The expulsion of the Kambojas was a great achievement of his reign. During this reign Rajendra Chola of Kanchi attacked Bengal, but Mahipala was able to repulse the attack. He sent a mission to Tibet to propagate Buddhism there.

Nayapala

Mahipala II

Rampala

End of the Pala dynasty

Mahipala was succeeded by Nayapala whose dominions were attacked by the Chedi king, Karna. When a peace was concluded between Nayapala and Karna, the latter's daughter was given in marriage to the former's son, Vigrahapala III. In the reign of Mahipala II, the son of Vigrahapala, the Kaivartas under a chief named Divvoka rose in revolt. Mahipala was killed by the rebels and the country passed into their hands. After the death of Divvoka, his nephew Bhim became the ruler of North Bengal. At last, Rampala, the brother of Mahipala II and the last notable ruler of the Pala dynasty recovered North Bengal by defeating and killing Bhim. But it was not possible for the weak successors to bring back the lost glory of the Pala dynasty. The dynasty was ultimately overthrown by the Senas.

Importance of the Pala kings

The rule of the Pala dynasty opened a glorious chapter in the history of Bengal. The Pala kings not only saved the country from disorder and anarchy but also established peace and order in the distracted land. They were great patrons of arts and letters. The foundation of the Universities at Uddandapura and Vikramasila bears testimony to their love of learning and architecture. The famous physician, Chakrapani and the renowned poet, Sandhyakara Nandi flourished in this period. The Pala kings were followers of Buddhism, but they were

not intolerant to other religions. Atisa, the famous Buddhist monk, was sent to Tibet for the spread of Buddhism there.

The Senas of Bengal

In the first part of the 12th century, A.D. the Sena dynasty was established by Bijayasena who overthrew the Pala dynasty. The Senas who professed the Brahmanical religion originally came from the Karnata country (Mysore and Hyderabad) in South India. They established themselves in West Bengal under a chief named Samantasena. Vijayasena, grandson of Samantasena entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Suras, apparently of South West Bengal, and made a bid for supreme power in East Bengal. He defeated Madana Pala, the last Pala king of Gauda and conquered nearly the whole of Bengal. He also defeated the neighbouring rulers of Tirhut, Assam and Orissa, and founded the city of Vijayapur on the Ganges (in West Bengal) which became his capital. Rampal in Vikrampur (in the district of Dacca) was his second capital.

Origin of the dynasty

Vijayasena

On the death of Vijayasena, his son Ballalasena ascended the throne of Bengal. Born of a Sura princes, he is well-known as the founder of *Kulinism.* He occupies a high place in the social history of Bengal for introducing *Kulinism* among the caste Hindus of the province. Buddhism which was made the State religion by the Palas began to decline from this time. The Senas were trying to reinstate Hinduism in Bengal. Ballalasena is said to have sent Hindu missionaries to Magadha, Bhutan, Nepal, Chittagong, Arakan and Orissa. He is the reputed author of the *Danasagara* and the *Abdhutsagara.*

Ballalasena

Patronage of Hinduism

Ballalasena was succeeded by his son, Lakshmanasena who was the last notable ruler of Bengal. Nadia was his capital. During the early years of his reign, he proved himself a successful conqueror. It is said that he waged wars against Gauda, Kamrupa, Kalinga, and Benares. But the results of these wars cannot be precisely said. According to some historians, he defeated the king of Benares who

Lakshmanasena

His conquests

was the Gahadavala king of Qanauj and subjugated Kamrupa.

The Sena dynasty overthrown by the Muslims

Towards the close of the 12th or early in the 13th century, Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji made a surprise attack upon Nadia and forced Lakshmanasena to flee to Eastern Bengal where he continued to rule for three or four years more. His successors maintained their independence in East Bengal till the later half of the 13th century.

Patron of learning

Himself a great poet, Lakshmanasena was a patron of learning and the learned. The famous poet and scholars like Jaydeva, Umapati and Dhoyi adorned his court.

The Gurjara-Pratiharas

Origin of the Gurjaras

Very little is known about the origin of the Gurjaras. In the opinion of several scholars they entered Indo-Pakistan in the early years of the sixth century in the train of the Huns and established an extensive kingdom in southern Rajputana with Bhinmal as its capital. Of the different branches of the Gujaras the Pratiharas were the most famous in history. The Partiharas were Rajputs claiming descent from Lakshmana, brother of Ramchandra, the hero of Valmiki's epic.

The Pratiharas became prominent under Nagabhata I

In the beginning of the 8th century they became prominent under Nagabhata I who founded a powerful kingdom in Western India "which rivalled successfully those of the Palas of Bengal and the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan." He carried on a successful war against the Arab conquerors who had wrested Sind from the hands of king Dahir. Vatsaraja, the third successor of Nagabhata defeated the king of Bengal. But he was vanquished by the Rashtrakuta king, Dhruva, and driven to Rajputana. Vatsaraja was succeeded by his son Nagabhata II who defeated Dharmapala and his vassal Chakrayudha and evently made himself master of Qanauj. But his victory did not last long. He was defeated by Govinda III, king of the Rashtrakutas and his dream of further conquests was shattered. He died in 833 A.D.

Vatsaraja

Nagabhata II

After Nagabhata II, his son Ramabhadra became king. He reigned only for three years. His son and successor Bhoja was a powerful king of his dynasty. He restored the fortunes of his family and ruled over an extensive empire stretching from the Eastern Punjab to the borders of Bengal. His further progress was stopped by Sankaravarman of Kashmir in the north and the Rashtrakutas in the south.

Bhoja I

Bhoja was succeeded by his son, Mahendrapala (885-910 A.D.) whose reign may be regarded as marking the climax of power attained by the imperial Pratiharas. The empire at this time extended from Kathiawar in the west to North Bengal in the east. The famous poet, Rajasekhar adorned the court of Mahendrapala. On the death of Mahendrapala the Pratihara empire began to decline. His son, Mahipala was defeated by the Rashtrakuta king, Indra III who captured Qanauj. Though Mahipala recovered Qanauj, the fortune of the empire was not brought back. A good number of independent kingdoms sprang up in different parts of Northern Indo-Pakistan. Rajyapala was the last ruler of this dynasty. He was defeated by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in 1018 A.D. As a result, the Pratihara dynasty of Qanauj came to an end.

Mahendrapala

End of the Pratihara empire

The Pratiharas were the last great Hindu imperial dynasty of Northern Indo-Pakistan. They maintained peace and order throughout the empire, and patronised literature. As regards their efficient government, an Arab traveller wrote that there was no country in India safer from robbers than their kingdom. They maintained a formidable cavalry and formed a bulwork against Arab aggression. The Pratiharas ranked as Rajputs and their rule marked the begginning of Rajput ascendency—an ascendency that was challenged first by the Palas and the Rashtrakutas and afterwards by the Muslim conquerors of the Indus Valley. Thus began 'the struggle between the Rajputs and the Muslims, which continued till the days of the Timurid Emperors'.

Importance of the Pratihara dynasty

CHAPTER XI

KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN

On the fall of the Andhras as a ruling power in the south the history of the Deccan for three centuries was obscure. By the middle of the sixth century A.D. a new dynasty known as the Chalukyas worked its way to power over the whole of the Deccan. The political history of the Deccan may be traced from the rise of this dynasty.

The Chalukyas of Vatapi

The Chalukya power was established by the middle of the sixth century A.D. by Pulakesin 1, who fixed his capital at Vatapi (modern Badami in the Bijapur district), and performed the horse-sacrifice. He was succeeded by his sons, Kirtivarman I and Mangalesa to the throne one after another. The latter was a great warrior. He extended his kingdom by conquering the Kalachuris of Northern Deccan.

Pulakesin II

Pulakesin II, son of Kirtivarman, was the greatest of the Chalukya kings. He defeated Harshavardhan of Qanauj, annexed part of the country at the mouth of the Godavari, and vanquished Mahendravarman, king of Kanchi near Madras. He brought the whole of the Deccan except the Far South under his sway. According to some writers, he interchanged letters and presents with the king of Persia. Hiuen Tsang visited his kingdom in 641 A.D. and had left a vivid account of the progess of the king and the valour of his people. The reign of Pulakesin II, however, ended in disaster. He was defeated and crushed by the Pallava monarch Narasinhavarmana in or about 642.

His conquests

The Pallava of Kanchi

On the death of Pulakesin II, the Chalukya power was in abeyance for a period of thirteen years (642-55) and the Pallavas of Kanchi became dominant power in Southern Indo-Pakistan.

Narasinhavarman

Narasinhavarman, the successor of Pulakesin II carried his arms from Vatapi in the north to the Pandya country in the Far South. His authority extended even to the is'and of Ceylon. He was a great builder and constructed some of the famous temples of Mamallapuram. It was during his reign that Hiuen Tsang visited Kanchi. After the death of Narasinhavarman I, the Pallava power began to decline rapidly. By the middle of the ninth century the Pallavas were defeated by Aditya Chola and the supremacy of the Far South passed into the hands of the Cho!as.

The Pallavas were overthrown by the Cholas

Revival of the Chalukyas

After thirteen years of the death of Pulakesin II, his son Vikramaditya I avenged the death of his father by defeating the Pallavas and capturing their capital, Kanchi. The struggle with the Pallavas continued under his successors with varying fortunes. In 740 A.D. Vikramaditya II, great grandson of Vikramaditya I inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pallava king, Nandipatavarman and occupied his capital. He pushed his conquests further and one of his feudatories repulsed an Arab invasion. In 753 the Chalukya empire of Vatapi was finally overthrown by the Rashtrakutas.

Vikramaditya I

The Chalukyas overthrown by the Rashtrakutas

The Rashtrakutas

By the middle of the 8th century A.D. Dantidurga overthrew the Chalukyas and established the Rashtrakutas power. The Rashtrakutas were a Rajput clan of indigneous origin. Dantidurga extended his authority to Malwa and Gujrat. He was, however, deposed by his uncle, Krishna I (658-72) who erected the famous Kailasa temple at Ellore. He was succeeded by Govinda II, who had a very short reign. His brother, Dhruva defeated Vatsaraja of the Pratiharas dynasty. Govinda III, (794-815), son and successor of Dhruva was probably the greatest of his house. He made his brother Governor of Lata (south Gujrat), defeated the Pratihara king, Nagabhata II and claimed to have received the submission of Dharmapala of Bengal and his protege Chak-

Datidurga, the founder of the Rashtrakuta power

Govinda III, the greatest of his house

rayudha of Qanauj. Dantivarman, the Pallava king of Kanchi paid him tribute. The Rashtrakutas power reached the climax of its glory during his reign. He died in 815 A. D.

Amoghavarsha I

Govinda III was succeeded by his son Amoghavarsha I (815-78) who transferred his capital to Manyakheta (Malkhed) in the Nizam's dominions. He was a patron of Jainism and himself composed a Jaina work. His great grandson, Indra III claimed to have taken Qanauj from the Pratihara king, Mahipala I and dealt a heavy blow at his empire. His nephew Krishna III (939-68) defeated the Cholas. Towards the close of the tenth ceturny the Rashtrakuta dynasty was overthrown by Taila II, the founder of the new Chalukya dynasty of Kalayana.

The Rashtrakutas overthrown by the Chalukyas of Kalayana

The Chola Kingdom

The Chola kingdom was mentioned in Asoka's inscriptions as an independent States. The Cholas remained in obscruity till the middle of the 9th century when their chief Vijayala established an independent Chola kingdom. His son, Aditya (871-907) crushed the power of the Pallavas of Kanchi and annexed their kingdom to his dominions. Parantaka I, son of Aditya, extended his control over the neighbouring Tamil kingdoms and even invaded Ceylon. His reign was one of the most flourishing periods of village autonomy in Southern India. His immediate successors had to fight hard to maintain their position against the simultaneous attack of the Rashtrakutas, the Pandyas and the Ganges. But with the accession of Rajaraja the Great (985-1016) the Cholas once again attained to their position of supremacy in the south. He was the real founder of the greatness of the Cholas in the south. He extended his sway over nearly the whole of the present Madras Presidency and Mysore. He possessed a powerful navy with which he conquered Ceylon and some other islands in the Indian Ocean. He built the magnificent temple at Tanjore and endowed at Buddhist shrine at Nagapatam.

Aditya, the founder of the Chola kingdom

Rajaraja the Great was the founder of the Chola supremacy

Rajaraja the Great was succeeded by his son, Rajendra Chola I who played an important part in

the history of the Cholas. It was under him that the Chola kingdom reach its climax. He defeated the Chalukya king of Kalayana, the Pala king of Bengal and the Ganga king of Mysore. To commemorate the successful expedition to the Ganges, he assumed the title of 'Gangaikonda' and founded a new capital in the Trichinopoly district called Gangai-konda-cholapuram. He extended the oversea possessions of his father by the annexation of the Nicober islands as well as parts of the Sailendra empire of Malay, Sumatra, etc. Rajendra Chola was one of the greatest conquerors and rulers in the history of ancient Indo-Pakistan. He cultivated friendly relations with the Emperor of China and sent ambassadors in 1016 and 1033 A. D. Rajendra Chola has rightly been called the great son of a great father. He was active for about 32 years in extending the power and prestige of the Chola empire.

Rajendra Chola was one of the great rulers of ancient Indo-Pakistan

Rajendra Chola I was succeeded by his son, Rajadhiraja (1044-1052) whose reign was mostly occupied with the suppression of the rebellions. He was defeated by the Chalukya king, Somesvara in the battle of Koppan (1052) where he ultimately lost his life. But this defeat was retrieved by Rajendradeva (1052-63), brother of the deceased king and the struggle with the Chalukyas continued till the reign of the next king, Virarajendra who inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Chalukya king at Kudal Sangamam. Virarajendra was succeeded by his son Adhirajendra who was overthrown in the same year (1070) by Kulottunga I. Kulottunga was the last great king of the Chola dynasty. He made extensive conquests and fought successfully against the Kalingas. He was a good administrator who is best remembered for the revenue survey of his dominions. His successors were weak and so they could not cope with the Pandyas who overran the Chola territory, and occupied their capital during the reign of Rajaraja III (1216-46). In 1310 A.D. Malik Kafur, the general of Alauddin Khalji invaded the Chola kingdom and captured it. Thus the Chola kingdom came to an end.

Rajadhiraja

Virarajendra

Kulottunga was the last great king

End of the Chola kingdom

Rajendra Chola was one of the great rulers of ancient Indian history

the history of the Cholas. It was under him that the Chola kingdom reached its zenith. He defeated the Chalukya king of Kalyani, the Pala king of Bengal and the Ganga king of Mysore. To commemorate the successful expedition to the Ganges, he assumed the title of 'Gangaikonda' and founded a new capital in the Trichinopoly district called Gangaikonda-Cholapuram. He extended the overseas possessions of his father by the annexation of the Nicobar Islands as well as parts of the Sailendra empire of Java, Sumatra, etc. Rajendra Chola was one of the greatest conquerors and rulers in the history of ancient India. He cultivated friendly relations with the Emperor of China and sent an embassy in 1016 and 1033 A.D. Rajendra Chola has rightly been called the worthy son of a great father. He was active for about 42 years in extending the power and prestige of the Chola empire.

Rajadhiraja

Rajendra Chola I was succeeded by his son, Rajadhiraja (1044-1052) whose reign was mostly occupied with the suppression of the rebellions. He was defeated by the Chalukya king, Someswara I, in the battle of Koppam (1052) where he ultimately lost his life. But the defeat was retrieved by Rajendradeva (1052-64), brother of the deceased king and the struggle with the Chalukyas continued till the reign of his brother, Virarajendra who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Chalukya king at Kudal Sangamam. Virarajendra was succeeded by his son Adhirajendra, who was murdered within the same year (1070) by Kulottunga I. Kulottunga was the last great king of the Chola dynasty. He made aggressive campaigns and fought successfully against the [illegible]. He [illegible] who [illegible] repeated [illegible] of his [illegible]. The successors were weak and they could not cope with the [illegible] who overran the Chola territory, and captured their capital during the reign of Rajaraja III (1216-46). In 1310 A.D. Malik Kafur, the general of Alauddin Khalji invaded the Chola kingdom and [illegible] that the Chola kingdom came to an end.

Virarajendra

Kulottunga was the last great king

End of the Chola kingdom

PART II

MEDIEVAL INDO-PAKISTAN

Book I

THE MUSLIM CONQUEST AND THE DELHI SULTANATE

CHAPTER I

CONDITION OF INDO-PAKISTAN ON THE EVE OF ARAB CONQUEST OF SIND

Political Condition

The Indo-Pakistan sub-continent presented a chequered picture of warring dynasties and of small kingdoms hostile to one another on the eve of Arab invasion. 'During the first half of the 7th century A.D. when the successors of Prophet Muhammad (sm.) were rapidly subjugating the neighbouring countries, Harsha Vardhan of Qanauj was laying the foundation of a great empire in north-west India.' On the death of Harsha Vardhan, the last great Hindu ruler, his empire had fallen to pieces, followed by a scramble among the petty princes for supremacy in the land. Political confusion of the worst type prevailed in this part of more than 50 years. The remaining part of the country was parcelled out among many independent monarchs of varying degrees of power and prestige. There was no central government in the country. All these states enjoyed complete independence and sovereignty. The important states may be enumerated under the heads: (a) States in Northern India and (b) States in Southern India or the Deccan.

Want of political unity

States in Northern India

Afghanistan had been a part of Indo-Pakistan and remained so till the end of the 9th century A.D. It was then that a Brahman dynasty founded by Lalliya was established and this new dynasty was called by Muslim historians as the Hindushahi kingdom. It is not possible to say who was the ruler of this kingdom in the early years of the 8th century when Sind was invaded by the Arabs. But there is no doubt whatsoever that the Hindushahi kingdom of Afghanistan was an important independent Hindu kingdom at that time.

Afghanistan

Kashmir

Kashmir had become an independent kingdom under Durlabhavardhan of the Korkot dynasty in the 7th century A.D. On the eve of Arab invasion of Sind Chandrapida, the grandson of Durlabhavardhan, was the ruler of this kingdom. But the most powerful king was Muktipida Lalitaditya, brother and successor of Chandrapida. He was a great conqueror and is said to have conquered the Puniab, Qanauj, Dardistan and Kabul. Yasoverman of Qanauj was defeated and killed at his hands.

Nepal and Assam

Nepal and Assam had become independent states after the death of Harsha Vardhan. Because of their remoteness they did not play any important part in the beginning of the 8th century.

Qanauj

Qanauj was the most important kingdom of Indo-Pakistan in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Yasoverman was the ruler of this kingdom. It was under Yasoverman that Qanauj was restored to its former position of glory and glamour. He was a great ruler and a successful administrator. Under him the kingdom of Qanauj extended from the Himalayas in the north to the Narbada in the south and from Bengal in the east to Thaneswar in the north-west. Yasoverman was a contemporary of king Dahir of Sind. Later on, he was defeated and killed by Lalitaditya of Kashmir.

Sind

Sind, now a province in West Pakistan, was once a part of Harsha's empire. But after his death it became independent under the Sudras. The best ruler of the Sudra dynasty was Sahsi. Chacha, a Brahman minister of Sind set aside the Sudra rule and established a new dynasty of his own. He was succeeded by his brother Chandra. On the eve of Arab invasion, Dahir, the son of Chacha was ruling over Sind. His kingdom included Daibul, Nirun, Sehwan, Brahmanabad and Alor. Alor was the capital of Sind. Himself a Brahman, Dahir had passed a number of measures against his Buddhist subjects and these measures rendered the king very unpopular among his Buddhist subjects who welcomed and helped the Arabs under Muhammad bin Qasim against their own king.

On the death of Sasanka, ruler of Bengal and contemporary to Harsha, there was anarchy in the province. It was sometime in the first half of the 8th century A.D. that the people placed a person named Gopal on the throne of Bengal. The dynasty founded by Gopal is called the Pala dynasty. It was under the Palas that Bengal witnessed peace and prosperity. The Pala dynasty continued to rule up to the 12th century when it was supplanted by the Sen dynasty.

Bengal

Malwa, with its capital at Ujjain was ruled by a Pratihara dynasty of the Rajputs. The sway of the Pratiharas extended also to Marwar, Broach and other neighbouring territories. The Pratiharas under Nagabhatta 1 became so powerful that they could also defeat the Arabs and recover their lost territories when the latter under the leadership of Junayd swept over the western part of the Pratihara dominion. Under Nagabhatta 1 and his successors, Malwa became a very powerful and prosperous state.

Malwa

States in Southern India

The kingdom of Pallavas with its headquarters at Kanchi was the most important kingdom in the south. In the 6th century A.D. Sinhavishnu was the powerful king of this kingdom. He is said to have annexed the Chola country and defeated all his southern neighbours, including the king of Ceylon. In the beginning of the 8th century A.D. a serious conflict was going on between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas in which the latter ultimately came out victorious and established their rule in Kanchi. Thus while the Arabs were conquering Sind, the Chalukyas were ousting the Pallavas from the kingdom of Kanchi.

The Pallavas

In the sixth century the Chalukyas emerged as a power in the Deccan. Pulakesin was the greatest king of the Chalukya dynasty. In 681, Vinayaditya, son of Vikramaditya came to the throne. He was succeeded by Vinayaditya (696-733 A.D.) who conquered Kanchi from the Pallava king. He was ruling on the eve of Arab conquest of Sind.

The Chalukyas

Pandya, Chola & Chera kingdom

In the Far South, there were three important kingdoms, namely, the Pandya, the Chola and the Chera. These states were often in conflict with one another and their territories were in a state of flux.

It is quite clear from the above discussion that on the eve of Arab conquest there was no paramount authority in the country which could check effectively the Arab conquest of Sind. The lack of political unity favoured the Arabs to conquer this country.

Administrative Condition

The King

The king was the head of administration and he, to all intents and purposes, was a dictator. He combined all legislative, executive, judicial and military powers in his person. Kingship was generally hereditary, but the example of Gopal of the Pala dynasty of Bengal and Nandi Varman of the Pallava dynasty of Kanchi illustrates that sometimes the king was elected by the notable elements of the country.

Ministers

There were ministers to help and advise the king in the discharge of his kingly duties but the king was not bound to accept their advice. The number of ministers depended upon the circumstances and requirements of the situation. The names of the important ministers were *Sandhivigrahikas* (Minister in charge of War and Peace), *Askshapataladhikarita* (Minister of Records), *Amatya* (Minister of Finance), *Sumant* (Minister of Foreign Affairs) and *Rajapurohit* (Minister of Religious Affairs).

Local administration

The empire was divided into many provinces. The head of a province was called *Uparika* whose chief duty was to maintain peace and order in the province, to enforce the orders of the king and to lead expeditions when ordered. A province was divided into districts called *Vaisayas*. A Vaishya was administered by the district officer called *Vaishyapati*. Village was the lowest unit of administration where the administrative functions were performed by the headman and *the Panchayat*. The chief source of income of the State was land revenue. Tributes from vassal chiefs, duties of excise and marchandise were other sources of income.

Economic Condition

The economic condition of the people was, on the whole, very sound, for the country was extremely prosperous. People were well-off and free from want. Agriculture formed the main occupation of the people. The country saw the growth of industry. Bengal and Gujarat were famous for manufacture and export of cotton textile goods. But the tillers of the soil had to work hard for their bread, while the upper class people rolled in luxury and pomp.

Good economic condition

Religious Condition

There were three religions, namely, Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism prevalent in the country on the eve of Arab conquest. Jainism was not a popular religion and Buddhism was on the decline. Hinduism was the most important religion of the people in the land. Most of the kings were Hindus and they would take measures for the patronage of Hinduism. The priestly class of Brahmins who occupied a very important position in the society exploited the masses. Regarding their power and position Prof. Habib says, "The Brahmins deliberately kept the people in a state of ignorance. The less scrupulous Brahmins not only earned their livelihood but established their authority by preying upon the weakness and fears of the multitude." The Brahmanical revival and its aggressive measures created animosity among the Buddhists who, in order to avoid the Hindu rulers, welcomed the Arab invaders of Sind.

Budhism & Jainism

Hinduism & its practice

Social Condition

In the beginning of the 8th century A.D. society was divided into four main castes—the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and the Sudras. Each caste did not strictly adhere to its own functions. There were Brahmins who were working as warriors and the Kshatriyas working as merchants. Likewise certain Vaishyas and Sudras were acting as rulers. In most cases people married within their castes and inter-caste marriages were very rare. Poligamy was

Four castes

practised in the society, but women were not allowed to marry a second time. Untouchability was in vogue. The practice of *Sati* was becoming popular among the ruling families. Most of the people were vegetarians and they abstained from taking even onions and garlic.

Position of women

There were schools and colleges all over the country for the education of the people. The universities of Nalanda in Behar and Valabhi in Western India were the most famous educational institutions in the country. There was a Sanskrit college at Dhar in Malwa and another at Ajmer. Besides the Vedas and Shastras, other subjects, such as science, astronomy and medicine were taught in these universities and colleges.

Education

CHAPTER II

THE ARAB CONQUEST OF SIND

Rise of Islam

The rise of Islam is, perhaps, the most amazing event in the history of the world. Islam came as a beacon light to oppressed humanity and raised the then world, especially Arabia, from the depth of degradation to a place of culture and civilization.

The founder of Islam was Prophet Muhammad (sm.) who completely changed the intellectual outlook of Arabia. Born in 571 A.D. in the noble and respectable Quraish family of Makkah, Muhammad (sm.) lost his parents early in life. He had to pass his early days through hardship and troubles and, due to economic difficulties, could not receive education. From his early life, Muhammad (sm.) was a man of noble character and generous disposition. His honesty of purpose and truthfulness earned for him the title of *al-Amin*, "the trusted one." When he was 25, he married Khadijah, a lady of 40 and this marriage removed his financial embarrassment for the time being. At the age of forty (610 A.D.) he received the divine revelation and began to preach Islam to the misguided people. A storm of opposition came and mountain after mountain of troubles stood in his way. He had to leave the land of his birth and seek shelter at Madinah. But there, too, he was not allowed to live peacefully. He had to fight a series of battles with his enemies and at last he triumphed over them. The teachings of the Prophet brought a mighty change in the lives of the Arabs. Within a span of 23 years, he transformed the barbarous and impious Arabs into a civilised and religious nation. Before his death almost the whole of Arabia came within the fold of Islam.

Achievements of the Prophet

On the demise of the Prophet, the expansion of Islam was not stopped. His followers and successors

Expansion of Islam after the Prophet

inspired by the doctrines of the new religion carried the banner of Islam to the different parts of the world. They soon became the masters of a vast empire comprising Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Persia.

The famous historian Gibbon says, "At the close of the first century of the Hijrat, the Khalifahs were the potent and absolute monarchs of the globe."

Early relation with Indo-Pakistan

After the conquest of Persia, the Muslims turned their attention to the east. Long before the advent of Islam to Arabia, the Arabs used to visit the territories of the eastern coast for trade and commerce. So it was quite natural for the sons of the desert to be attracted to the rich soil of India. During the Khilafat of Umar I, the first attempt was made by the Muslims to come to India, but it ended in failure. In consideration of the dangers and difficulties involved in distant adventures, the Khalifah stopped further expedition. In the time of Uthman, the third Khalifah of Islam, another expedition was sent under Abdullah ibn A'mr who conquered Sistan and then advanced towards Makran (modern Beluchistan). He even conquered a portion of Sind, but he, however, did not consider it worthwhile to annex the arid lands of Sind. During the Khilafat of 'Ali and Mu'awiya, several expeditions were undertaken none of which resulted in a permanent success. The arms of the Muslims remained inactive for the next few years. But with the coming of the Umayyad Khalifah, al-Walid to power, there opened a new chapter in the history of Islam. His famous general, Musa ibn Nusayr subjugated the whole of North Africa while his lieutenant, Tariq, conquered Spain. In the east Qutaibah carried the banner of Islam far into Central Asia. It was at that time that circumstances led the Muslims to the conquest of Sind.

Early attempts by the Muslims to come to India

Causes of the invasion of Sind

It has been stated that the Arabs had cast their eyes on the rich soil of India long before they con-

quered it. But in the beginning of the 8th century the Indians compelled them to invade Sind. Of course, there were other factors behind it.

During the Persian expeditions, the ruler of Sind had sent their legions to help the Persians against the Muslims and thereby they incurred the displeasure of the Muslims. The Umayyad Khalifah, al-Walid I appointed Hajjaj bin Yusuf as the governor of the eastern provinces. It was during the governorship of Hajjaj that some of the Arab rebels had crossed the border into Sind and were given shelter by Dahir, the king of Sind. When Hajjaj wanted them back, Dahir refused to return the Arab refugees. The governor of the eastern provinces was an ambitious man. He wanted the expansion of his territory to India. The obstinacy and refusal of Dahir to return the Arab refugees were a good ground to punish the Raja and to conquer Sind. But the immediate cause of this invasion was the plunder of eight ships by the pirates near Daibul, a seaport in Sind. The ships were carrying the orphan daughters of the Arab merchants who had died in Ceylon and many valuable presents sent by the King of Ceylon for the Khalifah and the governor. Hajjaj sent a letter to Dahir, requesting him to punish the culprits and restore the presents and the captives. But Raja Dahir refused to do anything on the ground that the pirates were beyond his control and he was powerless to punish them. This enraged Hajjaj who, on receiving permission from the Khalifah, sent an expedition against Daibul under the command of Ubaidullah but without success. He was soon followed by Budail who also failed to achieve success.

Help to the Persians against the Muslims

Shelter to Arab rebels

Ambition of Hajjaj

Plunder of ships by the pirates of Sind

Expedition under Muhammad bin Qasim

Hajjaj bin Yusuf was deeply mortified at these successive failures and to take revenge on the Sindhis, he fitted out a third expedition under the charge of his cousin and son-in-law, Muhammad bin Qasim. The young general marched by way of Siraj and through Makran towards Sind. On his way he was joined by the governor of Makran who gave him an

additional force. Besides the Arab troops, Muhammad bin Qasim had the fortune of enlisting under his banner a good number of Jats and Meds who were displeased with the Hindu government for maltreatment towards them. The Arabs reached Daibul in 712 A.D. The town was well-protected by the Brahmins and the Rajputs. A battle was fought between the Hindus and the Muslims in which the former were defeated and a large booty fell into the hands of the latter.

The Arabs reached Daibul, 712

After Daibul, Muhammad bin Qasim proceeded towards Nirun, near modern Hyderabad, and obtained the submission of its inhabitants. He then marched to Shewan and from Shewan to Sisam. The inhabitants of these places submitted to him without strong resistance. But the Muslims had to face a serious opposition at Rawar where all the Hindus along with their king had posted themselves to meet the enemy. The Hindus fought gallantly, but fate was against them. Dahir fell fighting and with the death of the king, the Hindus fled from the field. Dahir's wife and son took shelter in the fortress of Rawar and defended it to the last; but when the fall of the fortress became imminent, she and her handmaids cast themselves on a funeral pyre to escape possible dishonour at the hands of the Muslims.

Inhabitants of Nirun, Shewan & Sisam submitted to Bin Qasim

Defeat of Dahir

Flushed with victory, Muhammad bin Qasim advanced to Brahmanabad where people soon submitted to him. After the capture of Brahmanabad, he organised the administration of Lower Sind and placing governors in the conquered territories he set out for Alor which was defended by a son of Dahir called by the Muslim historians, 'Fufi.' Alor was soon brought under the sway of the Muslims. He then led his army against Multan, the last strong-hold of the Hindus. On his way to Multan, he captured the town of Sika. The Hindus offered battle in an open field at Multan, but they were defeated and routed by the Arabs. With the capture of Multan the whole of Dahir's dominion fell to the Muslims. The banner of Islam was thus hoisted on the soil of Indo-Pakistan in 712 A.D.

Fall of Multan, 712

Death of Muhammad bin Qasim

Different views about his death

Muhammad bin Qasim met his tragic end in the prime of his life in 715 A.D. His death checked the further progress of the Arab arms. There is a difference of opinion about the death of the conqueror of Sind. The version of his final end as given by one group of authors reads like a romantic tale. It is said that the two daughters of Dahir, Surya Devi and Parmal Devi, were sent to the Khalifah as presents. They informed the Khalifah that Qasim had dishonoured them before sending them to him. At this the Khalifah became annoyed and ordered him to be put to death. When the order was carried out, the daughters of Dahir told the Khalifah that they had invented the story in order to take revenge on him, for their father and relatives had been killed in the course of fighting with him. On hearing this tale the Khalifah ordered both the sisters to be tied to the tails of horses and dragged on until they died. After a detailed study of the subject, it is found that there is no truth in the story and it can be safely rejected as a piece of fiction. Other writers ascribe his death to political reasons. The new Khalifah Sulayman was an arch enemy of Hajjaj bin Yusuf and Muhammad bin Qasim being his cousin and son--in-law fell a victim to his wrath. He was arrested and sent to Mesopotamia where he was tortured to death. Thus ended the bright career of the great hero who had laid the foundation of Muslim rule in the sub-continent.

Character of Muhammad bin Qasim

The military and the administrative success of Muhammad bin Qasim forms one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of the Muslim rulers of Indo-Pakistan. He was a born leader and a man of versatile genius. He was a poet, a patriot, a statesman and an accomplished administrator. 'His tender age, impressive figure, his dauntless courage and noble bravery, his brilliant victiories in battles and wise method of administration and lastly his sudden and tragic end make the story of his short and illustrious life one of the romances of history'. He was strong against opponents and tender-hearted to his

friends. According to al-Marzubani, Muhammad bin Qasim was one of the great men of all times.

Causes of Arab Success

Disunity among the Indians & unpopularity of Dahir

There were several causes which contributed to the success of the Arabs in Sind. The disunity among the Indians and the unpopularity of Dahir greatly facilitated the Arab conquest of Sind. There was little sympathy between the ruler and the ruled. The Buddhists and the Jains in Sind had grievances against Dahir and so they did not help him in times of trouble. Moreover, the Jats, the Meds and certain other castes who were looked down upon and subjected to humilitation by the ruler joined with the invaders and thereby strengthened the cause of the latter. By the beginning of the 8th century the Arab army had become the mightest of the world.

Superiority of the Arab army

Perfect organisation, remarkable discipline and morale, advancement in technique, highly improved machinery of attack and the use of camels gave the Arab army a marked superiority over all the armies of the world. The Arabs had by this time a strong naval power, while Dahir did not have a strong navy. The army of Dahir was inferior in technical skill and his commanders were inferior in generalship.

Able generalship of Qasim

Muhammad bin Qasim, a young man of 17 was an intrepid and skilful general, and the success of the Arabs in Sind was largely due to his able generalship.

Administration of Sind

The men who were sent to accomplish the conquest of Sind were not only great warriors and conquerors, but also good administrators. The administration introduced by Muhammad bin Qasim in Sind leads us to believe that the Arabs possessed experience in the art of administration and were not cruel and fanatic as it is generally supposed by the people. Toleration was shown by the Arab governors of Sind to their subjects irrespective of caste and creed. Some of the temples were no doubt destroyed during the days of war, but that was a tem-

porary phase, for the destruction of temples was due not to religious bigotry or fanaticism but to the fact that the temples were the repositories of India's age-long accumulated wealth. Once a place was occupied and peace restored or the people submitted to the ruler and sought peace, the conqueror adopted a kind and conciliatory policy towards them. When the people of Brahmanabad, for instance, submitted to the conqueror, they were allowed to rebuild their temples which were destroyed during the time of war. The Brahmins were permitted to perform their rites and ceremonies in the manner prescribed by their religion. Hajjaj bin Yusuf sent a *farman* to Muhammad bin Qasim instructing him to grant the population of Sind rights to life and property in lieu of their submission and willingness to pay taxes to the Muslim administrator. They were also given the right to perform their religious rites as they pleased.

Toleration to the subjects

The Arab governors were far-sighted statesmen and great politicians. They did not disturb the existing system of administration in Sind. They placed the entire machinery of internal administration in the hands of the natives. The people who had occupied the key posts in the time of Dahir, were expected to know all about the land. "Reposing full confidence in them, Muhammad bin Qasim entrusted them with high offices and placed all important affairs of the place in their hands." (Chach Nama) Brahmins were appointed to collect revenue. The main sources of revenue under the Arabs were land revenue, customs and transit duties, *khums* (1/5th of the booty), *Jizya* and *Baj* or tribute from dependencies. The revenue was paid in cash or kind. The jizya was collected from the non-Muslims who were under the protection of the Muslims and who were exempted from military service. The Muslims had to pay the *zakat*.

Local self-government

Hindus appointed in the high offices of the State

Sources of revenue

The military system of the Arabs which was introduced into Sind, was at first restricted to the recruitment of Muslims only, but afterwards the restrictions placed on outsiders were relaxed and the Khalifah freely recruited their ranks from ex-

People without restriction recruited in the army

traneous sources as well. Steps were taken to improve and encourage agriculture and trade. Artisans and merchants were free from molestation.

Law and justice administered without favour

Justice was administered without fear or favour. The Qazis who were well-versed in Islamic Law and Jurisprudence, filled the seats of judgement. In matters of public and political offence the law made no distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims. Some cases among the Hindus were decided according to Hindu Law by the *Panchayats*.

Effects of the Conquest of Sind

In political sphere the Arab conquest of Sind had little effect

It has been stated by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole that "the Arab conquest of Sind is an episode in the history of India and of Islam, a triumph without result." There is no doubt that the Arab conquest was confined to Sind and Multan only and the major portion of Northern India was not directly affected. Expeditions were sent against the Hindu princes of the north, but the Rajputs, specially the Gurjara-Pratiharas, were too strong to be defeated. The sudden death of Muhammad bin Qasim and the fruitless help of the Khalifah had greatly shaken the stability of the Arab position in Sind. With the decline of the power of the Khalifahs, territories of Sind were divided into independent states. Most of the Arab soldiers settled in Sind for good and some of them married Sindhi women. The Arabs and the Hindus lived side by side in peace and amity for a long time. The Arabs left a legacy behind in the shape of buildings or administrative or cultural institutions that might have exerted influence on India. The Sindhi language shows Arab influence even today. It is wrong to say that the Arab conquest of Sind had absolutely no effect on India.

The establishment of Muslim rule in Sind had profound and far reaching effects in the field of culture and learning of the land. 'The Arabs had brought with them a new religion and a new civilization which they introduced among the conquered people. They brought India into direct contact with the Islamic world and opened immense possibilities of commercial and cultural progress.' The Arabs in

turn acquired from the Hindus some new knowledge in Indian religion, philosophy, astronomy, medicine and folklore and carried it to their own country as well as to Europe. Many of the Sanskrit works on astronomy and mathematics were translated into Arabic under the patronage of the Abbasid Khalifahs. During the reign of Harun-ar-Rashid, the Barmakids invited Hindu scholars to Baghdad to translate into Arabic Sanskrit works on medicine, philosophy, astronomy and other subjects. Similarly many Arab savants studied Sanskrit to satisfy their thirst for knowledge of Indian culture. Amir Khusrau mentioned that the Arab astronomer Abu Mashar came to Benares, the seat of Hindu learning, and studied astronomy there for ten years. Thus we find that the exchange of ideas and the cultural contact between the Arabs and the Hindus were possible as a result of the Arab conquest. To the natives, particularly to the lower class, the Muslim rule symbolised prosperity and emancipation. This is why, the Jats and the Meds accorded welcome to the Arabs by blowing conch-shell. So from the cultural point of view, the invasion of Sind cannot be regarded as an isolated military event. Hence the statement that 'the Arab conquest of Sind was a triumph without results' cannot be accepted in toto.

The effects of the conquest upon culture were profound and far-reaching

Later History of Sind

After the death of Muhammad bin Qasim, Yazid bin Muhallab was appointed governor of Sind by the Khalifah, Sulayman. Yazid soon died and was succeeded by his brother, Habib who restored to some extent the hegemony of the Muslims in Sind. During the Khilafat of Umar II a good number of Hindus in Sind embraced Islam. Habib was replaced by al-Junayd in the reign of Hisham. Brave, energetic and ambitious al-Junayd suppressed the rebellion of the Hindus and put their leader, Jaishaba to death. But during the rule of the weak successors of al-Junayd, the Muslim power in Sind began to decline rapidly. The progress of the Muslims was thwarted in the south by the Chalukya King, Vikramaditya II and in the east by Pratiharas. With the decline of the

Yazid bin Muhallab appointed governor after Muhammad bin Qasim

Al-Junayd

Abbasids, Sind became divided into a number of petty states which were practically independent. Towards the close of the 9th century, Sind was cut off from the Khalifah. But a new chapter was opened in the history of Sind when the Ghaznavids turned towards the conquest of Indo-Pakistan by the end of the 10th century.

Causes of the Arab failure in Sind

Many factors were responsible for the decline of the Arab power in Sind. In the first place, the Arabs had entered India from a wrong direction. Sind was not a rich province and its resources were very limited. It could not give the Arabs the necessary resources with which the rest of India could be conquered. So, Sind could not serve as a good base for launching a successful invasion of India. Secondly, in the later period there was a lack of unity among the tribes who conquered Sind and so the Muslims could not make combined efforts to push their arms to the distant land. This disunity prevented the Arabs from further progress. Thirdly, the province of Sind was unproductive and hence the Khalifahs found it unprofitable to occupy and maintain such a land. That was why they did not pay much attention to its military strength. Fourthly, there was a good number of powerful independent Rajput kingdoms in Indo-Pakistan. The strong resistance of the Rajputs proved to be an important cause for the failure of the Arabs in Sind. Lastly, the successors of the conqueror of Sind were weak and incapable. In the circumstances, the Hindu chieftains regained their power in the land.

Entry of the Arabs from wrong direction

Want of unity among the Arabs

Negligence of the Khalifahs

Strong resistance of the Rajputs

Weak successors

CHAPTER III

THE HOUSE OF GHAZNI

Rise of the Ghaznavids

The progress of conquest was resumed with new zeal and energy in the 10th century by the Turks who came to Indo-Pakistan from beyond the Afghan hills. After the fall of the Umayyad Khilafat the Abbasids came to power. The first few Khalifahs of this dynasty ruled with distinction, but the later Khalifahs proved weak and tactless. By their policy they brought about their own downfall. They appointed the Turks their bodyguards who soon grew too powerful to be controlled. The Khalifahs became mere tools in their hands. As a result of their weakness and maladministration the governors of the distant provinces became independent. Spain and Egypt passed out of their control, while in Iraq, Persia and Turkistan, the growth of a number of minor dynasties paralysed the power of the Khalifahs.

Distant provinces became independent during the later part of the Abbasids

Alptigin

Of the semi-independent Persian dynasties that ruled in succession over some of the provinces in Central Asia, the Tahirid, the Saffarid and the Samanid were the prominent. After the fall of the first two dynasties, the Samanids became masters of Khurasan and Transoxiana. Abdul Malek, the fifth prince of the house of Samanid, had a Turkish slave named Alptigin who by dint of devotion and service to his master rose to the position of the governor of Khurasan. Alptigin was a man of courage and character. After the demise of his master and patron, he went to Ghazni, expelled its ruler Abu Bakr Lawik and laid the foundation of an independent state (962). In the 14th year of his independence, he breathed his last and was succeeded by his son, Abu Ishaq. In a few years Abu Ishaq followed his fa-

Alptigin founded the Ghaznavid dynasty in 961 A.D.

ther to the grave and Sabuktigin, the father of the celebrated Sultan Mahmud, ascended the throne in 977 A.D.

Sabuktigin (977-997)

Sabuktigin belonged to the Iranian royal family; but early in life he was sold as a slave to Alptigin. By his service and fidelity, he had endeared himself to his master who not only made him the commander-in-chief of his forces but also gave him his daughter in marriage. He was a man of parts and promise. Immediately on his accession he conquered Qusdar and Bust and then he turned his attention to the conquest of Indo-Pakistan.

Capture of Qusdar & Bust

The rulers of Indo-Pakistan viewed the rise of Muslim power in the sub-continent with jealousy and apprehension. Jaypal, the Hindu Raja of the Punjab, anticipating an attack of Sabuktigin on his realm, mobilized his forces against the latter. The first clash between the Hindus and the Muslims took place at Lamghan in the Khyber Pass in which the former were badly defeated. Jaypal saved his life by promising to pay ten lakhs of rupees and fifty elephants. But he did not fulfil his promise and the officers who had come to realize the promised tribute were put under arrest. Regarding the invasion of this country by Sabuktigin, Sir W. Haig says, "These expeditions were undertaken rather as measures of reprisal and for the purpose of securing his dominions than with any intention of propagating the faith."

Causes of attack on Indo-Pakistan

The action of Jaypal soon brought Sabuktigin into the field and within a short time the latter seized a number of forts. Jaypal got alarmed at the success of the Muslims and so he organised a league of Hindu princes in order to drive out the Muslims. Many of the princes of Northern India joined him to oppose the advance of the Muslims; but the combined forces were once again defeated on a plain near Peshawar. The territories between Lamghan and Peshawar were annexed to the Ghaznavid Empire. In this battle the superiority of the Muslims over the Hindus was established and though 'India

Hindu confederates defeated by Sabuktigin

Importance of Sabuktigin's victory

was not yet conquered, the right route to attack her was discovered, for Sabuktigin was the first Muslim ruler to invade India from the North-West Frontier.'

In 997 A.D. Sabuktigin died, leaving a large and well-established empire to his successors. He was a kind and generous ruler. He was also steady and patient. Before his death, he appointed his younger son, Ismail as successor. Mahmud, the eldest and the ablest of his four sons, could not agree to this arrangement. He at first tried to come to an amicable settlement with Ismail, but all his efforts ended in failure. At last the two brothers met on the plain of Ghazna and a hot battle was fought in 998 A.D. in which Ismail was defeated. Mahmud placed him 'in nominal confinement and provided him with easy comfort and convenience.' Ismail was soon involved in a plot against his brother who was compelled for the safety of his life and throne to transfer him to a distant fortress (at Juzjanan) 'where he passed the rest of his life in peace.'

Ismail defeated by Mahmud

Sultan Mahmud (998-1030)

Mahmud after defeating and imprisoning his brother, Ismail, ascended the throne in 998 A.D. He spent the first two years of his reign in fighting against the Samanids. The Samanids acknowledged his authority over Balkh, Herat, Tirmiz and Bust, but they refused to accept his authority over Khurasan. Mahmud soon waged war against the Samani king and defeated him in the open field. He then declared himself as an independent ruler and took for the first time the title of Sultan. He secured his position by obtaining the formal recognition of his sovereignty from the Abbasid Khalifah, al-Qadir Billah who also conferred upon him the titles of *Yamin-ud-Dawlah* and *Amin-ul-Millah*. Hence his dynasty is known as the Yamini dynasty.

His accession in 998 A.D.

Mahmud was a man of ambition and enterprise. On receiving the recognition of his sovereignty from al-Qadir Billah, the Khalifah of Baghdad, "he made it obligatory on himself to undertake every year an expedition to Hind." From 1000 to 1026 A.D. Mahmud led a good many expeditions to Hind. But it

Ambition of Mahmud

is not possible to ascertain the exact number of expeditions undertaken by him. According to Sir Henry Elliot, Mahmud led as many as seventeen expeditions. Some of the historians give the number as twelve. The view of the former historian appears to be more correct and it is accepted by most of the historians.

Expeditions of Mahmud

Capture of frontier forts

(1) The first expedition of Mahmud which was undertaken in 1000 A.D. against the frontier towns of the Khyber Pass was an important one. During this expedition he captured a few forts and towns of the Khyber Pass.

Defeat of Jaypal of Hindu-shahi kingdom

(2) Mahmud led his second expedition (1001 A.D.) against his father's enemy, Jaypal, the king of Hindushahi kingdom at the head of 100,000 horsemen. Jaypal collected all his forces and marched against the invader. A fierce battle was fought at Peshawar in November, 1001 in which the Muslims came out victorious. Jaypal with his sons and grandsons was taken prisoner but was subsequently released on certain terms. Jaypal could not tolerate this insult. He, after appointing his son Anandapal as the next king, burnt himself to death.

Defeat of Bijai Rai of Bhira

(3) The third expedition was directed against the ruler of Bhira (Bhatiya) who in spite of his promise failed to help Mahmud. Bijai Rai, the ruler of Bhira offered a strong resistance to the invader but ultimately he fled away from the battle-field. He was pursued and when he felt that he was going to fall into the hands of the enemies he stabbed himself to death.

Conquest of Multan

(4) The fourth expedition of Mahmud was led against the Muslim ruler of Multan. Abul Fateh Daud, the ruler of Multan had friendly relation with Anandapal. In 1006, Mahmud marched across the Punjab to Multan. Anandapal, its ruler and son of Jaypal, offered resistance but was defeated and driven to Kashmir hills. Mahmud then invaded Multan. Daud fled, but the garrison of Multan did not submit without resistance. Multan was captured after a siege of seven days and the citizens were

pardoned on payment of a heavy fine. The charge of Multan was left in the hands of Sukhpal or Nawasa Shah, a grandson of Jaypal, who had been imprisoned by Mahmud after the defeat of Jaypal and had embraced Islam and got the name of Nawasa Shah.

Defeat of Nawasa Shah

(5) When Mahmud retired to Ghazni after capturing Multan and appointed Sukhpal alias Nawasa Shah as its governor, the latter declared independence and renounced Islam. Mahmud led an invasion (1007) against him and defeated him.

Battle of Waihind

(6) The sixth expedition of Mahmud was led against Anandapal in 1008 A.D. He organised a confederacy against the Muslims in which the great Rajput Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Qanauj, Delhi and Ajmer had joined. Mahmud had never met such a vast army organised by the Hindu confederates. It is said that the enthusiasm was so great among the people that the "Hindu women sold their jewels and sent the money from distant parts to be used against the Musalmans." The Khokhars, a tribe of the Punjab, also joined the Rajputs in their struggle against the Muslims. It was a challenge to Mahmud. He met the huge Hindu army near Waihind. The bare-footed and bare-headed Khokhars fought very bravely against the Muslims. It was a critical moment for the Muslims. But fortunately the elephant of Anandapal got frightened and fled away from the battle-field. This caused a great confusion and panic among the Hindu soldiers who also ran away from the battle-field. Mahmud won victory and a large amount of booty fell into his hands.

Defeat of Anandapal

Conquest of Nagarkot

(7) Mahmud next marched against Nagarkot in Kangra hills and besieged the fort of Nagarkot (1009). After three days' stubborn resistance the fort fell into the hands of Mahmud. He returned to Ghazni with a vast collection of riches and jewels.

Defeat of Daud

(8) In 1010 A.D. Mahmud led an expedition to Multan and defeated the rebellious chief, Daud.

(9) Though defeated, Anandapal did not lose his spirits. In fact, his repeated reverses made him all the more determined to resist the enemy to the

bitter end. He shifted his capital to Nandanah, gathered a small army and tried to consolidate his position in the Salt Range region. He died a peaceful death there and was succeeded by his son, Trilochanpal. In 1014 A.D. Mahmud led an expedition against Trilochanpal and captured Nandanah after a brief siege. The new ruler took shelter in Kashmir but Mahmud pursued him and defeated the combined forces of Trilochanpal and his new ally, Tunga of Kashmir. Mahmud did not consider it safe to penetrate into Kashmir. Trilochanpal also did not like to end his days as a refugee in Kashmir. So he returned to the Punjab, his ancestral kingdom and established himself in the Sivalik hills. He entered into an alliance with Vidyadhar, the Chandela ruler of Bundelkhand. In order to break this alliance, Mahmud again came to Indo-Pakistan, and finally defeated Trilochanpal. The result of this expedition "was more enduring than those of others." He annexed the Punjab to his dominions and entrusted a regular Amir with the government of this province.

Expedition against Trilochanpal

Conquest of the Punjab

Trilochanpal was assassinated in 1021-22 A.D. and he was succeeded by his son, Bhimpal. With the death of Bhimpal in 1028 A.D. the Hindushahi dynasty came to an end.

Expedition against Thaneswar

(10) In 1014 A.D. Mahmud marched against Thaneswar. The Hindus fought desperately but they were defeated and Thaneswar was captured.

Kashmir

(11) Mahmud made two attempts between 1015 and 1021 A.D. to conquer Kashmir but on both the occasions he was unsuccessful.

Expedition against Qanauj

(12) The next important expedition of Mahmud was directed against Qanauj, the imperial capital of Hindustan. In 1018 A.D. Mahmud at the head of a large army, set out from Ghazni. He captured all the forts on the way. The Raja of Baran or Bulandshahar, offered his submission and embraced Islam along with ten thousand men. From there Mahmud marched against Mathura, one of the wealthiest cities and captured it. A huge booty fell into the hands of Mahmud. After Mathura came the turn of Brindaban. Mahmud plundered the forts and tem-

ples of Brindaban and got a huge booty. Mahmud appeared before the gates of Qanauj in January, 1019 A.D. Rajyapal, the Pratihara ruler of Qanauj submitted to Mahmud without any fighting. On his way back to Ghazni, Mahmud captured some small forts.

Submission of the king of Qanauj

(13) The submission of Rajyapal, the ruler of Qanauj gave offence to other Rajput rulers, particularly Gonda, the Chandela Raja of Kalinjar. Gonda entered into an alliance with the ruler of Gwalior. The allied forces attacked and killed Rajyapal and placed his son on the vacant throne. Mahmud was compelled from the moral point of view to attack the Chandela king but the latter ran away from the battle-field. The Sultan returned to the capital with victory.

Defeat of Chandela king of Kalinjar

(14) In 1021-22 A.D. Mahmud led his fourteenth expedition against Gwalior and compelled the Raja of Gwalior to submit.

Gwalior

(15) After accepting the submission of the Raja of Gwalior Mahmud proceeded towards Kalinjar, the famous fortress of Gonda and laid siege to it. According to the Muslim historians, the Chandela Prince saved himself by promising to pay the annual tribute.

Expedition against Kalinjar

(16) The most momentous expedition of Sultan Mahmud was indeed the capture of Somnath in Kathiawar. Regarding the cause of this expedition, the famous historian, Ibn-ul-Athir says that, 'when Mahmud of Ghazni was gaining victory after victory in India, the Hindus began to say that the success of Mahmud was due to the displeasure of the Somnath god with the inhabitants of the defeated territories'. At this, Mahmud decided to conquer Somnath in order to prove the futility of their belief. This view is corroborated by Ibn Khaldun, Ferishta and Wolseley Haig. Towards the close of 1025 A.D. he set out from Ghazni and passing through Multan and the desert of Rajputana, he stood before the gates of Somnath on the 9th of January, 1026. The Hindus offered a stubborn resistance, but were defeated. The enormous wealth of the temple now fell into the hands of the Sultan. "The expedition to

Cause of attack on Somnath

Somnath" says Dr. M. Nazim, "is one of the greatest feats of military adventure in the history of Islam."

Last expedition

(17) The last expedition (1027) was undertaken against the Jats who had molested the Muslim army on its return journey from Somnath. The Jats were defeated and many of them were put to death.

Nature and Motives of Mahmud's Invasions

Different opinions about the motives of Mahmud

Sultan Mahmud made seventeen expeditions into Indo-Pakistan and conquered a number of places in the sub-continent. But he did not establish his rule over them or annex any part of the conquered territories except the Punjab. What then was the object of his military expeditions ? Various opinions have been expressed by the historians about the motives of Sultan Mahmud's invasions. Some say that Mahmud was the greatest champion of Islam whose main motive in invading this country was to preach Islam by breaking the idols and desecrating the temples. There are others who hold that his chief motive was to loot the wealth of Indo-Pakistan. He was a raider-in-chief who, in order to satisfy his thirst for wealth, "came, burnt, killed, plundered, captured and went away." Still there are others who think and maintain that Mahmud was a great military general and conqueror and it was his ambition that brought him to this sub-continent. Thus there are different views about the motives of Mahmud's invasions and these views may briefly be discussed here.

Religious motive. There are writers who are of opinion that the chief object of Mahmud's Indian invasion was to crush idolatry and spread Islam. According to them, Mahmud had been especially engaged by Khalifah Qadir Billah of Baghdad to undertake the task of spreading Islam in India and Mahmud in his repeated invasions tried to plant Islam in India. He destroyed the great Hindu temples of Nagarkot, Somnath and other places and compelled thousands of Hindus including many Rajas to embrace Islam.

This view of the historians cannot be accepted in the face of facts. The age of Holy War was over

long ago. The idea of the propagation of Islam had ceased to be considered a part of the duty of the sovereign at the time of Sultan Mahmud. "The non-religious character of his expeditions" will be obvious to the critic who has grasped the salient features of the age. It is impossible to read a religious motive into them." *

The age of Mahmud was non-religious in character

Mahmud was not a preacher, but a great conqueror. He was a pious Muslim but he never forced his religion on others. Islam sanctions neither vendalism nor plundering motives of the invader. "Some Rajas are said to have embraced Islam, but they did so most probably as a political shift to escape the fury of the conqueror and returned to their faith as soon as he had turned his back on them."** It is a different thing if a Hindu Raja and his followers embraced Islam either for fear of defeat or for enjoying privileges under Islam. "His religious policy was based on toleration and though zealous for Islam, he maintained a large body of Hindu troops and there is no reason to believe that conversion was a condition of their services." † The Hindu soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder with the Muslims against the common enemy. Had it been a Holy War, it would not have been possible for them to go against their co-religionists. According to M. Elphinstone, "It is nowhere asserted that he ever put a Hindu to death except in battle or in the storm of a fort." Mahmud massacred a good number of Muslims in Persia and almost all his Central Asian expeditions were against his co-religionists. So, "if he harassed the Hindu Rajas of India, he did not spare the Muslim sovereigns of Iran and Transoxiana." §

Himself a Muslim Mahmud never forced religion on others

His army composed of a large body of Hindu troops

Under his benign government the Hindus enjoyed complete religious freedom. He granted the Hindus separate quarters in Ghazni where they were at liberty to perform their religious rites and cere-

* Prof. M. Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni*

** Dr. M. Nazim, *Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud*

† Sir W. Haig, *Cambridge History of India, Vol.* III.

§ Dr. M. Nazim *Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud.*

monies. The Hindus were appointed to highly responsible posts and the names of Tilak Rai, Hazari Rai and Sonai stand out prominently in the military history of Ghazni. He also instituted a college and a market at Ghazni for the propagation of Hindu culture and Sanskrit works. If he was a fanatic, how could it be possible for him to do these things ?

Religious liberty granted to the Hindus

Mahmud, of course, destroyed some of the temples of the Hindus. This destruction of Hindu temples was a part of his military programme, for the temples were the repositories of accumulated wealth. There are certain writers who blame Mahmud for "wanton destruction of temples." But they have forgotten that it was only during war that the temples were destroyed. He never destroyed any temple in peace time nor any temple suffered desecration at his hands, if he had not been aware of its riches. He was not actuated by a desire to punish the idolators nor to spread the faith of Islam. The famous historian al-Beruni who was an eye-witness says, "The treasures were accumulated in the temples by the bounty of the pious Hindus who had grown rich by selling their surplus produce to foreign merchants." These sacred places were regarded as inviolate and some times even monarchs kept huge wealth in the safe custody at these temples. According to Dr. Iswari Prasad, "The temples of India which Mahmud raided were store-houses of enormous and untold wealth and also some of these were political centres." Hence, the view of the critics that Mahmud invaded India again and again to preach Islam by breaking the idols and desecrating the temples is historically wrong and psychologically untrue.

Destruction of Hindu temples was due to military programme

Charge of invading India on religious ground was baseless

Political motive. According to some historians Mahmud's motive in invading India was to satisfy his ambition of conquest and to extend his empire to this country. There is no doubt that Mahmud was an ambitious man and it was but natural for him to cherish the idea of extending his empire to the east. This idea arose out of necessity. The North-West Frontier of India occupies a strategic position and its occupation is of vital importance to

the kingdom of Kabul and Afghanistan. It may be mentioned here that Jaypal, the king of the Hindushahi kingdom of the Punjab, viewed the rise of the Ghaznivid power with great alarm and it was he who first invaded Ghazni during the time of Sabuktigin. Though he drank the cup of humiliation at the hands of Sabuktigin, the issue remained unsettled and when Mahmud ascended the throne, he took up the issue. His motive was to establish a Central Asian empire and for this, he followed a policy of conquest and consolidation in the west. But in the east Mahmud remained satisfied with the annexation of the Punjab and some other places, such as Sind and Multan. These places formed the second line of his defence in the east and south-east. His Indian invasion was one of political rather than religious interest. In addition to the occupation of North-West Frontier in the interest of his kingdom, the violation of the terms of the treaty by the Hindu Rajas, the renouncing of allegiance to the Sultan, the political betrayal in the form of help to his enemies, the molestation of his Indian allies by their hostile neighbours and the rebellion of the Indian vassals compelled Mahmud to invade Indo-Pakistan repeatedly.

Invasions of India arose out of political necessity

Economic motive. According to S. M. Jaffar and Prof. Habib, the real motive of Mahmud's invasion of India was economic and not religious. Mahmud was in need of money and the fabulous wealth of India might have attracted him to the fertile plains of Hindustan. Whenever he led an expedition, he went back with enormous money in order to finance his campaigns against his Central Asian enemies and to build Ghazni into a great empire. Hence, it can be concluded that the real motives of Mahmud's Indian invasions were economic-cum-political and not religious.

Economic necessity

Unlike other Central Asian rulers, Mahmud of Ghazni did not like to live here permanently. So after conquering the land and destroying the power of his enemies he went back to his own country. Hence, his invasions seem to be merely plundering raids and he appears to the historians of India

more as a raider than as a conqueror. But his conquests in the other direction and those in the sub-continent, though the latter had left little permanent result, speak positively of Mahmud as a great conqueror. He fully realised the importance of wealth in attaining political power and when India offered him that chance, he availed himself of it. The money which he took from India was properly spent for the improvement of the capital. But one thing seems to be certain. His frequent raids must have caused hardship to the population of the north-western part of this sub-continent.

Was Mahmud a raider?

Causes of Mahmud's Success

Dissensions of the Hindus

The Hindus were numerically superior to the Muslims, but they could not stand unitedly against the invaders. "Whenever a confederacy was organised, its members often fell out among themselves" and thus failed and paralysed the plans of the leaders. These dissensions and mutual jealousies of the Hindus contributed greatly to the success of the Muslims. Secondly, the Hindus followed the old methods of warfare. Their absolute dependence on unwieldly war elephants, which proved immobile and dangerous to fight against the well-trained cavalry leaders, offered the Muslims a chance to inflict a crushing blow on them in the field. Thirdly, the Muslims had better organisation, discipline and cohesion. The teachings of Islam made them united under their leader against the common enemy. They gave battle to the enemy with courage and energy. Their enthusiasm was further heightened by the prospect of wealth and the love of adventure. Lastly, to those causes must be added the generalship of Sultan Mahmud whose tactics and diplomacy in battles ensured more than anything the success of the Muslims.

Old methods of warfare

Unity of the Muslims

Generalship of Mahmud

Results of Mahmud's Invasions

It has been said that Sultan Mahmud made seventeen expeditions into India and conquered a number of places. Almost the whole of Northern India felt the weight of his arms. But if his Indian expe-

ditions are analysed one by one, it will reveal to the readers that the results of his victories were not permanent. The only permanent result of his seventeen expeditions was the conquest of the Punjab. Many places were conquered, but a few were permanently annexed to the empire of Ghazni. After his demise, only a portion of the Punjab, Sind and some parts of the adjoining provinces, such as Multan, acknowledged the Ghaznavid suzerainty. Elsewhere in India the result of his invasions soon wore off. Sultan Mahmud could not establish his rule in the conquered places. The Rajputs, who overran the countries after the Sultan's departure, re-established their rule in Northern India except the Punjab which eventually opened the gates to the Sultan's co-religionists. Thus, the conquest of the Punjab was the net result of his seventeen expeditions and in consideration of this result, he may be called an Indian sovereign in a limited sense.

The conquest of the Punjab was the only result of his seventeen expeditions

But the effects of the invasions of Sultan Mahmud in the political, economic and cultural history of India cannot be denied. Politically, the expeditions paved the way for the future conquest of India by the Muslims. The success of Sultan Mahmud exposed the weakness of the Indian political and military systems and established the superiority of the Muslims over the Hindus 'in the art of war, discipline and devotion to duty.' Economically, the invasions caused a heavy drain on India's age-long accumulated wealth. While it made India much poorer, it contributed greatly to the glory and grandeur of Ghazni and enabled the Sultan to finance his schemes of war and peace. Culturally, Sultan Mahmud's invasions brought the civilization of the Hindus and the Muslims into close contact and led to a mutual exchange of ideas and thoughts between the conqueror and the conquered. "In the train of Muslim warriors and warlords came Muslim saints and savants who permeated the rank of Indian society, promulgated Islam in India and won a number of converts." Though conversion to Islam did not form any part of the motives of Sultan Mahmud's conquest, 'his invasion indirectly facilitated the future progress of Islam in India.'

Though it caused a heavy drain on India's wealth, it added to the glory of Ghazni

It brought the two great civilizations into contact

His death, 1030

As a result of ceaseless activity, Mahmud fell ill in 1027 and eventually his weakness confined him to bed. He died in 1030 A.D. at Ghazni at the age of sixty.

Estimate of Sultan Mahmud

As a soldier and general

Sultan Mahmud is one of the greatest personalities in the annals of Indo-Pakistan. His Indian campaigns form a brilliant record of his achievements as a soldier and general. According to Stanley Lanepoole, Mahmud was a "great soldier and a man of infinite courage and indefatigable energy of mind and body." He led seventeen expeditions into India but there was not a single occasion when he suffered a defeat. He had to face the combined forces of the Rajas of India and on every occasion he defeated them all. Mahmud was a very cautious and intrepid military general. According to S. M. Jaffar, "Mahmud was endowed with a genius of war. He was a scientific general, skilful in planning and thorough in execution." He would make fullest preparations and plans before undertaking any invasion. During a reign of 32 years, he "conquered many places and extended his empire over the whole of the country now known as Afghanistan, the greater part of Persia, Transoxiana and the Punjab. It was no small achievement to "develop a small mountain principality of Ghazni into a large and prosperous empire by sheer force of arms." He was a born leader of man and a mighty conqueror. He never shrank from war ; rather he took delight in it. His military exploits in the east effaced the glories of Alexander's conquest from the minds of many. His army consisted of heterogeneous elements such as Arabs, Afghanis, Turks and Hindus but he showed wonderful ability in welding together these elements into a powerful and invincible unit. As a conqueror, his purpose was to achieve fame and glory and he had achieved it.

Mahmud was not only a soldier and general, but also a great empire-builder. It has been alleged that he paid no attention to the building up of

his empire. This view of the critics is not correct. His aim was to conquer the entire territory of his enemies and to destroy their power and he was certainly successful in achieving this object. The hostile neighbouring chiefs were duly punished and replaced by others who were friendly and loyal to him. "His rule was so firmly established in the Punjab" that his family was able to take shelter at Lahore after their departure from Ghazni. He found Ghazni a petty kingdom but he turned it into a vast empire. Before him, no Arab and Turkish rulers of Central Asia could conquer further than Herat, Kabul and Ghazni. He was the first of the Muslim rulers to invade India from North-West Frontier which opened the gates of India to his co-religionists.

As an empire builder

As a ruler, Mahmud was just, firm and generous. We do not know the exact system of his administration, yet there is no doubt that it was "a well-organised and well-conducted government." He divided his empire into provinces, each under a governor. He exercised strict supervision over the administration of the provinces, so that the governors did not oppress the people. Mahmud was particularly famous for his administration of justice. He meted out justice to all irrespective of caste and creed, rank and station. Even his own sons and relatives were not spared from the laws of the *Shariat*, if they committed offence. Utbi, his court historian hails him "as the glorious lord of people who displayed equality between the widow and the wealthy, so that the boasting and oppression was closed."

As a ruler

According to some historians, Sultan Mahmud was not a constructive genius nor a far-sighted statesman. Lanepoole says, "We hear of no laws or institutions or methods of government that sprang from his initiative. Outward order and security was all he attempted to attain in his unwieldy empire, to organise and to consolidate was not in his scheme." Dr. Ishwari Prasad corroborates this view when he says that the empire of Mahmud "was a huge agglomerator of people who could not be held

Criticism of Mahmud as a ruler

in check only by Argus-eyed Sultan." That was why his empire crumbled to pieces after his death.

This view of the historians is not correct according to C. V. Vaidya.[1] There are no records to disapprove the statement "that it was a well-organised and well-conducted government." The reason why the empire fell was not the incapability of Mahmud to organise and consolidate. It was rather due to the weakness and incapability of Mahmud's successors who lacked the qualities of generalship and statesmanship.

Patron of arts and letters

The chief work that has immortalised Mahmud's name was his patronage of learning and literature. Himself a poet and a scholar he appreciated the works of art and patronised learning. According to Lanepoole, "From the cities of Oxus and the shores of the Caspian, from Persia and Khurasan, he pressed into his service the lights of oriental letters." His lavish generosity drew around him a galaxy of eminent poets and scholars among whom al-Beruni, Firdausi, Unsari and Utbi deserve special mention. Firdausi, "the Homer of the East" was the court poet of Mahmud. He wrote the famous *Shahnamah*, which is one of the best pieces of literature. He invited scholars and collected literary works from all parts of the world. He founded a university at Ghazni and endowed it with a great library and museum. He beautified his capital with noble buildings and mosques.

Mahmud's place in history

Sultan Mahmud was kind and just to his subjects and shared in their joys and sorrows. He was the embodiment of toleration. He allowed the Hindus to perform their religious duties with the utmost freedom. He appointed many Hindus to high posts in the State. He was a pious Muslim who observed all the injunctions of Islam in his daily life, but he never forced religion on others. He knew the Quran by heart and possessed sufficient knowledge of the Hadith. A great leader of men, a just ruler, a gifted soldier, a dispenser of justice and a patron of letters, he deserves to be ranked as the greatest king of his age and one of the greatest personalities of the world.

Successors of Sultan Mahmud

The successors of Sultan Mahmud ruled for more than 150 years at Ghazni, but none of them are worthy of special mention. The death of Mahmud was followed by a war of succession between his two sons. Mas'ud and Muhammad. The former gained the upper hand and the latter was blinded and imprisoned. Mas'ud was generous, brave and courteous. He was also famous for his patronage of learning. But he could not cope with the growing pressure of the Saljuq Turks who defeated him in a battle near Merv. His blinded brother, Muhammad, was again placed on the throne by the army. Muhammad entrusted the government to his son, Ahmad, who murdered his uncle, Mas'ud, in prison. Mas'ud's son, Maudood avenged his father's death without any mercy and the whole family of Muhammad was extirpated. Maudood died after a troublesome rule of nine years. After his death, the throne of Ghazni was occupied by a number of weak rulers, who were unable to resist the Saljuqs. The Saljuqs played a very considerable part in the overthrow of the Ghaznavid empire.

Process of disintegration began

Internal & external causes weakened the power of the empire

The long struggle between the Ghaznavids and the Saljuqs gave the chiefs of Ghur an opportunity of reviving their power. The later Ghaznavid rulers entered into a fratricidal war with the Ghuri chiefs. Bahram Shah, one of the descendants of Sultan Mahmud, planted the seed of blood-feud which bore its fruit during the time of his grandson, Khusrau Malik. With the defeat of Khusrau Malik at the hands of Muhammad bin Sam, the House of Ghazni and then the sovereignty of India passed into the hands of the Ghuri chiefs.

Blood-feud with the Ghuri chieftains was the immediate cause

CHAPTER IV

THE HOUSE OF GHUR

Rise of the Ghurids

The principality of Ghur lay in the hills between Ghazni and Herat. It was conquered by Sultan Mahmud in 1010 A.D. Since then it was a tributory province of the Ghaznavid Empire. The Ghurids had faithfully fought and served under the banner of Sultan Mahmud. But during the reigns of his successors, they became indifferent in their allegiance to the Ghaznavid Sultans. The matter took a serious turn when Qutbuddin, one of the chiefs of Ghur, was put to death by Bahram, a descendant of Sultan Mahmud. Saifuddin, a brother of the murdered chief, became furious at this. He marched against Bahram and drove him out of Ghazni. Bahram soon came back, defeated Saifuddin and killed him. When Alauddin heard of the fate of his brother, he vowed to punish the Sultan of Ghazni. He attacked Bahram and put him to flight. He sacked the city and "for seven days the massacre raged in full fury." Many of the splendid buildings of Ghazni were destroyed and most of its inhabitants killed. This act of Alauddin earned for him the title of *Jahansaz* (world-burner). Khusrau Shah, the son and successor of Bahram, made an unsuccessful attempt to recover the prestige of his house. He was succeeded by his son Khusrau Malik, who was defeated and killed in 1191 A.D. by Muhammad bin Sam.

Early history of the Ghurids & their gradual rise to power

On the death of Alauddin, his son Saifuddin came to power, but he was soon killed in a battle against the Ghuzz Turks. The nobles raised Ghiyasuddin, nephew of Alauddin, to the vacant throne. Ghiyasuddin occupied Ghazni which had fallen into the hands of the Ghuzz Turks during the reign of Khusrau Shah. He appointed his brother, Muhammad bin Sam, to the government of the new pro-

vince and conferred upon him the title, Shihabuddin. 'The two brothers maintained perfect cordiality in their political and personal relations.' Until his death, Ghiyasuddin enjoyed the devotion and loyalty of his brother and as a mark of affection for Shihabuddin, he allowed him complete freedom of his activities. At the time of accession to the throne, Muhammad assumed the title of Muizzuddin instead of Shihabuddin.

Muhammad bin Sam entrusted with the new province

Condition of India on the eve of Muslim Conquest

The political condition of the sub-continent at the time of Muhammad Ghuri's invasion was in no way better than that which Mahmud of Ghazni found on the eve of his invasion. The whole country was divided into a number of independent States which were in a state of internecine warfare. There was no central controlling authority and this made the condition of India worse confused. Besides the Muslim provinces, there were Rajput kingdoms in other parts of India.

Number of independent States

Muslim States

(i) **The Punjab.** Ever since its annexation by Mahmud the Punjab had been a part under the Ghaznavid rule. At the time of Muhammad Ghuri's invasion Khusrau Malik, a weak and pleasure-loving king, was its ruler and it was under him that the Ghaznavid kingdom had been reduced in size and strength.

(ii) **Multan and Sind.** Sultan Mahmud had conquered Multan and Sind, but they had become independent by the time of Ghuri's invasion. Multan was under Karmithian dynasty and Sind under a local tribe named Sumras.

Rajput Kingdoms

The most powerful Rajput clans which ruled over northern India at the time of Ghuri's invasion were as follows:

(i) **The Chauhan Kingdom of Delhi and Ajmer.** One of the most powerful Rajput kingdoms was

the Chauhan kingdom of Delhi and Ajmer. Prithviraj Chauhan was the ruler of this kingdom. He was often in conflict with the neighbouring states.

Hostility between Jai Chand & Prithiviraj

(ii) **The Gaharwars or Rathors of Qanauj.** Jai Chand was the ruler of Qanauj, Benares, Allahabad etc. He was an inveterate enemy of Prithviraj Chauhan who had forcibly taken away the former's daughter. As a result, the Rathor ruler of Qanauj did not join Prithviraj Chauhan in his fight against the Ghuri chief.

(iii) **The Chalukya kingdom of Gujrat and Anhilwara.** Bhim Dev of Chalukya dynasty was the powerful ruler of this important kingdom.

(iv) **The Chandel kingdom of Bundelkhand.** Parmardi Deva of Chandela dynasty was the ruler of Bundelkhand which included Kalinjar, Jhansi, Ajai Ghar, etc.

(v) **The Pala kingdom of Bihar.** Due to its weak rulers like Kumar Pala (1126-30) and Madan Pala (1130-50), the Palas were left to rule over only some territories of Bihar.

(vi) **The Sena kingdom of Bengal.** Lakshman Sena was the ruler of Bengal at the time of Ghuri's invasion.

Indian Campaigns of Muhammad Ghuri

Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam, better known in history as Muhammad Ghuri, became the ruler of Ghazni in 1173. He was an ambitious king and fired with the love of conquest and power. Having established himself at Ghazni, he turned his attention to the fertile plains of the sub-continent.

Failure in Central Asia

There were several factors which led Muhammad Ghuri to direct his arms towards India. Firstly, the Ghurids wanted to establish an empire but their successive defeats at the hands of the Shah of Khawarizm forced them to give up the idea of founding an empire in Central Asia and they now turned their attention towards India. Secondly, the Ghaznavids who were defeated and ousted from Ghazni took shelter in the Punjab. They be-

Enmity with the Ghaznavids

came so strong in the country that their very presence was regarded as a source of future troubles to the Ghurids. Hence the destruction of the Ghaznavid power in the Punjab demanded the immediate attention of the Ghuri king. Lastly, India was divided into many warring States and there was no political unity in the country. Muhammad Ghuri found in the disunited condition of India a brilliant prospect of his success.

Disunited condition of India

The first invasion of Muhammad Ghuri was directed against Multan which was at that time ruled by the Karamathians. He captured the city and appointed his own governor there. From Multan he proceeded to Uch in Sind 'which was captured after sometime by the aid of Allah.' In 1178, Muhammad Ghuri led an expedition against Anhilwara, capital of Gujrat but he was defeated by Bhim II, the Vaghela king of Anhilwara. Finding it impossible to conquer India through Sind and Multan, Muhammad Ghuri thought of conquering the Punjab which was the key to Hindustan. In 1179, he invaded Peshawar and captured it. He then led his expedition to the Punjab and occupied Sialkot which became his base against Khusrau Malik, the last ruler of the Ghaznavid dynasty. After a few years of war, Khusrau Malik was captured and imprisoned in Ghur. The Punjab was then annexed to his empire and the Ghaznavid rule in West Pakistan came to an end.

Conquest of Multan and Uch (1175-76)

Unsuccessful attempt on Gujrat

Conquest of the Punjab

After the fall of the Ghaznavids, Muhammad Ghuri had to face the opposition of the Rajputs. The rapid success of Muhammad Ghuri alarmed Prithviraj, the Chauhan ruler of Delhi and Ajmer. He gathered a big force which, according to Ferishta, included 2,00,000 horses and 300 elephants and marched against the Ghuri chief. In 1191 A.D. both the armies met in the field of Tarain near Thaneswar and a battle was fought in which the Muslims were defeated and routed. But Muhammad Ghuri did not lose heart at this failure.

First battle of Tarain (1191)

Having organised a strong army, Muhammad Ghuri invaded India in 1192 A.D. He, with a force of 1,20,000 cavalry, reached a place near Tarain and

encamped there. Prithviraj appealed to the Rajput princes to join him against the Muslim invader. It is said that as many as 150 Rajput princes with the exception of the Raja of Qanauj lent him their help and Prithviraj's forces, according to Ferishta, came to 5,00,000 horses and 3,000 elephants. Muhammad Ghuri adopted a new tactics of attacks. He divided his army into four divisions and ordered one division to engage the Rajputs at one time, while the others were resting. The division was further ordered to pretend or feign flight after sometime of fighting. The battle started in the hisric field of Tarain and the Rajputs fought bravely but the new tactics of Muhammad Ghuri proved to be too strong for them. Prithviraj tried to run away from the battle field but he was captured and put to death.

Second battle of Tarain (1192)

The second battle of Tarain is one of the decisive battles in the history of Indo-Pakistan. It was the decisive victory of the Muslims over the combined forces of the Rajputs. According to V. A. Smith, "The second battle of Tarain in 1192 may be regarded as the decisive contest which assured the ultimate success of the Muhammadan attack on Hindustan." It shattered the supremacy of the Rajputs and established the Muslim empire in Indo-Pakistan. The victory at Tarain really laid the foundation of Muslim rule in the sub-continent.

Importance of the second battle of Tarain

After the second battle of Tarain, Muhammad Ghuri returned to Ghazni and his trusted lieutenant, Qutbuddin Aibak was entrusted with the charge of his conquered territories. Aibak was a man of military ability and political insight. He consolidated and extended the conquests of his master. He soon conquered Meerut, Koil (modern Aligarh) and Delhi. He made Delhi the capital of the empire (1194) thinking that Lahore was too far from his new possessions.

Conquest of Meerut, Koil and Delhi (1193-94)

In 1194 A.D. Muhammad Ghuri again came to India in order to subdue Jai Chand of Qanauj, the mortal enemy of Prithviraj. Qutbuddin joined his master with his force. Jai Chand met the combined forces of his enemy and was defeated in a battle at

Expedition against Jai Chand of Qanauj

Chandwar. The victorious army then proceeded to Benares and captured it. According to Prof. S. R. Sharma, "The fall of Jai Chand at Chandwar made Muhammad the master of the political as well as the religious capitals of Hindustan, Qanauj and Benares."

On the departure of Muhammad Ghuri to Ghazni, his able viceroy Qutbuddin Aibak continued the work of conquest. In 1196 A.D. he captured Gwalior and then marched against Bhim Deva of Anhilwara. He conquered Anhilwara in Gujrat (1198) which had successfully resisted the Muslim arms under Muhammad Ghuri in 1178.

Conquest of Gwalior & Anhilwara

In 1202, Qutbuddin Aibak invaded Kalinjar which was the military capital of Parmardi Deva, the Chandela king of Bundelkhand. The Chandelas offered a strong resistance to the Muslims but ultimately they were defeated and the fort of Kalinjar fell into the hands of the Muslims. Mahoba and Kalpi were next conquered. Thus, all the important places of Northern India were brought under the control of the Muslims by Qutbuddin.

Conquest of Kalinjar

While Qutbuddin Aibak was bringing Northern India under the sway of his master, Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji, a lieutenant of Qutbuddin, was extending the Turkish supremacy over Eastern India. Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji was an outstanding figure in the history of Bengal. In his early life, he tried but failed to secure a job both in Ghazni and Delhi. He at last took service under Malik Husamuddin Ughulbak, the commander of the Benares and Oudh divisions and was assigned the villages of Bhagawat and Bhiuli. Here he was able to collect a number of his tribesmen and with their help, Bakhtiyar Khalji captured Udantapuri, the capital of Bihar which was then ruled by the Pala kings. He brought this conquest under the government of Delhi and with the permission of Qutbuddin, he invaded Bengal. He marched towards Nadia, the capital of Bengal, with such rapidity that only 18 horsemen could keep pace with him. He was so bold that he did not hesitate to launch an attack with this small force. On hearing

Conquest of Bihar and Bengal by Bakhtiyar Khalji

the news of his attack, Lakshman Sen who was taking his meals, fled away by a back-door and took shelter at Vikrampur near Sonargaon. Bengal was captured and the seat of government was transferred to Lakhnauti or Gaur. The successful conquests of Bihar and Bengal emboldened Bakhtiyar Khalji who decided to invade Tibet. In 1206 he undertook his Tibet expedition and marched from Devkot (in Dinajpur) with 10,000 horsemen. But his attempt ultimately ended in failure. On his return journey to Devkot most of his soldiers were lost and he died at Devkot in 1206 A.D.

Last years of Muhammad Ghuri endangered by revolts

After the death of his elder brother, Ghiyasuddin, in 1203, Muhammad Ghuri became the undisputed ruler of Ghazni, Ghur and Delhi. But his position was soon endangered by some revolts and insurrections. In 1204, he attacked the Shah of Khawarizm in Central Asia, but was badly defeated. The Sultan with great difficulty escaped. As soon as this disaster was noised abroad, the forces of confusion began to work. The majority of the governors in various provinces revolted and declared themselves independent. The gates of Ghazni and Multan were closed against the Sultan. But the most dangerous of these rebellions was that of the Khokhars who created trouble in the Punjab. Muhammad Ghuri along with his able lieutenant, Qutbuddin marched to India, suppressed the rebellions everywhere, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Khokhars and regained Multan and Ghazni. But he did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his labour. He was treacherously assassinated in 1206 by a fanatic of the Khokhar tribe when he was going to Ghazni from Lahore and stayed at Damik (in Jhelum district).

His assassination, 1206.

Causes of Muslim Success

Better military technique of the Muslims

A curious student might well enquire about the causes of Muslim success at the time of Mahmud of Ghazni as well as of Muhammad Ghuri. According to the British writers of Indian history such as Elphinstone, Lanepoole and V. A. Smith, the success of the Muslims was due to the fact that they were

superior to the Indian army in respect of military technique. But the most important cause of Muslim success was the lack of political unity in the country. India, at that time, was a congeries of states. Various parts of the country were ruled by individual rulers who did not combine to put up a united defence against the invaders in moment of national crisis. It is true that the Rajputs were good warriors, but the dissensions among the Rajput chiefs stood in the way of making a common cause with the ruler in danger against the enemy. The army organisation was based on an out-worn conception. The ill-organised and ill-equipped army could not cope with the Turks who were ahead of them in military development. The Hindus did not try to keep themselves in touch with the latest development in military organisation and method of fighting. Regarding the defect of the Rajput military system, Dr. Habibullah says, "One great defect of the Rajput military system was that they staked every thing on the issue of a single battle. They did not make any distinction between a battle and a war." The difference of ideology constituted another factor for the success of the Muslims against the Hindus. The Turks were inspired by religious zeal and military enthusiasm. Islam is a religion of equality and brotherhood. The idea of brotherhood brought unity among the Muslims and they fought shoulder to shoulder against their enemies. The Hindus had no such idea and on the other hand the caste system created obstacles to uniting people of different castes against the foreigners.

Lack of political unity.

Defect of military organisation

Difference of ideology

Estimate of Muhammad Ghuri

Muhammad Ghuri was a great politician and a far-sighted statesman. He fully realised the rotten political condition of India and therefore decided to establish a permanent kingdom here. Sultan Mahmud did not aim at permanent conquests in India. He came, conquered and then returned to his own country. His Indian expeditions left no permanent results except in the shape of the conquest of the Punjab. The policy of Muhammad Ghuri in this respect was quite different. He conquered the country

Nature of Ghuri's conquest

and consolidated his conquests. His first and foremost aim was to found a permanent Muslim empire in India and he furnished during his life time all the resources required for the maintenance of this empire. He trained under his guidance a number of able administrators who amply justified his confidence and trust. Qutbuddin Aibak was left in charge of the conquest of India after the battle of Tarain and he completed the task with reputation. Though the life of Muhammad Ghuri came to a tragic end, the traditions established by him were continued under his able successors, the Turkish slaves who ruled after him. He lives in history not as a mere conqueror, but as an empire-builder. Muhammad Ghuri is, therefore, justly called the founder of the Muslim Empire in Indo-Pakistan.

Aimed at permanent conquest in India

The founder of the Muslim Empire in India

Muhammad Ghuri was one of the most remarkable figures in Medieval India. He was a man of courage, enterprise and spirit. He had to fight against the Hindu States incessantly for several years and during this period he showed extraordinary coolness and perseverance. It was no small credit for him that he, with limited resources, was able to establish a large empire 'which extended from Afghanistan to Bengal.' Like other rulers of Indo-Pakistan, he was interested in learning and literature and scholars like Fakhruddin Razi enjoyed his patronage. He was a man of action, full of life and energy and unfailing resources. He was 'a God-fearing and just sovereign' who was well-known for his sympathy and kindness to his subjects.

Remarkable figure in Indo-Pak history

Comparison between Muhammad Ghuri and Sultan Mahmud

Muhammad Ghuri and Sultan Mahmud are the two important personalities of this sub-continent during the medieval age. Both Muhammad Ghuri and Mahmud were enterprising soldiers and invaded India time and again. A careful and close scrutiny of their respective achievements and character shows that they resembled each other in more than one respect and differed in many respects. Firstly, Mahmud was far more a great general than Muhammad Ghuri and the military career of the former

was far more brilliant than that of the latter. Mahmud led as many as seventeen expeditions to Hind and never suffered a reverse. But Muhammad Ghuri was an ordinary soldier and suffered many defeats in India. He was defeated by Bhim Dev of Anhilwara (Gujrat) in 1178 A.D. In the first battle of Tarain (1191 A.D.) he suffered a miserable defeat at the hands of Prithviraj Chauhan. Such defeats are never heard of during the career of Sultan Mahmud. Moreover, even the victories of Muhammad Ghuri, whatever he had, were mostly due to his lieutenants like Qutbuddin Aibak and Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji. As a military general, Muhammad Ghuri was practically no match for Sultan Mahmud. Secondly, as regards their attitude towards the invasions of this country, Muhammad Ghuri was greater than Mahmud. The former has been called the founder of the Muslim empire in India. Muhammad Ghuri took great care in consolidating his conquests. He clearly saw the political disunity and weakness of Rajput India and wanted to found a Muslim empire there. With this end in view he took a different policy from that of Mahmud. His conquest went hand in hand with the work of consolidation. He rendered a great service to the cause of Islam in the sub-continent. The invasions of Mahmud are also regarded as great services to the cause of Islam. But his role in this respect is not so important as that of Muhammad Ghuri. He invaded India either to collect the wealth of the Hindu temples or to chastise the disaffected Hindu Rajas. With the exception of the Punjab, his invasions did not leave any permanent result. He invaded this country not for the purpose of establishing an empire there, but for the enlargement of his Central Asian empire. Thirdly, both Mahmud and Muhammad Ghuri were great statesmen and they were guided by reason and circumstances. The former realised that it was not possible for him to found an empire both in Central Asia and India and so he did not try to annex his conquered places in the sub-continent to his dominions. He built up the Ghaznivid empire and enriched it with the wealth of India. Muhammad Ghuri also realised the impossibility of building up

As general and soldiers

As founders of Muslim empire

As statesmen

As patrons of art and learning

an empire in Central Asia in the face of the Khawarizm opposition. Hence he turned his attention to India with the object of establishing a permanent empire there and the political condition of the country favoured his design and facilitated his task. As statesmen, both were successful in their objects. Lastly, Mahmud was a great patron of art and learning, while Muhammad Ghuri was a mere soldier and politician. The former had gathered a large number of poets and scholars in his court like al-Beruni, Utbi and Ferdausi. He also built "Celestial Bride", the *Jam-i-Masjid* of Ghazni. He had a library, a museum and many buildings in Ghazni. Muhammad Ghuri, on the other hand, showed little interest in art and learning. He might have shown generosity to learned men, as Ferishta says, but he did not evince so keen an interest in art and letters as Mahmud did. It is in this context that Lanepoole considers Muhammad Ghuri an obscure figure when compared to Sultan Mahmud.

CHAPTER V

THE EARLY TURKISH EMPIRE OF DELHI
(1206—1290)

Introduction

The Early Turkish Empire, which lasted from 1206 to 1290 A.D. is popularly known to the students of history as the 'Slave Dynasty' and it is sometimes known as the Pathan or Afghan dynasty.* It is generally believed that the dynasty derives its name from Qutbuddin who was originally a slave. There is no doubt that some of the rulers of the Early Turkish Empire had been, at the beginning of their careers, slaves. But it is also true that a slave is no longer a slave when he is manumitted by his master and no slave could ascend a throne unless he had obtained a letter of manumission from his master. Qutbuddin Aibak got a letter of freedom from the nephew and successor of his royal master. Iltutmish and Balban were also manumitted by their masters before their accession to the throne. So it is clear that none of these rulers was a slave. When they were slaves, they were not rulers and when they were rulers, they were not slaves. Besides, the successors of Iltutmish were not slaves but the Sultan's own sons and daughter. With the exception of three rulers, almost all the Sultans had royal blood in their veins and hence it will be wrong to include them in the rank of slaves.

'Slave Dynasty' is misnomer

No slave ascended the throne unless he got manumission from his master

The early Sultans of Delhi were Turks and not Afghans or Pathans. Qutbuddin Alibak was brought from Turkistan and sold to Qazi Fakhruddin of Nishapur. The author of the *Nishat Namah* says, "No slave bought at a price has ever become a king except among the Turks." It is also to be remembered here that all the Sultans did not belong to one

Early Sultans were Turks and not Afghans

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* Dr. A. B. Habibullah calls it the 'Mamluke dynasty in his book, "The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India."

family or dynasty. The accession of Qutbuddin, Iltutmish and Balban to the throne of Delhi, has established this fact that Islam makes no distinction between master and servant. The road to power is open to talent and in this respect Islam has proved that a slave of to-day may be a king of to-morrow provided that he possesses merit, intelligence, sagacity and skill.

Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak (1206-10)

Sultan Muhammad Ghuri had left no male issue and so his empire was divided among his Turkish slaves who were trained up in the art of warfare and administration.

Of all the slaves of Muhammad Ghuri, Qutbuddin Aibak played the most important role in the history of Indo-Pakistan. Qutbuddin was purchased early in life by Qazi Fakhruddin Kufi of Nishapur who gave him the best education and most efficient training. After the death of the Qazi, he was sold to a merchant who brought him to Ghazni where he was bought by Sultan Muhammad Ghuri. By his devotion and service, he soon endeared himself to his master who raised him to the position of *Amir Akhur* (Lord of the stables). He accompanied the Sultan during his Indian expeditions and as a general, he made a deep impression upon the mind of the Sultan. After the second battle of Tarain, Muhammad Ghuri left him in charge of the Indian possessions. Qutbuddin fully justified the confidence placed in him by his master. Within a short time, he extended the territory of the empire by capturing Hans, Meerut, Delhi, Ranthambar, Koil and Qanauj. He had also due share in the conquest of Benares, Kalinjar and Mahoba. Bengal and Bihar were conquered by his lieutenant, Muhammad bin Bakhtiar Khalji. The credit for this conquest goes to Qutbuddin.

Early life

As Viceroy of Muhammad Ghuri (1192-1206)

On the assassination of Muizuddin Muhammad bin Sam, his nephew Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, who succeeded him as Sultan of Ghur, bestowed the title of Sultan on Qutbuddin and sent him a canopy of State along with a letter of manumission. Qut-

As Sultan of Delhi

buddin proceeded to Lahore and there ascended the throne in 1206 A.D. After the ceremony was over, the Sultan returned to Delhi. He soon came into conflict with the rival chief Tajuddin Yalduz who with a view to conquering the Punjab, drove its governor and took possession of the city. He defeated Yalduz in a battle and forced him to flee to Kuhistan. Qutbuddin became so powerful that the *Khutba* was read and coins struck in his name. But he could not enjoy the fruits of his labours for long. He suddenly died on November, 1210 A.D. when playing *Chaugan* (polo) and was buried at Lahore.

Defeat of Tajuddin Yalduz

Estimate of Qutbuddin Aibak

Qutbuddin was the first independent Sultan who laid the foundation of Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan. A great warrior, a man of infinite courage and indefatigable energy of mind and body, Qutbuddin stands as a prominent figure among the rulers who rose through sheer merit and efforts to the position of power and glory. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah* says, "His valour, bravery and enterprise are such that if Rustam were alive, he would have taken pride in having been his *Hajib* (Chamberlian)." During a period of 20 years he overran the whole of Northern India from the Indus to the Ganges and from the Himalayas down to the Vindya range. His conquests in Indo-Pakistan 'were wider, real and far more permanent than any of his predecessors'. On his accession to the throne he took great pains in establishing peace and tranquility throughout his dominions and strengthened his position by matrimonial relation with the royal chiefs who were also slaves like him. He married the sister of Tajuddin Yalduz and gave his sister in marriage to Qubacha and his daughter to Iltutmish.

First independent Sultan of Delhi

He strengthened his position by matrimonial relation

Qutbuddin was a good administrator. Hasan un-Nizami, author of *Taj-ul-Ma'athir* says, "The Sultan dispensed even-handed justice to the people and exerted himself to promote the peace and prosperity of the realm." "During his reign of peace and transquility," says the same author, "treasury required no guard, the folk needed no shepherd so much

Good administrator

that the wolf and sheep drank water side by side out of the same pond. The very mention of thieves and theft was out of question." Qutbuddin was the second Hatem whose generosity is praised by all historians who style him as *Lakhbakhsha* because "his gifts were bestowed in hundreds of thousands." He was an ardent follower of Islam and took interest in its propagation. But he was never guilty of persecution of the Hindus. "The Hindus were treated with kindness, though the Sultan like a mighty fighter in the way of God captured thousands as slaves during his wars," says Dr. Iswariprasad. Many Hindus were employed in his army and in the revenue administration. The *Ulema* and the learned were held in the highest esteem.

Generous and pious

Sultan Qutbuddin 'was a patron of letters, had a cultured court and a society of educated men.' Two mosques built by him—one at Delhi and the other at Ajmer speak of his devotion to Islam and love of art and architecture. Brave and capable, just and generous, Qutbuddin was one of the great pioneers of Muslim conquest of Indo-Pakistan.

Patron of letters and architecture.

Aram Shah

On the death of Qutbuddin Aibak, the nobles raised Aram Shah, who was neither son nor brother to the Sultan, to the throne of Delhi. But the new Sultan soon proved himself quite inefficient and unpopular. The nobles then invited Iltutmish, the son-in-law of Qutbuddin and the governor of Badaun, to ascend the throne. Iltutmish accepted the invitation and defeated Aram Shah in a battle near Delhi.

Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish (1211—36)

Iltutmish ascended the throne of Delhi in 1211. He belonged to the renowned Ilbari tribe in Turkistan. His intelligence, sagacity and handsome appearance excited the jealousy of his brothers who sold him into slavery in infancy. Iltutmish received his early education and training in the cultured family of the Chief Justice of Bokhara. He was first purchased by one Jamaluddin who brought him to Ghazni, when Qutbuddin, the Viceroy of Delhi,

Early career

bought him at a high price.' The Viceroy was so much pleased with his loyalty and capability that he soon made him the governor of Badaun and gave his own daughter in marriage to him. Iltutmish had helped Sultan Muhammad Ghuri in quelling the rebellion of the turbulent Khokhar tribe of the Punjab and in recognition of his service he was manumitted by his master at the Sultan's order.

On his accession to the throne, Iltutmish found himself confronted with innumerable dangers and difficulties. He had to fight against Tajuddin Yalduz, the ruler of Ghazni, and Nasiruddin Qubacha of Sind, who were asserting their independence. Ali bin Mardan Khalji, the governor of Bengal, had thrown off his allegiance to Delhi after the death of Qutbuddin Aibak. Besides, the Hindu princes and chiefs were seething with discontent at their loss of independence. To add to these troubles, some of the Qutbi amirs expressed their resentment against the rule of Iltutmish. But the Sultan was not the man to fail or falter in the face of these difficulties. He devoted himself to the task of establishing his authority in right earnest and with firm determination.

Difficulties on his accession

Iltutmish first took a strong action against those Qutbi nobles who had revolted against him and refused to recognise his sovereignty. He marched against them near Delhi and brought the whole of the principality of Delhi under his control. But the safety of the empire depended upon the suppression of the rival chiefs and he now turned his attention towards them. Tajuddin Yalduz, a slave of Muhammad Ghuri became the ruler of Ghazni after the death of the master. He, being driven from Ghazni by the Shah of Khwarizm in 1224, came to Lahore and occupied the Punjab. He wanted to establish his independent power and even to assert his authority over the Sultan. So Iltutmish was obliged to wage war against him. Yalduz was defeated in the field of Tarain (1216) and was imprisoned in the fort of Badaun where he ultimately breathed his last. After the overthrow of Yalduz, Iltutmish determined to take action against Nasiruddin Qubacha who had

Action against Qutbi nobles

Yalduz defeated and imprisoned

Expedition against Qubacha

occupied Lahore, but he was expelled from that city by Iltutmish in 1217. His power was finally crushed in 1228.

The Mongol menace

Invasion of Chingiz Khan and its results

In 1221, a new and a most terrible danger threatened the Sultan of Delhi. The Mongols under their leader, Chingiz Khan, came down from their mountain steppes in Central Asia, ravaged and devastated the countries that came in their way. They had no regard for human life and committed atrocities even without any provocation. The first Muslim state which felt the weight of the Mongol attack was that of Khwarizm Shah who was discomfitted and took shelter in Astrabad. His eldest son, Jalaluddin Shah fled to Hindusthan, took refuge in Lahore and sent an envoy to Iltutmish to beg for an asylum in his dominions. Iltutmish feared the Mongol hordes and in order to save his empire from their attack refused diplomatically to give him shelter in the dominion saying that the climate of Delhi would not suit him. Thereupon Khwarizm Shah entered into an alliance with the Khokhars and with the help of these new allies he attacked Nasiruddin Qubacha and defeated him. Shortly afterwards he went to Persia where he was eventually murdered by a fanatic. The heat of India became intolerable to the Mongols who after plundering Sind and Western Punjab retired to their own lands. Thus India was saved from the hand of one of the most savage and ferocious raiders known to history.

Conquest of Bengal and Bihar

Freed from the rival chiefs and the Mongol menace, Iltutmish started a series of conquests. He first turned his attention to Bengal where Ghiyasuddin Khalji had declared independence and assumed the royal title. In 1223, Iltutmish led a vast army against him. Ghiyasuddin Khalji offered his submission without fighting, renounced the royal title, acknowledged the authority of the Sultan of Delhi and paid him tributes. But as soon as the Sultan returned to Delhi, Ghiyasuddin re-asserted his independence, attacked Bihar and expelled its governor. Nasiruddin Mahmud, the son of the Sultan and governor of Oudh, invaded Bengal and captured it. Bengal was made over to him.

In 1228, Iltutmish marched against Nasiruddin Qubacha, the governor of Uch and Multan and defeated him near Bhakkar. But while Qubacha was running away to save his life, he was accidentally drowned in the Indus.

Fall of Qubacha

In 1229, Iltutmish received a robe of honour and a patent of investiture from the Khalifah of Baghdad who had recognised him as the Sultan of India.

Investiture by the Khalifah

After consolidating his position at home, Iltutmish turned against the Rajput Rajas who had revolted and recaptured their lost kingdoms during the weak rule of Aram Shah. Meanwhile, Iltutmish had recaptured Ranthambar in 1226 A.D. and a year later it was followed by the capture of Mandawar in the Siwalik hills. In 1231 A.D. he attacked Gwalior, besieged the fort for eleven months and at last defeated its ruler, Mangal Dev. He next marched against Malwa and easily conquered the towns of Bhilsa and Ujjain in 1234 A.D. His last campaign was undertaken against Banian in 1235, but he had to abandon it on account of illness.

Capture of Ranthambar and Mandawar

Conquests of Gwalior and Malwa

Before his death the Sultan was pressed by his courtiers to nominate a successor to the future throne and he mentioned the name of his daughter, Raziya, who was a better candidate for the exalted office than his surviving sons. The Sultan died in April, 1236.

Nomination of Raziya as successor

Estimate of Sultan Iltutmish

When Iltutmish ascended the throne, the Turkish nation was sore beset, the country was full of rivals and hostile chiefs, and the rebellious nobles and the vanquished Rajas and Ranas were threatening the existence of the Sultanate of Delhi. The situation was most critical and Iltutmish, by his foresight, energy and military skill, proved himself equal to the situation. With an iron hand he suppressed the rebellious nobles, crushed the power of the rivals like Yalduz and Qubacha and recovered the lost provinces. He secured the Sultanate of Delhi diplomatically from the Mongol invasion by warding off their invasion. Had the rival chiefs and the Rajput princes been successful in their plans and designs, the empire of Hindustan would have been lost and

Real founder of the Early Turkish Empire

the Muslim rule in India would not have been possible. To him belongs the credit of having saved the infant Muslim empire in the sub-continent from being nipped in the bud. He not only saved the empire and rescued his people from danger, but also added the provinces of Sind and Malwa to the dominions of his master. In this he had not, as Qutbuddin had, the moral and material support of a great empire. What he accomplished, he accomplished by himsef in the face of troubles and dangers. In consideration of his contributions to the growth of Muslim rule in India, Iltutmish may rightly be called the real founder of the Sultanate of Delhi.

Valour and bravery of Iltutmish

Brave and courageous, Iltutmish never hesitated to meet the enemy in the open field. In the suppression of the Gakkhars he displayed a great feat of valour and bravery. His fighting spirit, material vigour, physical strength and dashing courage combined with statesmanlike qualities and diplomatic moves placed him on the peak of glory and renown. He clearly understood his position and decided that his policy must be steady consolidation rather than expansion. He took every step towards the consolidation of his empire. It was he who consolidated the conquest of Muhammad Ghuri and "gave the new born Turkish empire in India a cohesion which it had not found under Qutbuddin."

Administrative system of Iltutmish

Iltutmish was a good ruler. He laid the foundation of an organised administrative system. Before him, the administrative machinery of the empire was ill-organised. With the help of Muhammad Junaydi and Fakhrul Mulk Asmi, departments were set up at the centre and regular records began to be kept. According to I.H. Qureshi, Iltutmish "gave benign and sound administration to the hitherto disorganised and dismembered empire." He also had a great sense of justice and according to Ibn Batuta, he had fixed a chain and bell in his palace so that the aggrieved persons may not have any difficulty in approaching the Sultan for justice. Iltutmish built a college at Delhi. Roads were constructed and jungles were cut down in his time.

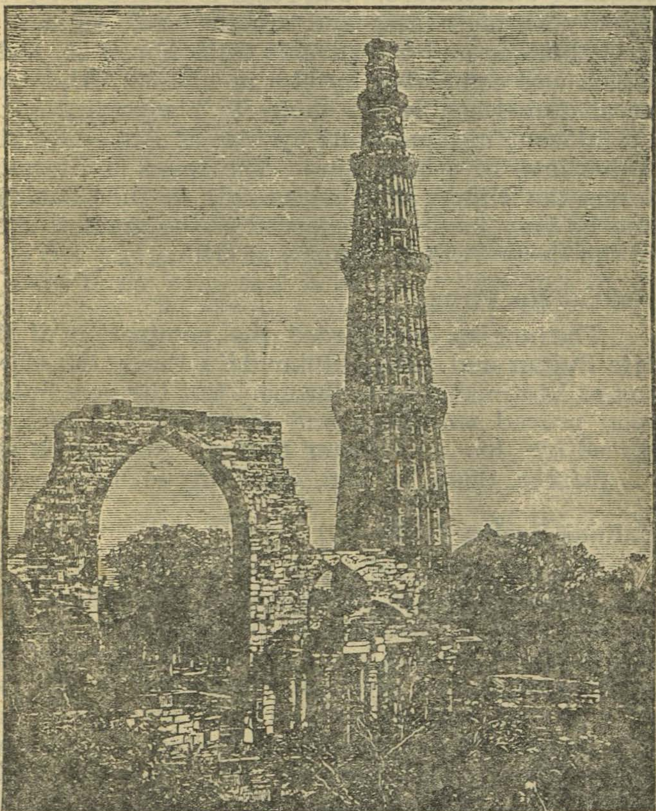
Introduction of Arabic coinage

He was the first Muslim ruler who introduced a purely Arabic coinage. He adopted the silver *tanka*, the ancestor of

the modern rupee weighing 175 grains as the standard coin. The extraordinary dexterity with which he reorganised the state, administered justice and systematised civil and military departments and, above all, his kingly honour gave him a remarkable place in the history of India.

His place in history

Sultan Iltutmish surpassed almost all other Sultans of Delhi in his fitness as a king and in excel-



Qutb Minar at Delhi

lence as a man. The contemporary historian, Minhaj-us-Siraj says, "Never was a sovereign so virtuous, kind-hearted and reverent towards the learned and the divines that sat upon the throne of Delhi." Possessed of outstanding abilities, intellect and high

moral character, Iltutmish proved to be a just, generous and sagacious ruler. He was a pious Muslim and spent huge sums of money on charitable purposes. In spite of his military pre-occupation, Iltutmish established schools and colleges in the empire. He was also a great patron of letters. The poets, scholars and divines of foreign countries adorned his court, and made his capital a centre of learning and culture. His reign is marked by great achievements in arts and architecture. He was a great builder and the famous Qutb Minar at Delhi which was completed by him in 1231-32 A.D. stands as an imperishable testimony to his greatness. A magnificent mosque built by him at Ajmer testifies to his love of architecture. The reign of Iltutmish forms the climax of Turkish rule in Indo-Pakistan and he may justly be regarded as the greatest ruler of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi.

Excelled all the Sultans of Delhi as a king and a man

Patron of letters and architecture

Ruknuddin Firuz

The nobles disregarded the nomination of the late Sultan and raised Ruknuddin Firuz, the eldest son of Iltutmish, to the throne. But the new Sultan soon proved worthless and incapable and was replaced by his able sister Raziya. Ruknuddin and his mother, Shah Turkan, were thrown into prison.

Sultana Raziya (1236—40)

The throne of Delhi was not a bed of roses. On her accession Raziya found herself surrounded with dangers and difficulties. Muhammad Junaydi, the Wazir of the empire, and some of the provincial governors could not reconcile themselves to the rule of a woman and formed a conspiracy against her. But by her courage and superior diplomacy she soon overpowered the enemies and restored order throughout the dominion. "From Lakhnauti to Debal and Damrilah all the maliks and amirs tendered obedience and submission," says Minhaj-us-Siraj. After victory over the rebellious maliks, Raziya restored order in Bengal. The rulers of Bengal and Uch voluntarily offered their submission.

Difficulties on accession

Restoration of order in the country

Raziya was not, however, allowed to enjoy a peaceful reign. She ignored the opinion of orthodox

Muslims by casting off female garments and the seclusion of the 'Zenana.' She wore manly dress and transacted public business in open 'Darbar'. But the main charge brought against her was that she appointed an Abyssinian, named Jalaluddin Yaqut, to a high post.

Charges against Raziya

This was not liked by the Turkish nobles and the Forty whom Iltutmish had organised as his personal supporters wanted to remove her from the throne. The Governor of the Punjab was the first to rise in revolt in 1239 but the rebellion was suppressed by Raziya. Next Ikhtiyaruddin Altunia, the Governor of Bhatinda, raised the standard of rebellion against Raziya. She proceeded to punish the rebel but was defeated and put into the custody of Altunia. The Abyssinian chief was murdered and the nobles raised Bahram Shah, the son of Iltutmish, to the throne. Altunia was not pleased with the reward in the office and so he turned towards the captive lady. He released Raziya from prison, married her and then marched towards Delhi. He was defeated along with the Queen by Bahram's troops and both were put to death by some Hindu robbers in 1240.

Revolt of Altunia

Raziya defeated

Raziya was the first Muslim lady who sat on the throne of Delhi. With her firm determination, vigorous actions and sagacity she belied the ideas regarding the so-called infirmities of the weaker sex. She marched in person against her enemies, set aside female garments, discarded the 'Pardah' and openly conducted the affairs of the government both in the camp and in the court. The contemporary historian, Minhaj-us-Siraj describes her as a "great sovereign, sagacious, just, beneficent, a patron of the learned, a dispenser of justice, the protector of her subjects and the leader of her armies. She was endowed with all the qualities befitting a king, but she was not born of the right sex and so in the estimation of men all these virtues were worthless."

Character

Sagacious and capable ruler

Bahram Shah (1240—42)

The new Sultan, Bahram Shah was a worthless man like Ruknuddin. His reign saw the growing in-

fluence of the nobles who were known as the 'Forty'. During his reign the Mongols invaded the Punjab, sacked Lahore and laid the city waste. The king was too weak to take steps against them. The 'Forty' besieged him in the White Fort at Delhi and put him to death.

Weak ruler

The nobles then placed Masud, a grand-son of Iltutmish on the throne, but the new king proved to be worse than the previous ruler. The 'Forty' soon dethroned him and raised his uncle Nasiruddin Mahmud to the throne.

Masud, a grandson of Iltutmish

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-66)

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud was an amiable and pious king who led the life of a saint. He left the affairs of the State in the hands of Ghiyasuddin Balban who was a Turkish slave of Iltutmish. Balban amply justified his choice and proved a capable general and statesman. He was honoured with the title of Ulugh Khan by the Sultan. When the Mongols made their appearance in 1246 on the frontier of India he crossed the Ravi, ravaged the Jud and Jhelum (hills) and suppressed the Khokhars and other tribes of the Salt Range. The turbulent Hindu chiefs of the Doab were also subdued and repressed and the power of the Mewatis was crushed.

Balban as the prime minister of Nasiruddin Mahmud

The victories over the Mongols and the refractory Hindu chiefs enhanced the prestige and influence of Balban and two months later he was raised to the post of lieutenant (Naibul Mulk) of the kingdom. His cousin, Sher Khan was appointed governor of Multan. But when a charge of nepotism was brought against him by Imaduddin Raihan, a Turkish noble, the former was discharged from his post. Raihan's arrogance soon displeased the Turkish nobles and Balban was again brought back to his previous post and position. On his return to power, Balban tried to crush the power of his opponents. Qutlugh Khan who rose in revolt in Oudh was suppressed. Towards the close of this reign an envoy of Halagu Khan, the grandson of Chingiz Khan came to the court of Delhi. He was to cordially received that the Mongols were completely overwhelmed.

Balban was discharged but brought back to his post again

Nasiruddin Mahmud died in 1266 after a reign of 20 years. He was just, generous, compassionate, simple and God-fearing. He was a patron of learning and the learned. He had no servant and his wife had to cook with her own hands. It is said that he earned his livelihood by sewing caps and copying the Quran.

Simple and pious

Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266-86)

In the prime of youth Balban was captured by the Mongols, who sold him as a slave to Khawaja Jamaluddin Basri of Baghdad. Jamaluddin Basri brought him up like his own son. In 1232, he, along with other slaves, brought him to Delhi and Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish purchased the whole lot of the Turkish slaves.

Early life

Balban belonged to the famous corps of Turkish slaves of Iltutmish, called "the Forty". He was first appointed as a *Khasdar* (king's personal attendant) by the Sultan. But by dint of merit and ability, he rose by degrees to higher positions and ranks, till he became the Prime Minister of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud who married his daughter in 1249 A.D. As a Prime Minister, he played an important role in the history of the Delhi Sultanate. The reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud is, in fact, the history of his activities.

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud had no male issue and so he nominated his Prime Minister and father-in-law as his successor. After the death of the Sultan, Balban who was then an old man of sixty, ascended the throne in 1266, with the title of Ghiyasuddin Balban.

Accession of Balban

On his accession Balban was confronted with great difficulties. The whole country at that time was vibrating with an atmosphere of unprecedented stress and storm. There were revolts in different parts of the empire and the lawless elements were creating great troubles. The Mongols were threatening to invade India through the North-West. There were refractory tribes like Mewatis who were a standing menace to the rule of Balban. Above all,

people due to the weakness of the successors of Iltutmish had lost all fear of government and authority. In this respect Ziauddin Barani says, "Fear of the governing power, which is the basis of all good government, and the source of the glory and splendour of all states, had departed from the hearts of all men, and the country had fallen into a wretched condition." A strong hand was the need of the hour and Balban rose to the occasion.

Condition of the country at his accession

Re-organisation of Central Government

Balban, on his accession, embarked upon a policy of reorganising the Central Government and for this purpose several measures were adopted.

The first task of Balban was to restore the authority and prestige of the Sultanate which had been shaken by the weakness of his predecessors. In order to exalt kingly office and inspire awe and reverence amongst the people for the king, he maintained a strict and splendid court after the manner of the old Persian kings and introduced Persian etiquette and ceremonies. Such was his sense of kingly dignity that his court became an austere assembly where jest and laughter were seldom heard. He always appeared in full dress even before his private servants. It was a great achievement for Balban to raise the authority and prestige of the Sultanate.

Restoration of royal authority

Balban fully realised that the stability of his government depended upon a strong and efficient army. He reorganised the whole army on a firm basis. Since the time of Qutbuddin Aibak and Iltutmish, Turkish soldiers were granted lands in lieu of their military service. The successors of these soldiers continued to hold these lands though they did not render any service to the State. All the lands held by old men, women and orphans were taken over from them and they were given pensions for their living. But the lands of some of the jagirdars were restored, when Fakhruddin, the *Kotwal* of Delhi appealed to the Sultan to do so on their behalf. Balban increased the military personnel and placed the cavalry and the infantry, both old and new, under the command of experienced and trusted officers. Thus, he built up

Re-organisation of the army

a strong and efficient army. It was due to this that Balban was able to suppress the internal rebellions and face the external danger successfully.

Balban had a strong and well-organised spy system. His spies acted as the channels of his despotism. He had placed secret reporters in every department and appointed secret news-writers in every province and district. The spies were made independent of the governors and commanders. The spies even watched the activities of the sons of the Sultan. If the spies failed to report any misconduct of the officers or nobles, they were severely dealt with.

Spy system

Balban was very strict in the administration of justice. He did not show any partiality even to his own kith and kin. About his justice Dr. Ishwari Prasad remarks, "So great was the dread of Sultan's inexorable justice that no one dared to ill-treat his servants and slaves." When a complaint was made that Malik Barbaq, a big jagirdar of Badaun, killed one of his servants, Balban ordered him to be put to death. The news-writer who failed to report this act of injustice to the Sultan, was also executed at the same time. Similarly Haibat Khan, fief-holder of Oudh who murdered a man in a fit of drunkenness was ordered to be flogged for his faults.

Administration of justice

Measures for the suppression of rebels and robbers

Having resorted the rayol authority and organised the internal administration on an efficient basis, Balban applied himself to the task of suppressing the lawlessness of the Hindu robbers, and Muslim governors and Amirs.

The hilly people of Mewat (Alwar), known as the Mewatis whom Balban as Prime Minister had punished, again started creating troubles. They robbed the travellers in broad day-light, ravaged the villages and brought death and destruction upon the innocent. They carried their raids into the vicinity of the capital. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "So great was their audacity that the Western Gate of Metropolis had to be closed at the time of afternoon prayer and even the garb of a mendicant was

Suppression of the Mewatis

no protection against their high handedness." Balban with the help of a large army inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Mewatis. The jungles where they used to take shelter after looting were cleaned. Police out-posts were set up at strategic places to prevent further troubles. Thousands of them were pursued and put to death. Thus Balban by his iron hand succeeded in crushing these turbulent hilly tribes.

Suppression of the Doab insurgents

Next, Balban turned to the turbulent Hindus of the Doab who had rendered the roads and highways between Delhi and Bengal very unsafe. The Sultan proceeded personally to crush the lawless elements and captured their strong-holds in Kampil, Patiali and Bhojpur. Many robbers were arrested and put to death. To check further disturbances he constructed forts in those places. As a result of these strong measures, order and security were restored throughout the region.

Insurgents of Katehar seriously dealt with

While the Sultan was busy in the Doab, the Hindus of the territories of Katehar (Rohilkhand) disturbed the peace of the empire by open rebellion. They were seriously dealt with and henceforth no breach of peace was heard of in the vicinity of Delhi.

Destruction of the power of the Shamsi nobles or 'Forty'

Having crushed various rebellions and lawless Hindu elements, Balban turned to the *Shamsi* slaves who were jealous of his rise to power and were making a conspiracy to overthrow him. Since the time of Iltutmish and his successors, they had enjoyed liberal grants of land and had become very powerful. Balban viewed their activities with great alarm and decided to crush their power. He took several measures against them. He confiscated the jagirs of the nobles who rendered no military services. He also prohibited matrimonial alliances among them and punished the offenders with great severity. Many powerful nobles like Barbaq, Amir Khan were put to death for their offences. Sher Khan, cousin of the Sultan and member of the 'Forty' was poisoned to death for his suspicious conduct. Thus, Balban silenced and subdued all those with a strong hand, who stood or were likely to stand in his way.

Balban's Mongol Policy

Though Balban was taking steps to make his government firm and strong, he did not fail to save the North-Western Frontier against the Mongol attacks. The threat of the Mongol attacks at the gates of Delhi was chiefly responsible for moulding the domestic and foreign policy of Balban.

Balban fully realised the gravity of the Mongol invasion and so he, in order to check the advance of the Mongols, abstained from following the policy of expansion in the sub-continent. His foreign policy was moulded by the fear of the Mongol invasion. When some of the influential nobles pointed out to him that the former Sultans, Qutbuddin and Iltutmish, had followed an aggressive policy of expansion of the Muslim empire in Indo-Pakistan, the Sultan replied, "Circumstances have changed considerably. During the time of Qutbuddin and Iltutmish, the Mongol menace was not so sharp and terrible. But now the power of the Mongols has increased tremendously. They have established themselves in Ghazni and Transoxiana and Halagu has subdued Iraq and occupied Baghdad. The Mongols have heard of the wealth of India and they have set their hearts upon conquering and plundering it. They are playing a waiting game and they are waiting for the opportunity of my departure on some distant campaign to enter my territory and ravage the whole Doab." Thus, we find that the fear of the Mongol invasions had a profound effect in shaping the policy of Balban who never left the capital lest Delhi should be exposed to Mongol attacks and might have shared the fate of Baghdad.

Balban's foreign policy moulded by the fear of the Mongol invasion

Balban defeated the Mongols on many occasions, while he was under Bahram Shah and Nasiruddin Mahmud. Now as a king he adopted strong measures for the defence of his empire from the Mongol invasions. His measures were as follows :

Balban's measures against the Mongol invasion

(1) The Sultan would not lead any expedition to distant lands for the purpose of conquest. As far as possible he would remain in the capital to keep a vigilant watch over the North-Western Frontier.

(2) The Sultan reorganised the army on an efficient basis. All old officers and soldiers who were unfit for fighting were dismissed. Good weapons and arms were supplied to the soldiers.

(3) All the old forts of the frontier region were reconstructed and many new forts were built at strategic stations.

(4) Samana, Multan and Dipalpur were made into a frontier province and it was placed under able and efficient governors. For a long time, his cousin, Sher Khan who was in charge of the important frontier province of Multan-Dipalpur "had been a great barrier to the inroads of the Mongols." After his death, Balban appointed his able and worthy son, Prince Muhammad, the governor of Multan, who fully justified the confidence of his father by resisting the Mongol invaders. At the same time his second son Bughra Khan was placed in charge of Samana and Sunam.

Results of Balban's measures

Balban's measures against the Mongols were very successful. The success of his frontier defence policy was amply illustrated when the Mongols invaded India in 1279. This time they were completely defeated and routed by the combined forces of Prince Muhammad of Multan, Bughra Khan of Samana and Malik Mubarak of Delhi. Thus the Mongol advance was successfully checked for the time being.

Rebellion in Bengal

Suppression of Tughril Khan's revolt in Bengal

Balban had to face a most formidable rebellion headed by Tughril Khan, the governor of Bengal (1279). The old age of the Sultan and his occupation with the Mongols on the north-west frontier perhaps encouraged Tughril to raise the standard of revolt. He assumed the title of Mughisuddin, struck coins and caused the *Khutba* to be read in his name. The Sultan sent Amir Khan against Bengal, but he was defeated. Balban became furious at this and put the incompetent general to death. Another army was sent to Bengal under the command of Malik Targhi, but this expedition, too, shared the same fate. The Sultan then took the field in person and his son, Bughra Khan accompanied him in this expedition.

On the approach of the Sultan, Tughril fled away to the jungles of Jajnagar (East Bengal). The Sultan now determined to stay there till Tughril was arrested and put to death. At last Tughril was captured and beheaded. All his relations and friends were also captured and killed. The Sultan appointed his second son Bughra Khan as a governor of Bengal and returned to Delhi.

Death of Prince Muhammad

In 1285, the Mongols under Tamar again invaded the Punjab and Prince Muhammad had to march against them alone, because Bughra Khan had been transferred to Bengal. The Prince repulsed the invaders but he was suddenly attacked by the Mongols who slew him in an ambush on the Lahore-Dipalpur border. In spite of all this Balban kept the Sultanate of Delhi safe from the Mongol invasion.

Last days of Balban

The death of Prince Muhammad gave a terrible shock to the old Sultan and it hastened his death. Balban wanted to nominate Bughra Khan as his successor, but the latter's unwillingness to accept the responsibility of kingship compelled him to nominate his grand-son, Kai Khusrau. The Sultan died in 1287 after a reign of about 22 years.

Estimate of Balban

His achievements

Ghiyasuddin Balban deserves a prominent place in the history of Medieval India. When he ascended the throne, the dignity of the State had withered away and the kingdom was faced with serious dangers due to the arrogance of the nobles, the insubordinations of the Hindu chiefs and the repeated invasions of the Mongols. 'A strong dictator like Ghiyasuddin Balban was the need of the hour.' He boldly faced the situation, crushed the power of rebel subjects and unruly tribes and defended the North-Western Frontier against the Mongols. By a policy of 'blood and iron' he established peace and order on the distracted empire. "Out of chaos and vision of imminent destruction, Balban had evolved order and prosperity and the people welcomed the new regime cheerfully," says Dr. Aziz Ahmed. He inflicted such punishment on the disturbers of peace that none could have the courage to defy his order and the

Order was restored as a result of strong measures

laws of the State, which had been ignored and violated during the past years, were once more enforced in the land.

Maintenance of splendid court and exclusion of low-born people from high offices

The Sultan enhanced the dignity of the kingly office and maintained a splendid court where jest and laughter were strictly forbidden. "Ghiyasuddin Balban decorated the court and palace after the manner of the kings of Persia and attached much importance to the pomp and glory of the court and of the riding procession," says Ziauddin Barani. He appointed men of high birth and noble lineage to responsible offices and considered low-birth to be a great disqualification for public office. His sense of kingly dignity was so great that he always appeared in full dress even before his private attendants and avoided the company of his officers and servants.

Internal consolidation was the key-note of Balban's policy

Balban's reign was one of struggle against internal troubles and external dangers. During a reign of 22 years, he could not extend the territories of his empire on account of the pressure of the Mongol attacks and the problems which were expected to arise out of the new conquests. He devoted his attention towards the organisation of his dominion rather than expansion. Internal consolidation was the key-note of Balban's policy. A man who saved the infant Muslim State in Indo-Pakistan and paved the way for the military and administrative reforms of Alauddin Khalji by establishing social order must be regarded as a great statesman.

Conception of kingship

Balban considered the sovereign to be the representative of God on earth and believed that the salvation of the sovereign lay in the observance and fulfilment of four duties, namely, (i) to protect religion and to execute the provisions of the Shariat ; (ii) to check immoral and sinful actions ; (iii) to appoint pious and noble men to offices and (iv) to administer justice and equity. He once declared, "All that I can do is to crush the cruelties of the cruel and to see that all persons are equal before the law. The glory of the State rests upon a rule which makes its subjects loyal and disciplined, but does not make the rich prosperous or the indigent happy—a cause of sedition and rebellion."

Balban was gifted with many rare virtues and talents. He was a Sultan who 'gave himself up to worship, fasting and nightly prayers.' Badauni says, "He assiduously attended all congregational prayers and was never without ablutions." He used to visit the tombs of saints and scholars on every Friday. Though cruel and ruthless in his methods of punishments, he was considered the most merciful, enlightened and generous ruler of his time. He was an impartial judge and administered an even-handed justice throughout the length and breadth of his empire. He was also a patron of letters and extended his patronage to the famous poet Amir Khusrau, the "Parrot of India".

Cruel to the unruly and kind to the poor

Patron of letters

In spite of many good qualities of head and heart Balban was partly responsible for the fall of the Early Turkish Empire. Firstly, the Sultan was the fountain-head of administration. He was absolute in all affairs of the State and there was no check on his power. His government was no doubt a highly organised dictatorship in which the power of the nobles was curtailed. So long as the strong personality of Balban was there, they did not dare to defy his authority. But the demise of the Sultan gave them an opportunity to raise their heads as he had left no strong successors to stand to his theory which was mainly based upon force. He failed to realise that the doctrine of force could not survive his death. Secondly, Balban had no idea of administrative re-organisation. There was neither strong local government nor any good method of land revenue upon which depended the prosperity of the empire. So, Balban's lack of administrative ability was no less a factor of the disintegration of the future empire. Lastly, the exclusion of the Indians from the administration of the State was a serious blunder on the part of an Indian emperor. It caused great discontent among the native Muslims and the immediate result of this racialism and narrow policy was the Khalji Revolution which successfully brought the rule of the dynasty to an end.

Criticism

Establishment of dictatorship depended upon the ability of reigning Sultan

Lack of administrative re-organisation

Exclusion of the Indians from offices

Kaiqubad (1287-89)

His accession, 1287

On the death of Prince Muhammad, Balban designated his second son Bughra Khan as his successor. But he refused to accept the great responsibility of the State and went over to his province of Bengal. So, the nobles after the death of Balban raised Kaiqubad, the son of Bughra Khan, to the throne in 1287. Kaiqubad had been brought up

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE TURKISH SULTANS

Qutbuddin Aibak (1206—10)
- Aram Shah
- Daughter + Iltutmish
  - Ruknuddin Firuz
    - Alauddin Masud
  - Raziya
  - Bahram Shah
  - Nasiruddin Mahmud

Ghiyasuddin Balban
- Prince Muhammad
  - Kai-Khusrau
- Bughra Khan
  - Kaiqubad
    - Kaimurs

Kaiqubad's negligence to administration

under stern discipline and his tutors taught him 'the polite arts and manly exercise, and never permitted him to do an improper act.' But after ascending the throne his wisdom and restraint disappeared and he gave himself up to pleasure. He left the entire administration of the State in the hands of his Prime Minister, Nizamuddin. The Sultan's negligence to the State affairs and the arrogance of the minister demoralised the government and created

disorder and confusion throughout the empire. Nizamuddin was an ambitious man who wanted to remove the Sultan from the throne of Delhi. All these things reached the ears of Bughra Khan who came to Delhi to meet his son. An interview was arranged between father and son on the banks of the Gogra in 1288. He advised his son to refrain from dissipation and to remove Nizamuddin from his offce. The minister was soon poisoned to death.

Removal of Nizamuddin

Khalji Revolution

The court of Delhi was then divided mainly into two parties—the Turkish party and the Khalji party. The Khaljis, under Malik Firuz who held the office of the *Ariz-i-Mamaluk* (muster-master) after the murder of Nizamuddin were gaining strength day by day. They won over to their side several Turkish 'maliks' and 'amirs'. The elevation of the Khalji Chief offended most of the Turkish nobles, who finding no hope of the recovery of the Sultan from the attack of paralysis, placed his three-year old son, Kaimurs on the throne of Delhi in 1289. Malik Firuz Khalji was alarmed at this and with the help of the Turkish nobles he entered the capital, seized the person of the infant King and proclaimed himself to be the Sultan of Delhi with the title of Jalaluddin in 1290. Thus the Early Turkish Empire came to an end.

Kaimurs, son of Kaiqubad, placed on the throne

Malik Firuz Khalji proclaimed himself Sultan of Delhi

Review of the Early Turkish Rule

The rule of the Early Turkish Sultans covered a period of 84 years (1206-1290). During this period, eleven Sultans ruled successively in Indo-Pakistan. Of the Sultans, Qutbuddin, Iltutmish and Balban were the prominent and the most successful. The names of Raziya and Nasiruddin may be included in the list of reputed rulers. But the reigns of the rest of the Sultans deserve no mention here.

Some of the Sultans were able and efficient

The first and foremost achievement of the Early Turkish Sultans was the consolidation of Muslim rule in Northern India. The authority of the Sultans was established over the United Provinces of Agra

Achievements of the Sultans

and Oudh, Bihar, Gwalior, Sind and some parts of Rajputana and Central India. The control of the Punjab was not secure as it was occasionally threatened by the Mongols. The rulers of Bengal were mostly inclined to remain independent of their control and many of them defied the authority of the Sultans. Balban had reduced Bengal to submission. The checking of the Mongols was the next important achievement of the Early Turkish Sultans. The Mongols made inroads into the territory of Indo-Pakistan ; but they were successfully driven away by Balban. The Sultan was the supreme authority of the State and though he ruled like a despot, his despotism was limited by the Law of Shariat. The Sultans were liberal and tolerant to their subjects irrespective of caste and creed. Their contribution in the domain of architecture and literature was no less important. Some of the Sultans were liberal patrons of arts and architecture. On the whole, the rule of the Early Turkish Sultans was just and humane.

Unification of Northern India & checking of the Mongol inroads were the main achievements

Patrons of arts and architecture

CHAPTER VI

THE KHALJI DYNASTY
(1290-1320)

The recent researches have established the fact that the Khaljis were one of the numerous tribes of the Turkish race ; but Ziauddin Barani and others have erroneously described them as Afghans on account of their long stay in Afghanistan.

Jalaluddin Khalji (1290-1296)

Accession to the throne in Kiloghiri

Jalaluddin Khalji at the age of 75 ascended the throne in the palace of Kiloghiri in 1290. The nobles and the people of the city (Delhi) were at first indifferent to the succession of the Khalji and that was why the new Sultan did not go into the capital. "The excellence of his character, his justice, generosity and devotion gradually removed the aversion of the people" and thus all accepted him as their ruler.

Malik Chajju revolted but was defeated

In the second year of his reign Malik Chajju, nephew of Balban and governor of Kara revolted against him. With the help of other nobles, he defeated and captured Malik Chajju. The Sultan pardoned him and treated him with unusual kindness and tenderness. This liberality towards the captive displeased the Khalji nobles who whispered to each other that the Sultan was unfit as a ruler. The military history of Jalauddin Khalji is not worth mentioning. He made two unsuccessful attempts to recapture the fort of Ranthambor. He turned away from the capture of the fort with the thought that the siege would cost more human lives than that the fort was worth.

Unsuccessful attempt to capture Ranthambor

Execution of Sidi Maula

Jalaluddin Khalji showed an unusual strictness in the case of Sidi Maula who arrived in Indo-Pakistan during his reign. Sidi Maula was a disciple of Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar of Pakpattan. He was accused of conspiracy with the Turkish nobles against the Sultan.

In 1292, the Mongols under the leadership of Abdullah, a grandson of Halagu, invaded India. The Sultan showed extraordinary courage and bravery on this occasion. He defeated and routed the Mongols. Many of the Mongols departed; but Ulghu Khan, a descendant of Chengiz Khan, with several others and thousands of his followers remained in India and embraced Islam. They mixed and formed alliances with the Musalmans. They were known in the history of India as the 'New Musalmans'. They were allowed to settle in the suburbs of Delhi and their quarters were called Mughulpurah after them.

New Musalmans

The Sultan was now too old. He, out of love and affection appointed his nephew and son-in-law, Alauddin, the Chief of Kara and Oudh. Alauddin was an ambitious man "whose anxiety to win for himself an independent kingdom had been intensified on account of his unhappy relations with his wife and mother-in-law." With the permission of the Sultan he led an expedition to Bhilsa which he captured successfully. It was at that time that he heard of the rich kingdom of Deogir. He, without the knowledge of the Sultan went to Deogir, defeated its ruler and came back to Kara with immense booty consisting of 600 maunds of gold, 1,000 maunds of silver, 7 maunds of pearls, 2 maunds of precious stones and 4 pieces of silk.

Alauddin's expedition to Deogir

When the Sultan was informed of the success of his nephew in the Deccan, he went to congratulate him and in an interview he was murdered (July 1296). Alauddin was led to commit this crime by several considerations. Arkali Khan, the heir-apparent of Sultan Jalaluddin, and the Queen mother, were against him. He also doubted the intention of the Sultan who was much influenced by the inner-court. Besides, the Khalji nobles feared that if Sultan Jalaluddin remained on the throne, power might slip out of their hands because of his leniency and so they induced Alauddin to take this hasty step.

Murder of Jalaluddin

Alauddin Khalji (1296—1326)

Alauddin Khalji ascended the throne of Delhi in 1296. On his accession he found himself confronted with a difficult situation. The Jalali nobles had not yet forgotten the murder of the old Sultan and they were secretly trying to avenge it. The Queen mother, Malika Jahan placed her younger son, Ruknuddin Ibrahim on the throne in the absence of Arkali Khan who was then at Multan. The nobles, the officers and the populace of Delhi were soon won over to his side by lavish distributions of wealth and promotions to high office. On the arrival of Alauddin Khalji near Delhi, Ibrahim and his mother fled to Multan. He entered the capital with triumph and then sent an army under Ulugh Khan and Nasrat Khan to Multan. Arkali Khan and Ruknuddin Ibrahim were defeated and captured. Thus having secured his position on the throne he turned his attention to the suppression of the Mongols.

His early difficulties

The Mongol Invasions

Alauddin Khalji like his predecessor was confronted with the danger of the ever-increasing Mongol raids. The Mongol raids formed a source of constant anxiety and alarm to the Delhi Government for a long time. Between the years 1297 and 1307, we hear of as many as seven raids. In the second year of Alauddin's reign, a large horde of the Mongols came under the leadership of Amir Daud; but they were routed by Zafar Khan with great slaughter. This was soon followed by another raid of the Mongols under the command of Saldi who was also defeated by Zafar Khan. But the most dangerous raid of the Mongols occurred in 1299 when Qutlugh Khwaja with 2,00,000 men marched upon Delhi. In this campaign their object was not plunder but conquest of India. Zafar Khan, "the Rustam of the age and the hero of the time attacked them vigorously, but was killed in the thick of the fight." The attack of Zafar Khan had deeply impressed the Mongols who soon retreated. This victory of the Sultan was followed by an interval of four years. In 1303, "the accursed Targhi, at the

Mongols under Amir Daud and Saldi, 1297

Under Qutlugh Khwaja, 1299

head of a considerable force reached the neighbourhood of Delhi." Regarding the importance of this raid Ziauddin Barani says, "If Targhi had remained another month upon the Jammu, the panic would have reached such a height that a general flight would have taken place and Delhi would have been lost." Fortunately the Mongols suddenly raised the siege and retreated towards their own country. In 1304, Ali Beg, a descendant of Chengiz and Tartaq led a force of the Mongols of 30|40 thousand horses and advanced up to Amroha. The Mongols were again put to death. In 1306, the Mongols under Kabk fell upon Multan and plundered the country. Tughluq Ghazi met and defeated them with great slaughter on the bank of the Indus. The last Mongol invasion took place in 1307-8 when a chieftain named Iqbalmand crossed the Indus. But he was defeated and killed. These successive reverses and the measures adopted by the Sultan frightened the Mongols so much that they did not attack the country so long as Alauddin was on the throne.

Under the accursed Targhi, 1303

Under Ali Beg and Tartaq, 1304

Alauddin's measures against Mongol invasions

Alauddin Khalji was not satisfied by merely punishing the Mongols. He, like Balban, took some defensive measures to guard the north-west frontier of his dominion. He ordered all the old forts of Delhi to be repaired and the new ones to be set up on the route of the Mongols. New workshops were also erected to manufacture improved types of weapons to fight against the Mongols. The most capable and trusted officers were placed in charge of the frontier defences. Ghazi Malik was appointed the Governor of the Punjab in 1305 and he was able to check the Mongol invasions. Additional forces were raised and powerful armies were stationed at Dipalpur, Samana and Multan.

Erection of new forts

Capable officers posted

Additional forces raised

Balban and Alauddin Khalji will be remembered in the history of Indo-Pakistan for their wise frontier policy. They saved Delhi from the clutches of one of the most dangerous enemies of human civilisation. The Mongols made incessant and frequent raids on India with their ever-increasing

number of followers and thereby jeopardised the peace and safety of the empire. Had not Balban and Alauddin adopted drastic and defensive measures against the Mongols, the throne of Delhi would have been lost.

Effects of Mongol invasions

Under Alauddin Khalji, the Mongol invasions had far-reaching consequences. Like Balban, he did not stop his policy of conquering other Indian kingdoms in the face of Mongol invasions, but he followed his frontier policy. It was because of constant fear of the Mongols that Alauddin had to keep a standing army and when as a result of his successful frontier policy, the danger from the Mongols disappeared, the same army was utilized and this enabled him to conquer Northern India and distant lands in the South. Secondly, the Mongol invasions profoundly affected the revenue policy of the Sultan. He needed money to raise a strong and efficient army in order to successfully face the Mongol attacks. The main object of his revenue policy was to increase the finance of the State. With this purpose he imposed taxes like house-tax, grazing,tax, etc. Thirdly, the Mongol invasions determined the economic measures of Alauddin Khalji. He had raised a large army to meet the Mongol invasions but he found it difficult to meet their expenses. So in order to enable the soldiers to make a good living with meagre salaries, he brought about a scheme of economic reforms. He fixed prices of everything at a cheap rate, controlled supply of grain and enforced his measures very strictly. Fourthly, Alauddin's successes against the Mongols established and strengthened his position and created awe and respect among the people for the Sultan. Lastly, the Mongol invasions determined the nature of his administration. As he had always to keep a big force to check the Mongol invasions and was often occupied in fighting against them, his government became more or less a military despotism.

Army maintained to check the Mongol invasions was helpful to the Sultan for conquest

Revenue policy affected by the Mongol invasions

Economic reforms determined by the Mongol invasion

Position of the Sultan strengthened

Nature of his govt. determined

Conquest of Northern Indo-Pakistan

The reign of Alauddin Khalji witnessed not only the suppression of the Mongols but also the rapid expansion of the Muslim dominion over different parts of India. According to Wolseley Haig, with his reign began 'the imperial period of the Sultanate of Delhi'. In 1297, the Sultan sent an expedition to Gujrat under his brother Ulugh Khan and his minister Nasrat Khan. Raja Karan of Gujrat was discomfitted and his wife Kamala Devi was captured, but she with her dughter Devala Devi fled to Deogir. An immense booty fell into the hands of the victors. It was in this campaign that Malik Kafur who later played the most important role in the history of Indo-Pakistan was captured. Gujrat was permanently annexed to the empire. Ranthambor was recovered by the Rajputs during the weak successors of Iltutmish and was then held by the Rajput chief Hamir Deva. The Raja incurred the displeasure of Alauddin by giving shelter to some of the discontented "New Musalmans". In 1299, the Sultan sent an army under the command of Ulugh Khan and Nasrat Khan. The latter died of a wound received in a seige operation and Ulugh Khan was forced to fall back upon Jhain. Alauddin personally marched towards Ranthambor and captured it in 1299-1301 with great difficulty. It was during the siege of Ranthambor that the Sultan had to face a series of revolts raised by his sister's sons Umar Khan and Akat Khan, Haji Maula and the "New Musalmans." All these revolts were ruthlessly crushed.

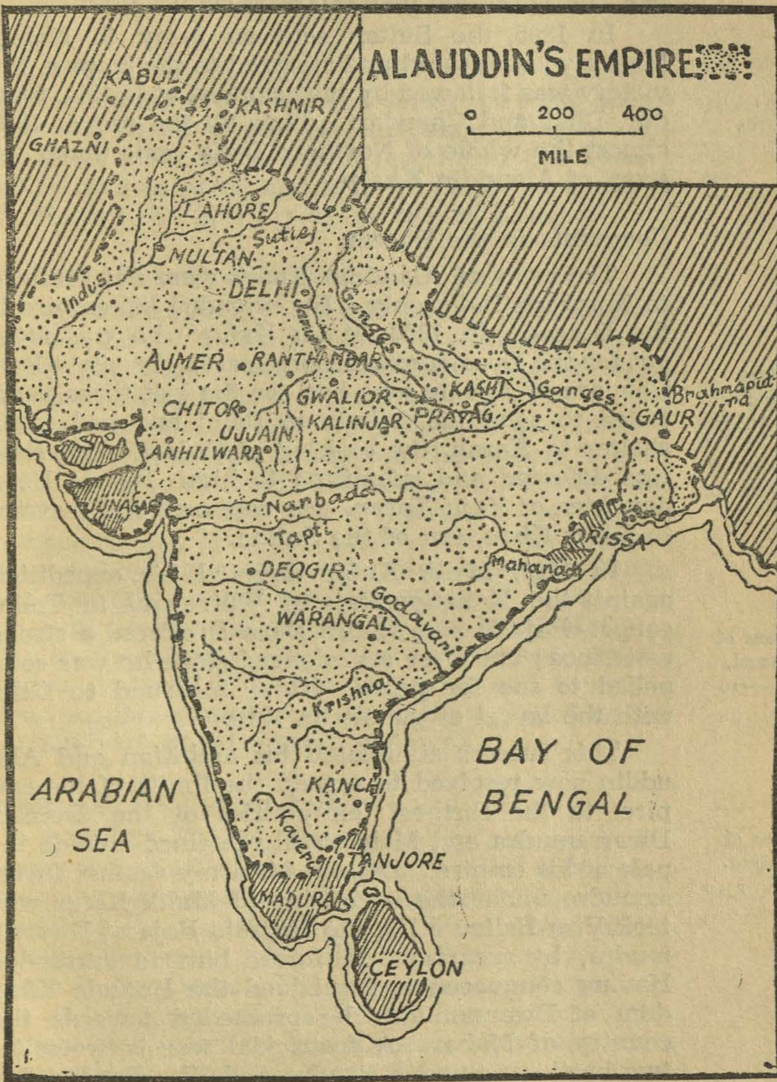
Conquest of Gujrat, 1297

Conquest of Ranthambor, 1299—1301

The "New Musalmans" were a source of danger and trouble to the Sultanate. They revolted over the distribution of booty and harassed the army, when it was returning from the conquest of Gujrat. They had also supported Akat Khan in his attempt to take the life of the Sultan. Not once but twice the Sultan pardoned them. But they could not be connived at the third time when the "New Musalmans" hatched a conspiracy to murder the Sultan. The conspiracy was discovered and a general order was issued for their massacre. "The number of deaths" according to Barani, "were twenty to thirty

Alauddin Khalji and the 'New Musalmans'

thousand.' "After these punishments," says the same author, "breaches of peace were never heard of in the city."



On the capture of Ranthambor, the Sultan marched against Chitor which he captured in a short time. The Government of Chitor was entrusted to Prince

Capture of Chitor, 1302—1303

Khizr Khan. The story that Alauddin led the expedition to Chitor in order to capture Padmini is not mentioned in the contemporary works and hence it is a late invention of the hostile critics.

Other conquests

In 1305, the Sultan sent an army to Malwa. Malwa was captured and annexed to the empire. The victory was followed by the conquest of Ujjain, Mandur, Dhar and Chandari. Thus by the end of 1305, almost the whole of Northern India came under the sway of Alauddin Khalji.

Conquests in the Deccan

Conquest of Deogir, 1306—1307

The arms of Alauddin Khalji were not confined to Northern India only. He extended his empire to the Deccan. In 1306, Malik Kafur who was fitted out for the Deccan expeditions marched against Ram Chandra of Deogir who had for the last three years failed to send his tribute to Delhi and had given shelter to Karan, the ex-king of Gujrat. The Raja was defeated and submitted to him. Devala Devi, daughter of Raja Karan, was captured and married to Khizr Khan, son of the Sultan.

Conquest of Warrangal, 1309—1310

In 1309, Malik Kafur directed his expedition against the Kakatiya Raja of Warrangal in Telinganga. Raja Pratap Rudra Deva II offered a strong resistance ; but after a prolonged siege he was compelled to sue for peace. Kafur returned to Delhi with the laurel of victory in 1310.

Capture of Dwarsamudra in, 1310

This success stimulated his ambition and Alauddin now resolved to extend the limits of his empire to the farthest extremities of the Deccan. Dwarsamudra and Mabar still remained outside the pale of his empire. He sent his army against Dwarsamudra under the leadership of Malik Kafur who took Vira Balloula III, the Hoysala Raja of Dwarsamudra, by surprise and forced him to surrender. Having conquered and subdued the Hoysala Kingdom of Dwarsamudra he proceeded towards the country of Mabar. A fratricidal war between the two brothers, Sundra Pandya and Vira Pandya, had weakened the kingdom of Pandyas. Vira Pandya, who had captured the throne of his father and was ruling, fled away from his capital on hearing of the

approach of the Muslims. Malik Kafur entered Madura without any opposition and found it deserted. He returned to Delhi in October, 1311 with immense wealth.

Conquest of Madura

In 1213, Malik Kafur led a punitive expedition against Sankaradeva who had defied the royal authority and ceased to pay the customary tribute. The whole of Maharastra was ravaged and the Yadava prince was defeated and killed. Thus the whole of Southern India now lay at the feet of Kafur.

Last expedition of Malik Kafur against Sankaradeva

Motives of his Deccan policy

Alauddin Khalji's Deccan policy of conquests was dictated by political as well as economic reasons. Politically, Deccan was then as before divided into a number of kingdoms and there was no unity among the Deccan rulers who were jealous of one another. This political condition inspired the Sultan to push his arms into the South. Moreover, the Deccan was a rich country. The main object of his Deccan campaigns was to exact wealth from the Deccan. Even before his accession he had invaded Deogir and had taken away a huge amount of wealth. So when he became the Sultan, he sent Malik Kafur to invade the Deccan kingdoms with instructions to accept, as term of surrender, jewels and treasures. Thus economic motives of the Sultan played an important part in the Deccan conquest.

His policy dictated by political and economic reasons

Nature of his Deccan Policy

Alauddin Khalji's Deccan policy was quite different from that of the North where he followed a policy of annexation. He conquered almost the whole of Northern India and placed them under efficient governors. He also established his suzerainty in the Deccan, but the kingdoms of the Deccan were not annexed to the empire of Delhi. He allowed the rulers of the Deccan to retain their kingdoms on condition that they would acknowledge the supremacy of the Sultan and pay him a yearly tribute. So his policy of the Deccan was not annexation but subjugation as vassal states of the Delhi Sultanate. He fully realised that it would

be difficult for him to maintain effective control over the distant provinces of the South. This policy of ruling the Deccan through tributary princes speaks of his statesmanship.

Significance of his Deccan policy

Possession of wealth & strength of his empire

The Deccan policy of Alauddin Khalji was very successful and statesmanlike. It not only brought him wealth, power and prestige, but also strengthened his empire. He did not annex the Deccan kingdoms and herein lay his wisdom. Like a realist, he realised that it would be practically impossible for him to control effectively the distant lands of the South. Here is the difference between Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq whose attempts later on to annex the Deccan States brought great difficulties and troubles to the Sultanate of Delhi.

Administration

A great administrative genius

Alauddin Khalji was not only a great warrior and conqueror, but also a great administrative genius. According to K. S. Lal, "It is as an administrator than anything else that Alauddin stands head and shoulder above his predecessors. His accomplishments as warrior were dwarfed by his achievements as an organiser. No Muslim ruler before the Mughals had shown so much of interest in organising the affairs of the State. He made a good number of reforms in various spheres of administration.

His conception of kingship

Administrative policy and reforms. In his conception of sovereignty, Alauddin Khalji departed from his predecessors. It was he who for the first time in the history of the Sultanate of Delhi declared that he would not allow the *Ulema* to interfere in the business of the State. He believed that religion should be excluded from matters of the State. To him, the powers of the Sultan should be unrestricted and absolute. Throughout the 13th century, two powerful groups—the Ulema and the nobility had exercised great influence on the Sultan of Delhi. Alauddin's aim was to strengthen the au-

thority of the Sultan and in achieving this he was not ready to allow the Ulema, or the nobles or the Hindus to threaten the power and authority of the king's government. It was best revealed when he said to Qazi Mughisuddin, "To prevent rebellion, in which thousands perish, I issue such order as I conceive to be for the good of the State and the benefit of the people. Men are heedless, disrespectful and disobey my commands ; I am then compelled to be severe to bring them into obedience. I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful, whatever I think to be for the good of the State, or suitable for the emergency, that I decree." Alauddin Khalji worked according to his conviction.

On his accession the Sultan had to face a number of rebellions and he suppressed them effectively. The revolt of Haji Maula, the insurrections of the 'New Musalmans', the treason of Akat Khan and the revolt of his nephews, Umar Khan and Mangu Khan convinced him that there were causes behind them. After consulting his advisers he found that the causes of rebellion were four, namely, (i) the Sultan's disregard of the affairs of the State, (ii) the use of wine, (iii) intimacy, alliances and frequent meetings of the nobles in which they hatched plots and intrigues against the government and (iv) abundance of wealth which encourage them to indulge in plots and revolts. Alauddin not only analysed the causes of rebellion but also turned his attention to the means of preventing them.

Causes of rebellion

The first measure the Sultan took in consonance with the new policy was the confiscation of property possessed by the wealthy classes. He abolished their private ownership. All villages and jagirs, whether possessed as private lands or as gift lands or as religious endowments were confiscated. Similarly, all pensions were stopped. About the result of this measure Barani says, "The people were left without any money, till it came to such a pass that, except maliks, amirs, officials, Multanis and bankers, no one possessed even a trifle in cash. They became so much absorbed in earning bare livelihood that

Administrative measures to stamp out rebellion

(1) Abolition of jagirs & pensions

the very thought of rebellion would not occur to their mind." Secondly, the Sultan established an efficient body of spies who reported to the king everything that passed in the houses of the nobles or the bazars of the city. The result was that the people could not talk freely even in their houses and private meetings, lest the "walls might hear." Thirdly, the use and sale of wine and other intoxicating drugs were strictly prohibited. The Sultan himself set the example to his people by giving up the habit of drinking and ordered all his wine vessels to be thrown out. Lastly, all social gatherings and family alliances among the nobles without the previous permission of the Sultan were forbidden. Without wine, feasts and marriage parties, the life of the nobles became dull and dreary. The measures of Alauddin Khalji were so strict and drastic that after the promulgation of these ordinances, no disturbances arose. But most of these measures were against the Muslims. The Sultan now turned his attention towards the Hindus.

(2) Strict spy system

(3) Prohibition of wine-drinking

(4) Meetings & marriages forbidden

The Hindus under Alauddin Khalji

With regard to the Hindus Barani says, "The Sultan requested the wise men to supply some rules and regulations for grinding down the Hindus and for depriving them of that wealth and property which fosters disaffection and rebellion." A careful study of Barani's statement shows that the object of these regulations was to bring the Hindus under control so that they could not challenge the authority of the Sultan in future. He was also convinced that unless the Hindus were reduced to poverty they would never be submissive and obedient. The Sultan adopted some measures by which the Hindus were reduced to poverty and misery. Barani tells us that "the Chaudhuries, Khuts and Muqaddams were not able to ride on horse-back, to find weapons, to get fine clothes or to indulge in betel." On its basis a theory has been propounded of the 'anti-Hindu' legislation of Alauddin Khalji. There is no justification whatever for maintaining that under Alauddin Khalji the Hindus were treated with spe-

Disobedient Hindus reduced to poverty

cial severity and "the policy of the State was that Hindus should not have so much as to enable them to ride on horse-back, wear fine clothes, carry arms and cultivate luxurious habits". Ibn Batuta tells us that the law-abiding Hindus lived on good terms with the Musalmans. Barani tells us in another place that Hindu nobles rubbed shoulders with the Muslim aristocracy. They possessed horses, lived in splendid houses, dressed magnificently and owned slaves. A careful study of the two statements made by the same author leads us to think otherwise. It cannot be said in the words of Prof. S. R. Sharma that "the lot of the Hindus under Alauddin Khalji was that of hewers of wood and drawers of water." According to Dr. A. M. Hussain, "Submissive and law-abiding Hindus enjoyed rights of citizenship as much as the Musalmans." Moreover, if the Hindus were harassed in his reign, the Muslims were not spared.

Law-abiding Hindus enjoyed full citizenship

Revenue reforms of Alauddin Khalji

The revenue policy of Alauddin Khalji was to increase the financial resources of the State by eliminating corrupt practices prevalent in the empire. The economic weight fell upon the Hindus. Most of the landlords and revenue collectors were Hindus and they were known as Khuts, Chaudhuries and Muqaddams. They had also amassed a lot of wealth which encouraged them to revolt. The Sultan ordered them to pay half of the produce of the land to the State. He further imposed upon them new taxes, such as pasturage tax, house-tax, etc. As a result of his policy, the Khuts, Chaudhuries and Muqaddams of the villages were reduced to abject poverty. Barani has given a very pitiable picture of these people. According to him, none of them "could hold up his head, and in their houses no sign of gold, or silver, tankas of jitals, or any superfluity was to be seen. Driven by poverty, the wives of the Khuts and Muqaddams had to seek work in the houses of the Musalmans." It has been mentioned that the Sultan had already confiscated the jagirs, religious endowments and pensions of his Muslim

His revenue policy was to increase the financial resources of the State

subjects. In this way he increased the revenue of the State.

Land Settlement

Alauddin Khalji was the first ruler of India to introduce the system of land survey and settlement. The assessment of revenue was made on the area cultivated and the revenue was fixed at half of the gross produce of the land. This method of measuring land was later accepted and improved by Sher Shah and Akbar.

Military reforms

Creation of a standing army

The constant threats of the Mongols convinced the Sultan of the necessity of a large military force. He could not be satisfied with the occasional supply of troops furnished by the jagirdars (fief-holders). He created a large standing army directly recruited by himself and the soldiers were paid by the State. In order to prevent any cheating, the Sultan introduced the practice of branding the horses, so that the unfit horses might not be brought to the field. He also introduced the *Huliah* system or the preparation of the descriptive rolls of the soldiers so that temporary substitutes might not be shown on the parades. The result of these changes was that the Sultan could not be cheated by clever nobles with regard to the identity of the horses and the soldiers.

System of branding the horses and descriptive rolls of the soldiers introduced

Economic reforms: Price control system

The economic reforms of Alauddin Khalji form the most important feature of his administration. He is perhaps the only ruler in the whole range of Indian history who introduced economic reforms and it is because of these reforms that Lanepoole calls him 'a great political economist.'

Causes of the introduction of price control

Alauddin Khalji fully realised the necessity of maintaining a large army not only to visit the Mongols but also to carry on campaigns of conquest. Besides expenses on the army, the Sultan needed money for administrative purposes. Of course, he had brought huge wealth from the Deccan and was getting tributes from various dependent powers, but still he did not have adequate money to meet his

requirements. So he wanted to provide the soldiers with the necessaries of life at fixed prices. With the increase of prices of the necessaries of life the moderately paid soldiers could not make the two ends meet. In order to keep the army contented, the Sultan introduced his famous price control system, which regulated the prices of articles and other necessaries of life. Price control is essentially a war-time measure. The exigencies of modern war have necessitated price control. Similarly, the frequent invasions of the Mongols and his wars in Rajputana led the Sultan to introduce the institution of price control. 'Plenty of the Deccan gold had poured into the treasury and hence a much larger amount of money came into circulation than before.' The influx of wealth from the South had caused a fall in the value of money and thus augmented the prices of articles. Hence Alauddin Khalji was compelled to take measures to bring down the prices of commodities and especially to cheapen the necessaries of life.

Pressure of the Mongol raids and influx of wealth from the Deccan necessitated price control

The Sultan issued a number of regulations to control the prices of various articles and necessaries of life. The prices of foodgrains were fixed at cheap rates. Wheat was to be sold at the rate of 7½ jitals * per maund; barley 4 jitals a maund; grams 5 jitals a maund; dhan (unhusked rice) 5 jitals a maund; mash 5 jitals a maund; moth 3 jitals a maund; sugar 1½ jitals a seer, gur ¼ jital a seer; butter 1 jital per 2½ seers; senamu 3 seers for one jital; and salt 2½ maunds for 5 jitals. The shopkeepers were ordered to sell them at these fixed rates and it was considered a crime to charge higher rates.

(1) Control of prices of foodgrains

Similarly, the prices of all other articles of life such as vegetables, fruits, caps, shoes, cloth, arms, needles, etc. were fixed. Even the prices of horses, cattle, goats and slaves were fixed. A first grade horse was to be sold at 120 tankas; a milch cow for 4 tankas; a milch buffalo for 6 tankas, and so on.

Control of prices of all other articles

* One *Jital* is equal to six paisa in our present coinage.

Alauddin Khalji realised that mere fixation of prices would be of no use if supplies were not controlled. He also realised that supply of commodities in time was very essential to make his scheme a success. In order to provide the markets with adequate supply of grains in time of need royal granaries were established at different places where foodgrains were stored. The Sultan ordered that land revenue from the *Khalsa* or crown lands in the villages around Delhi was to be realised not in cash but in kind and grain was to be stored in the royal granaries in Delhi. He also issued an order that no one should keep more than ten maunds of grains in stock. Anybody having a surplus beyond the fixed limit was required to sell it at fixed rates. Magistrates and local officers were asked to ensure regular supply of grains from the producers or cultivators. No merchant, farmer or dealer was allowed to hoard grain or to sell it at a high price. All traders and merchants had to register themselves in a State daftar and they would bring all goods for sale to the market called *Sarai Adl*, situated inside the Badaun gate. Any violation of the Sultan's regulations brought exemplary punishment.

(2) Control of supplies

Establishment of royal granaries

Regular supply of grain ensured

No hoarding of grain allowed

The Sultan not only controlled the prices and supplies of various articles, he also controlled the transport of goods. Traders, who carried goods from one place to another were registered and every type of facilities was provided to them in the transportation of goods.

(3) Control of transport

In case of draught or famine, the Sultan made a provision for rationing commodities. Grain in such emergencies could not be sold to the people in unlimited quantity. On the other hand, the registered dealers who were supplied with grain from the government granaries, were not allowed to sell more than half a maund to any individual. The system of rationing was a novel idea of Alauddin Khalji and it speaks of his genius as a successful administrator.

(4) Rationing system

Alauddin Khalji organised the system very efficiently. Two market officers, namely, *Shahana-i-Mandi* and *Diwan-i-Riyasat* were appointed. The

Shahana-i-Mandi was the superintendent of grain market, while Diwan-i-Riyasat was in charge of cloth and general market. Malik Qabul who acted as Shahana-i-Mandi had a large staff of subordinates to help him in the discharge of his duties. His duties were to see that the shop-keepers brought grain regularly to the market, sold it at fixed rates, and there was no black market whatsoever. Yaqub who acted as Diwan-i-Riyasat maintained a register or *daftar* in which the names of the merchants were entered, and also the amount of grain merchandise they would bring to the market. Besides these officers, the Sultan appointed a number of spies who sent their reports to him about the market conditions.

Efficient organisation of the system

Appointment of market officers

Results of the price control

The markets were effectively controlled and as a result of this "the people did not feel the pinch of high prices even in times of scarcity". The Sultan was fully successful in tackling the food problem. Barani remarks that the "unvarying price of grain in the markets was looked upon as one of the wonders of the time". The present Governments of Indo-Pakistan and even the British are indebted to Alauddin Khalji, so far as the control system is concerned. The measures he introduced not only helped him to attain his prime object, but also increased the happiness of his people and bound them more closely to his despotic but benign rule.

Price control system achieved the purpose of the Sultan

Causes of success of the system

The price control system of Alauddin Khalji worked very successfully. There were certain factors for this success. Firstly, the system was rigorously enforced and severe punishments were given to those who violated any of the regulations. Secondly, the personal interest and supervision of the Sultan went a long way to make the system a success. The Sultan used to receive regular report about the progress of the system through different sources. Even he would often send his slaves to the

Rigorous enforcement of the system

Personal interest of the Sultan

market to purchase certain things in order to see for himself if the merchants were selling them at fixed prices. If they charged high rates or weighed less they were severely dealt with. Thirdly, the market officers of the Sultan discharged their duties honestly and sincerely, because a little deviation from duty or trivial mistake on their part would have made them liable to the severest punishment. The zeal and honesty of the officers contributed to the success of the system. Lastly, the main cause of the success of this system was that it was systematically planned and executed. The Sultan not only controlled the prices but also controlled supplies and transportation and also set up rationing system in case of emergency.

Zeal and honesty of the officers

Systematic plan & execution

Last days of Alauddin

The closing years of Alauddin Khalji were not happy. His health broke down and he was thoroughly influenced by his favourite minister, Malik Kafur through whose intrigues the family quarrel began. Rebellions broke out in several parts of the empire and Chitor was recaptured by the Rajputs. It was this state of affairs when Alauddin Khalji breathed his last in 1316 after a reign of 20 years with great success and glory.

Last years of the Sultan embittered by Malik Kafur

Achievements and Character of Alauddin Khalji

Of the Turko-Afghan Sultans the name of Alauddin stands out prominently as a great conqueror, a consummate general and an able administrator, who thought of consolidating Muslim supremacy in Indo-Pakistan. He surpassed all his predecessors and many of his successors as regards his achievements and reputation. It was he who first planned the conquest of the Hindu States of the Deccan and it was he who fought against the repeated onslaughts of the Mongols and under whom the power of the Mongols was suppressed and crushed. In many respects he was the fore-runner of Sher Shah and Akbar. Like them he was a good conqueror and statesman. He laid the foundation of an empire based upon a policy of imperialism, secularisa-

tion of State and comprehensive administrative system. His reign marks an epoch in the history of India during the medieval period. It marks (a) the extension of the Muslim rule in all directions, (b) the organisation of the civil and military administration based on elaborate principles and policies, (c) the destruction of the Mongols, (d) the establishment of centralised monarchy, and (e) freedom from the shackles of religious orders.

His reign marks an epoch in the history of medieval India

The reign of Alauddin Khalji was marked by a series of the most glorious exploits in the history of the Sultanate of Delhi. While the Sultan was at war with the Mongol invaders, he fought against and subjugated not only the Hindu princes like the rulers of Ranthambor and Chitor but had overrun Gujrat, Deogir, Dwarsamudra, Madura and the Coromondal coast. The conquest of the Deccan was the chief glory of the exploits. Under him almost the whole of India from the Indus to Cape Comorin was brought under Muslim rule. All these exploits were creditable to a prince of the middle ages and Alauddin had a right to be regarded as a great fighter and conqueror.

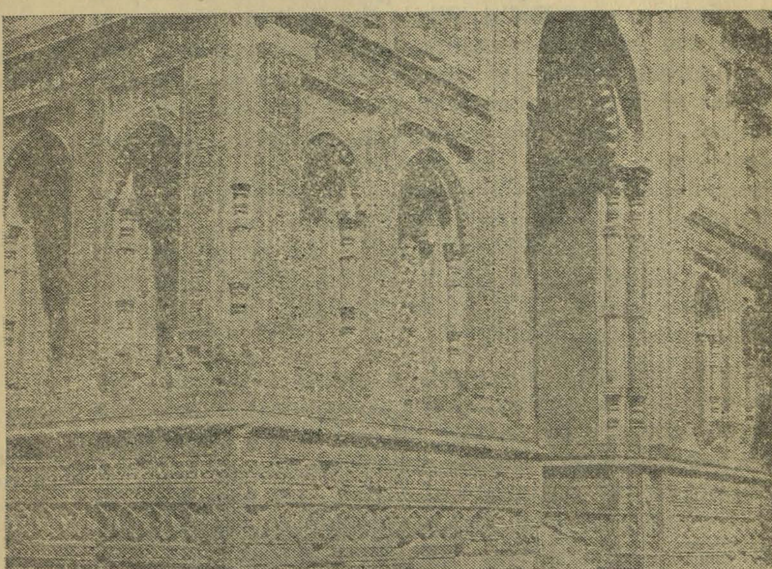
As a conqueror

The Sultan was not a mere warrior. He devoted his attention to the consolidation of the royal authority by putting an end to the turbulence of the Turkish Maliks who had proved to be a menace to the Sultanate of Delhi. He also tried to save his people from the oppression of the revenue farmers, the Khuts, the Muqaddams and the Choudhuries, who were acting as middle men between the Sultan and his subjects and plundering the latter in all possible ways. With a view to saving his people from the evils of capitalism he further issued his well known regulations which regulated the price of articles and checked undue profiteering. In order to organise the army on a sound basis he introduced cash payment and put an end to the practice of granting lands to soldiers. He was the first Muslim ruler who introduced the measurement of land. 'His introduction of the practice of branding the horses in the service of the State did much to prevent corruption.'

As an administrator

Such were the achievements of Alauddin Khalji in matters of civil government and these surely stand to his credit. A prince who in the midst of foreign invasions could think of extending his empire in the Far South and of overhauling the system of administration must be regarded as a great ruler.

Though illiterate, the Sultan was a great patron of arts and learning and his reign was remarkable



Alai Darwaza, Delhi

As a patron of the learned

for great literary activities. He erected many noble buildings and mosques. The Alai Darwaza and the great city of Siri were the products of his reign. Many great poets like Amir Khusrau and many saints like Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya flourished in his reign. Courageous and capable, artful and tactful, economical and thoughtful, he was the best king of his time. By his conquest, he was amply justified in calling himself a "Second Alexander".

He was so ambitious that he wanted to be the prophet of a new religion. But when he was convinced of the impossibility of this he gave up the idea. Ferishta says, "If we look upon the policy of Alauddin, a great king rises to our view. If we behold his hands which are red, an inexorable tyrant appears. He began in cruelty and waded through blood to the end......yet his pomp, wealth and power were never equalled by any prince who sat before him on the throne of Hindusthan."

Although "Alauddin was by nature cruel and implacable, his only care was the welfare of his kingdom and for this, no consideration for religion, no regard for the ties of brotherhood, or filial affection, ever troubled him", says Barani. The Sultan had witnessed the sad consequences and so he was not ready to see them repeated in his case. Under his strict rule, people lived in perfect peace and happiness. Thus relying on the evidence of all these historians, it can be easily said that Alauddin Khalji with many good qualities of head and heart proved to be the greatest Sultan of Delhi and one of the best Sultans known to history.

One of the best Sultans in history

Some critics are of opinion that Alauddin Khalji had nothing of permanence. His government, it is alleged, had no stable foundation and the Khalji dynasty was easily supplanted because of the inherent weakness of his rule. There is no doubt that Alauddin's administrative system had its defects. His government was based upon military force. His price control system brought benefit to the poorer classes but the rich land-lords, merchants and maliks hated it, because it deprived them of wealth and income. The spy system and drastic punishments made people's life irksome. His repressive measures caused dissatisfaction among them. But all this does not hold water when a careful and critical analysis of his achievements is made. He converted a small kingdom into a big empire and for the first time in the history of Delhi Sultanate brought Southern India into submission. He then dealt a death blow to the power of the Mongols who threatened the very existence of

Criticism of the Sultan's achievements

Delhi Sultanate. He also set up a very strong administration and kept the Sultanate safe and secure from internal rebellions. Most of his administrative measures served as models for later monarchs.

Successors of Alauddin Khalji

Kafur seized the royal power

The incompetence of the sons of Alauddin Khalji and the intrigues of his minister, Malik Kafur led to the fall of his dynasty. Malik Kafur who intrigued to obtain power for himself had unbounded influence over the Sultan. Before the death of Alauddin Khalji he 'prevailed upon him to imprison his two sons, Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan for conspiracy and to nominate an infant son, Shihabuddin as successor'. On his death Malik Kafur became the regent of the infant Sultan. Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan were blinded in the prison and their mother was forcibly married by him. He bestowed the highest offices on his favourites. But he could not continue this nefarious life for a long time. He was soon murdered by a soldier of the palace and Mubarak, the third son of Alauddin, was made regent of Shihabuddin. After a short time, Mubarak blinded and deposed his minor brother and then he ascended the throne in 1316.

Mubarak

Mubarak began his reign with cheap popularity. He repealed most of the laws that his father had enforced. In 1317, he personally led an expedition against Raja Harapala of Deogir who proclaimed his independence, and defeated him. On his return he gave himself up entirely to a life of pleasure and enjoyment and left the charge of administration in the hands of Khusrau Khan, a low-born Hindu convert. Khusrau Khan, Governor of the Deccan, planned to capture the throne of Delhi for himself and carried it out successfully. In 1320, he murdered the Sultan and was crowned king of Delhi. But the usurper soon began to misuse his power. His actions alienated the nobles from his administration and Ghazi Malik, who was one of the famous nobles and the governor of the Punjab, attacked Delhi with a large force. He defeated and

Khusrau Khan usurped the throne

beheaded Khusrau Khan in 1320. He requested the leading nobles to raise some member of the Khalji dynasty to the throne; but as all the members of the Khalji dynasty had been extinguished the nobles placed Ghazi Malik on the throne. With the coming of Ghazi Malik to power, the Khalji dynasty came to an end. "The Khaljis had made two contributions to kingship. They showed that kingship was not a monopoly of any privileged class, but that it was within the reach of those who had the power and ability to hold it....The second contribution made by the Khaljis was that kingship could exist without any special religious support and that the outlook of a king was very different from that of the clergy. This was the greatest contribution of Alauddin."*

End of the Khalji dynasty

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* R. P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration.*

CHAPTER VII

THE TUGHLUQ DYNASTY

(1320—1412)

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1320—1315)

Ghazi Malik ascended the throne under the title of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. He was of the stock of Qurauna Turks who lived in the mountainous region between Sind and Turkistan. His father came to India in the time of Balban and married a Jat woman of the Punjab. Thus the new Sultan had in him "the modesty and mildness of the Hindus and the virility and vigour of the Turks." From a humble position, Ghazi Malik had risen to a high rank under the Khaljis by dint of sheer merit. Under Alauddin Khalji, he played an important part in driving out the Mongols and for this reason he was called the 'warden of the marches'. When he came to the throne, the empire of Delhi was in a state of confusion and he, with great firmness and prudence, restored order and discipline in the empire. Within a short time, he amply justified the choice of the nobles making him the ruler of Delhi.

Service under Alauddin Khalji

On his accession order restored

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq started his reign with a number of beneficial measures. He made suitable provisions for the surviving girls of the Khalji family and conciliated all old officials by giving them land and employment.

Early measures

The Sultan sent an expedition in 1321 under the command of his son, Juna Khan, against Warrangal in the Deccan. The first attempt ended in failure and the Prince led his second expedition in 1323 which resulted in the capture of Bidar and Warrangal.

Conquest of Warrangal, 1321---23

A civil war in Bengal among the grandsons of Bughra Khan offered the Sultan a chance to intervene in the affairs of that province. The eldest Nasiruddin, being expelled by his younger brother

Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah, appealed to Ghiyasuddin Tughluq for help. The Sultan seized the opportunity and proceeded towards Bengal. He met Ghiyasuddin at Tirhut. Ghiyasuddin was defeated, captured and sent to Delhi as prisoner. The Sultan annexed eastern Bengal and put it in charge of Nasiruddin as his vassal. On his way back to Delhi, he reduced the Raja of Tirhut (northern Bihar) to submission.

Expedition to Bengal, 1324

On his return from Bengal Ghiyasuddin Tughluq died in 1325 from the collapse of a wooden structure which Juna Khan (Ulugh Khan) had built at Afghanpur to receive his father. The death of Ghiyasuddin has become a subject of controversy amongst the historians. According to Ibn Batuta, the death of the Sultan was due to conspiracy of his son who got the pavilion so constructed that it would collapse on being touched by the elephants. Barani exonerates him and ascribes the Sultan's death to a stroke of lightning. A careful study of contemporary and later works shows that the collapse of the building was purely accidental and the Prince was perfectly free from the charge of parricide. The Prince, Juna Khan 'was decidedly the best of all the sons of the Sultan and had long been heir-apparent.' He had no rival claimant for the throne. Over and above, the Prince was a man of character. 'He would not have acted against his conscience even if his life had been at stake.' But there neither his life nor his throne was in danger. Alauddin Khalji killed his royal patron and the Mughal princes—Khusrau, Khurram and Aurangzeb revolted against their respective fathers. The case of these princes was quite different, because they had little or no chance of ascending the throne.

His death, 1325

Juna Khan was free from the charge of parricide

Administration of Ghiyasuddin

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq was a model and benign administrator. His "administration was based upon the principles of justice and moderation and in the enforcement of regulations he was guided by his desire to advance public weal." When he took the reins of government, he found the treasury in a

Administration based upon principles of justice and moderation

depleted condition. He instituted a searching enquiry and recovered the ill-gotten wealth which Khusrau Khan had distributed among his favourites and supporters. "To prevent corruption and embezzlement he paid his officers well and promoted to high rank only those who gave proof of loyalty and devotion. In the distribution of rewards he was guided by considerations of rank, merit and length of service and avoided all distinctions. He was not a whimsical despot but a sagacious and thoughtful ruler who always consulted his councillors in important matters of the State."

Agrarian system of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq

The chief care of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq was the encouragement and extension of agriculture. Canals were 'excavated to irrigate the lands, gardens were planted and forts were built to provide shelter for husbandmen against brigands.' He did not allow the system of farming which had long been in vogue under the feudal conditions of early Muslim rule. He considerably lightened the burden of taxation by reducing the dues of the State to 1|10th of the produce and inflicted severe punishments on those officials who extorted money from the subjects at the time of collection. "Large remissions of revenue were made in times of draught and the defaulters were treated with great generosity." This revenue policy gives Ghiyasuddin the rank of one of the best statesmen in Indo-Pak sub-continent.

Attention of the Sultan to all departments of the State

The Sultan bestowed his minute attention on all departments of the State. A system of poor-relief was organised and strict discipline was enforced. The departments of justice were reformed and a most efficient postal service was introduced. He built a strong fort called Tughluqabad near Delhi for the defence of the North-Western Frontier against the Mongol attacks.

Character

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq was an able general and a benevolent ruler. He was always anxious for the welfare of his subjects. He patronised literary men and religious institutions. In the course of a few years he proved a just, high-minded and vigorous king. In administrative policy he may be considered the prototype of the later Sher Shah Sur.

Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325—1351)

Ulugh Khan ascended the throne in 1325 under the title of Muhammad bin Tughluq. He was one of the most remarkable figures in the history of Muslim Asia. The first few years of his reign (1325-35) was a period of comparative peace and prosperity and the second period (1335-51) of his reign witnessed a series of troubles and rebellions in Bengal, Gujrat, Sind and the Deccan.

Early troubles

In the second year of his reign the Sultan had to face the rebellion of his cousin, Bahauddin Gurshasp who held the fief of Sagar near Gulbarga in the Deccan. He was defeated, captured and ultimately ordered to be flayed alive. This was followed by the revolt of Bahram Aiba Kishlu Khan, the governor of Multan. Muhammad bin Tughluq marched to Multan at the head of a vast army. The rebel governor was defeated and killed.

Genealogical Table of the Tughluq Dynasty

(i) Ghiyasuddin — Rajab

(i) Ghiyasuddin → (ii) Muhammad bin Tughluq

Rajab → (iii) Firuz

(iii) Firuz → Fateh Khan, Zafar Khan, (vi) Nasiruddin, Muhammad

Fateh Khan → (iv) Ghiyasuddin

Zafar Khan → (v) Abu Bakr

(vi) Nasiruddin → (vii) Humayun

Muhammad → (viii) Nasiruddin Mahmud

Arrival of Tarmashirin, a Mongol in India, 1325

It was about this time that Tarmashirin, the Chaghtai king of Transoxiana, came to Indo-Pakistan. The defeat inflicted by the king of Khurasan on Tarmashirin forced the latter to come to this country to solicit the favour and support of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq in a joint invasion of Khurasan. The Sultan cordially received him at his court and as a token of friendship, gave him 5,000 *dinar* as a present. The account of his invasion of Indo-Pakistan and the abject surrender of the Sultan by bringing the Mongols are baseless.

Barani's lack of chronological account of this reign

Ziauddin Barani mentions five projects of Muhammad bin Tughluq, namely, the increased taxes in the Doab, the making of Deogir into a capital, the token currency, the Khorasan expedition and the Qarachil expedition. But the history of the learned author is not a chronological account of this period. He gives precedence to an event not because it took place first but because it struck his imagination most. By placing the enhancement of the revenue in the Doab at the head of all his projects he does not mean to say that it happened first. Of the disastrous results produced by all the projects, the increased taxes in the Doab topped the list and so he puts it first.

Establishment of Capital in Deogir

Causes of founding a new capital

Muhammad bin Tughluq was a man of experience and outstanding genius. He fully realised the importance of the Deccan problem while he was in charge of an expedition to Warrangal during the life time of his father. Of all parts of the empire the Deccan was the weakest and most dangerous. So after his accession to the throne he first embarked upon a new policy to solve the Deccan problem.

Establishment of a central capital

As it was a crucial one, he wanted to establish a second capital in Deogir under the name of Daulatabad by taking it under his personal charge, 'because Deogir was more centrally situated than Delhi and close to the scene of action in the Deccan'. The Sultan held a vast empire and it was too difficult to rule this vast empire from a distant capital. The statement of Ibn Batuta that the Sultan removed his capital to the Deccan in order to punish the people of Delhi, who had written to him abusive and scandalous letters by criticising his policy, is false and has no foundation.

Introduction of Islamic culture in the Deccan

Secondly, Alauddin had conquered the Deccan States but he had mostly left their administration in the hands of the local Rajas. Muhammad bin Tughluq wanted to bring the Deccan States under his direct control in order to consolidate the authority of the Central Government. He thought that from Deogir he would be able to establish effective Muslim rule in the Deccan. Third-

Thirdly, he wanted to introduce the culture of Islam in the Deccan which had a preponderance of Hindu population and to create better feelings between the Muslims and the Hindus there.

With the above objects the Sultan ordered the upper classes as well as the influential nobles and courtiers of Delhi to leave for Daulatabad. Some of the leading theologians and Sufis were also asked to go to the new capital to live there. That the common people (the masses) or the Hindus were not ordered to leave the capital is borne out by two Sanskrit inscriptions of the year 1327 and 1328. The assertion of Ibn Batuta who came to India several years after this event and whose account is based on bazar gossips that 'the city (Delhi) was reduced to a desert' is not confirmed by facts. The Sultan recruited a strong army for his campaign of 1329 against Bahram Aiba Kishlu Khan when the latter rose in revolt in Multan. If Delhi was deserted even by the door-keepers, then how was it possible for the Sultan to recruit his army from a deserted city ? Delhi remained the principal capital of the empire even after shifting part of the Muslim population to Daulatabad. The Sultan's project to establish Daulatabad as a second capital was opposed by many interested persons. The rebellion of Kishlu Khan, who refused to obey the orders of the Sultan, was the direct result of this opposition. The statement of Ibn Batuta that a cripple was thrown by means of the *ballista* and a blind man was dragged from Delhi to Daulatabad is not true. Nor the hyperbolic statement of Barani that 'not a cat or dog was left among the buildings of the city, in its palaces or in its suburb' can be literally accepted. A careful examination of the available data leads us to believe that Delhi was never deserted and it never ceased to be the capital.

Delhi never deserted and ceased to be the capital

All sorts of facilities were provided to the people. A road, 700 miles long, was constructed from Delhi to Daulatabad and food and accommodation were freely supplied to the emigrants. Daulatabad remained the capital of the empire for nearly eight years and during that period Muslim rule became

strengthened in the Deccan. But the Sultan faced great difficulties in the new capital. The Mongols began to lead invasions from the North-West and revolts and anarchy began to spread in the North. Besides, many wanted to go back to Delhi as they did not feel at home in their new environment. In the circumstances the Sultan ordered his people to return to the old capital. The return journey became so hard that many people died on the way.

His order of return to Delhi

The non-adjustment of the nobles and courtiers in the Deccan atmosphere, the slackening of hold over the North Indian States, the Mongol invasions which necessitated the presence of the Sultan in the North and the hurried execution of his plans were some of the causes of the ultimate failure of the scheme But the inequality of the Sultan's measures has been exaggerated by some of the historians and a more severe criticism has been levelled against him than is warranted by a careful and candid scrutiny of facts. The change of capital or the establishment of a new capital was not dictated by the mere caprice of a whimsical despot. It was the consideration of safety and better government which alone urged the Sultan to take such a bold step. The Sultan had realised the advantage of making Deogir a second capital. He had felt that from Deogir he would be able to hold the empire efficiently and bring the Deccan also under his sway. Moreover, the attempt of having a new capital was not something very fantastic and foolish. There were many rulers in ancient and medieval times who tried to establish new capitals. It may also be said in favour of the Sultan that as soon as he realised the futility of his scheme, he ordered the people to go back to Delhi. He had also been very sympathetic to the people whom he provided with all facilities on both journeys and abolished many taxes. The Sultan, however, has to be blamed not for his motives but for his method of execution.

Causes of his failure

Criticism of his policy

Khurasan expedition

After the departure of Tarmashirin the Sultan directed his attention towards the Deccan problem

and the collection of a vast army. The Sultan at the inspiration and encouragement of some Khura sani nobles, who took shelter at his court, wanted to lead an expedition to Khurasan. With this object in view he recruited a large army consisting of 37,000 men. Amir Nauroz, the son-in-law of Tarmashirin and an-Nasir, the ruler of Egypt, had come to join the army. But the Khurasan expedition did not materialise and the army remained unused. The idea of undertaking the campaign was abandoned because of the sudden change of the political and diplomatic condition of the country. It probably lay (a) in the restoration of friendly relations between Abu Sa'id of Persia and an-Nasir of Egypt and (b) the deposition of Tarmashirin.

The conquest of Khurasan did not materialise due to the change of political condition

Qarachil expedition

Another expedition was directed against the Qarachil mountain. The Sultan never entertained the idea of conquering China. But some historians have brought a charge against the Sultan for his wild scheme of conquering China. The causes of the Qarachil expedition lay in the need for bringing the refractory hill chieftain under his control. The Muslims were gaining victory at first and this success of the Muslim army made Khusrau Malik, the leader of the expedition over confident. He then advanced in the direction of Tibet where his army was overtaken by rains and disease. As a result, almost the whole army was destroyed with the exception of the few who survived to tell the story of the terrible disaster of this expedition.

Introduction of Token Currency

Muhammad bin Tughluq has been described by Thomas as a 'Prince of Moneyers'. "It is, indeed in his role as a Prince of Moneyers", says the same author, " that Muhammad bin Tughluq claims our peculiar attention. His mintages are instructive both in the novelty and variety of their types, admirable

Prince of Moneyers

in the artistic perfection of their design and execution......During the early part of his reign he 'remodelled the coinage and re-adjusted its divisions to the relative values of the precious metals and to originate new and more exact representatives of the subordinate circulation".

Circumstances leading to the introduction of token currency

The introduction of token currency was the most interesting experiment of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. There were factors which led him to take this step. The Sultan had studied the history of paper currency in China and Persia and perhaps he got inspiration from there to introduce the token currency. The prevailing scarcity of silver in that period prompted the Sultan to issue token coins of copper. The necessity of providing an adequate substitute for the much needed silver was an important cause of this experiment. Lastly, the Sultan wanted to introduce this currency in order to carry out new projects and reforms. It has been alleged that the Sultan's prodigal generosity, the famine, the expenditure in the transference and retransference of the capital, the cost of rehabilitating Delhi and finally, the price of keeping off the Mongols had depleted the treasury and the Sultan issued token currency to replenish it. It will be a mistake to regard his attempt as the result of bankruptcy. That the treasury was not empty is supported by the fact that the Sultan after the failure of the currency had enough gold to pay in exchange for all the copper tokens.

Every Hindu house turned into mint

The Sultan ordered copper tokens instead of silver to be used and made it legal tender just like gold and silver coins. His scheme was sound, scientific and useful. But he was ahead of his age and his scheme ended in failure. The State did not take steps to prevent the circulation of counterfeit coins. As a result "the house of every Hindu was turned into a mint". The Hindus forged coins in lakhs and thousands. They paid their taxes in these coins and purchased their horses and weapons with them. Imports were almost stopped, because foreign merchants refused to accept the token currency.

When the situation was so grave, the Sultan ordered the withdrawal of the copper currency from the market and asked people to take from the State treasury gold and silver instead. The State suffered a heavy loss and the people made enormous profits at the cost of the State treasury.

In spite of good intentions the scheme of Muhammad bin Tughluq was a total failure. The main causes of its failure are—(1) the traditional instability of Muslim rule in India where one dynasty is fast supplanted by another ; (2) the abundant coinage of copper which aggravated the situation and the ignorance of the people who thought that the Sultan was going to rob them of every penny ; and lastly (3) the copper tokens could be easily minted in private houses. It has already been discussed that the house of every Hindu was turned into a mint. But no proper step was taken by the government to check forgery.

Causes of the failure of token currency

Increased taxation in the Doab

The failure of the Khurasan and Qarachil expeditions and the fiasco of the token currency seriously affected the finances of the State and led the Sultan to increase the tax in the Doab. According to Ferishta, the tax was increased only three or four times. But Barani remarks that it was raised ten or twenty times. The taxes or cesses were collected with such rigour that the ryots were reduced to beggary. When the peasants of distant provinces heard of the fate of the people of the Doab, they withdrew their allegiance and sought shelter in the forest. This economic measure of Muhammad bin Tughluq drove many to rebellion. The distress of the people was further aggravated by a severe famine which visited Delhi, Malwa and the region of the Doab at that time. The Sultan took steps to help the agriculturists by ordering wells to be dug and loans to be advanced to them. But the remedies came too late. The long duration of the famine had exhausted their patience and prevented them from utilising the loans.

Economic measure of the Sultan and severe famine drove many to take shelter in the forest

Criticism of increased taxation in the Doab

Muhammad bin Tughluq became very unpopular for his increase of tax in the Doab and this has been violently criticised by the historians. According to Barani, "it operated to the ruin of the country and decay of the people......the backs of the ryots were broken. Those who were rich became rebels; the lands were ruined and cultivation was arrested. Grain became dear, the rains were deficient, so famine became general and widespread. It lasted for years and thousands upon thousands of people perished." It appears that Barani who himself belonged to the Doab, has greatly exaggerated the effects of the measure. Moreover, the Sultan had reasons to justify the increase of tax in the Doab. Firstly, Alauddin Khalji had already charged 50% of the gross produce. So if Muhammad bin Tughluq levied almost the same rate of tax, there was nothing wrong in it. Secondly, the Doab was a fertile land and the people there were rich and prosperous. Thirdly, the increase in taxation, according to Brown, was neither oppressive nor excessive. So there was nothing wrong in the experiment. Unfortunately this "measure was carried out at a time when a severe famine was stalking the Doab and the distress of the people was greatly aggravated by its disastrous effects."

Rebellions

Rebellions in different provinces

Rebellions broke out in various parts of the empire as a result of the economic measure. The year 1335 is a landmark in the history of its rebellions and disorders. In 1335, Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah of Mabar rose in open revolt and became independent. In 1338, Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah of Bengal threw off the allegiance of the Delhi Sultanate and assumed the role of an independent ruler. As the Sultan was busy elsewhere, he could not go to Bengal to suppress the usurper. In 1340, another important rebellion broke out which was led by 'Ainul Mulk, the governor of Oudh and one of the top ranking nobles of the time. The Sultan issued an order for his transfer to Daulatabad. But 'Ainul Mulk defied the order thinking that the Sultan was

trying to bring about his ruin and he revolted. He was defeated and captured. In consideration of his faithful and meritorious services in the past, the Sultan treated him generously and took him back into service. The Hindus in the Deccan took advantage of the Sultan's troubles and they made a bid for independence. They founded the Vijaynagar kingdom in 1336 under the leadership of Hari Hara and Bukka Rai. Warrangal and Dwarasamudra were also lost to the empire of Delhi.

Foundation of the Vijaynagar kingdom

In 1337, the foreign Amirs of Daulatabad revolted against the Sultan and set up one of their leaders named Ismail Mukh Afghan as their king. On hearing this, the Sultan came back from Gujrat, defeated the rebels and captured the fort of Daulatabad. But one of the Amirs, Hasan by name, managed to escape with some of his followers to Gulbarga. When the Sultan left Daulatabad, Hassan attacked and captured it. Ismail Mukh gave up his post in favour of Hasan who declared himself independent and ascended the throne under the title of *Abul Muzaffar Bahman Shah.* Thus the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom was laid.

Foundation of the Bahmani kingdom

After his return from Saragdwari the Sultan received the recognition of investiture of his title to the throne from the Khalifah of Cairo in 1345. During the last few years of his reign he was mostly occupied with the suppression of the revolts. When he was busy in suppressing the revolt at Thatta (Sind), he passed away from this mundane world (in 1351).

Recognition by the Khalifah

Estimate of Muhammad bin Tughluq

There has been a lot of controversy regarding the character and achievements of Muhammad bin Tughluq among the scholars and historians, both medieval and modern. Historians like Barani and Ibn Batuta have expressed conflicting views about the personality, virtues and faults of the Sultan. Modern writers, following them, have passed diametrically opposite judgements on his character. Elphinstone was of the view that the Sultan was affected by some degree of insanity and writers like

Different views regarding the character of the Sultan

Havell, Edward Thomas and V. A. Smith have agreed with him. Gardner Brown has ignored altogether the dark aspect of the Sultan's life and has exonerated him from the charge of madness. Dr. Ishwari Prasad remarks that Muhammad bin Tughluq "was unquestionably the ablest man among the crowned heads of the middle ages." Still some historians have painted the Sultan in black colours. A careful examination of both contemporary and non-contemporary evidences show that Muhammad bin Tughluq was an accomplished scholar, extremely generous, tolerant in religious matters, a brave soldier, a stern but impartial dispenser of justice, an inventor, and far-sighted statesman but an unsuccessful ruler.

A most accomplished scholar of his time

"Of all the kings who sat upon the throne of Delhi since Muslim conquest, he was undoubtedly the most learned and accomplished." * The Sultan was well-versed in almost every science then known to orientals. He was quite at home in logic, astronomy, philosophy, mathematics and physical science. In calligraphy, he surpassed the most accomplished scribes. The excellence of his writing, the ease of his composition, the sublimity of his style and the play of his fancy raised him head and shoulder above the most learned scholars and savants of the day. "No teacher of composition dared to compete with him."§ He knew by heart the Quran and a good deal of Persian. He also studied medicine and sometimes he would write prescriptions for patients. He was an ardent student of Greek philosophy and welcomed to his court distinguished philosophers. Above all, he was a good speaker and no one felt tired of listening to his conversations. According to Barani, "The Sultan was an accomplished poet, quite eloquent and profound, learned scholar, a varitable wonder of creation whose abilities would have taken by surprise such men as Aristotle and Asaf."

Muhammad bin Tughluq was very generous and humble. In point of generosity, he surpassed

* Dr. Aga Mehdi Husain, *Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq.*

§ Ishwari Prasad, *History of the Qaraunah Turks.*

all of his contemporaries. It is said that what Hatem Tai and others gave in a year, he gave away at one time. The personal life of the Sultan was marked by a high standard of morality. He was free from the prevailing vices of his age. Ibn Batuta describes him "as the most humble of men and one who is most inclined towards doing what is right and just". Like Alauddin Khalji, he refused to be dictated by the Ulema in matters of administration and exercised his independent judgement. This is why some of the historians have charged him with irreligiousness. He was a true Muslim. Ibn Batuta who is supported by two contemporary historians, namely, Shihabuddin Ahmad and Badr-i-Chach says, "He follows the principles of religion with devoutness and performs the prayers himself and punishes those who neglect them." In spite of his devotion to Islam, he was not intolerant to men of other faiths. According to Ibn Batuta, a good number of Hindus occupied high positions in the State.

Very generous

A true Muslim but not a bigot

The charges of madness and blood-thirstiness which have been brought against him are not true. According to Elphinstone who has been supported by V. A. Smith, Havell and some Indian writers like S. R. Sharma, the Sultan suffered from some degree of insanity. But this view has been rejected by Dr. Iswari Prasad and Gardner Brown. Dr. Iswari Prasad opines that the charges of blood-thirstiness and madness are mostly baseless. No contemporary historian has mentioned anything from which it can be concluded that the Sultan was mad. Probably Elphinstone and other European historians were misled by the statement of Ibn Batuta and Barani that there were always some dead bodies lying in front of the Sultan's palace. In fact, the Sultan inflicted the punishment of death for petty offences not because he was mad but because "he had no sense of proportion and also because such was the custom prevailing in Europe and Asia at that time." The charge of blood-thirtiness was levelled against the Sultan by the orthodox writers who were much annoyed by the anti-clerical policy of the Sultan. Mr. Brown has rightly remarked, "That

Charges of madness and blood-thirstiness

he was mad is a view of which contemporaries give no hint; that he was a visionary, his many-sided, practical and vigorous character forbids us to believe. To call him a despot may be true, but no other form of government was conceivable in the Middle Ages."

According to Barani, the Sultan was a man of many conflicting habits and on the basis of this some historians have described him as "a mixture of opposites." The Sultan disliked low and mean people and yet he raised them to high posts. He was humble and at the same time extremely arrogant. He was very generous and at the same time he was very cruel and ruthless. At times the Sultan would appear as a suppliant in a court of justice and behave like an ordinary citizen, but normally he would inflict severe punishments. He was shrewd, intelligent and learned but he lacked practical common sense. He was very religious and acted according to the tenets of Islam but at the same time he was considered irreligious because he put some Ulema to death.

Mixture of opposites

Muhammad bin Tughluq was neither bloodthirsty nor irreligious nor visionary. He was a "grossly misunderstood sovereign". Dr. Ishwari Prasad remarks that "superficially viewed the Sultan seems to be an amazing compound of contradictions, but he is not really so." According to Dr. A. M. Husain, 'if at all there were some contradictory qualities in him these appeared at different periods of his career and there were clear reasons behind them'.

Muhammad bin Tughluq was a very ambitious king. He wanted to conquer the whole world. In the early part of his reign, he effected some conquests. He had brought Mabar, Warrangal and Dwarasamudra under his sway and this extended his empire which consisted of as many as 23 provinces. But during the later part of his reign, many revolts took place in various parts of the empire. As a result many distant provinces in the South, East and West became independent and this weakened the Delhi Sultanate.

As a general and conqueror

Muhammad bin Tughluq was a great administrator but not a successful ruler. Like Akbar, he followed a tolerant policy towards the Hindus. Under him a good number of Hindus occupied high posts in the State. He also tried to suppress the evil of *Sati* prevalent among the Hindus. As a ruler

Muhammad bin Tughluq did a lot for the peasants. He set up a separate department of agriculture, *Diwan-i-Kohi* which was placed in charge of a special officer called *Amir Kohi*. The main object of this department was to bring uncultivated land under plough and to advance "Taccavi" loans to peasants and to administer relief to the poor in time of famine. He also tried to bring about revenue reforms. He issued an order that regular accounts of revenue and expenditure be kept. His special care for agriculture

Muhammad bin Tughluq was an impartial dispenser of justice. According to Ibn Batuta, "Of all men he most loves justice". He did not even let the Qazis escape justice. He set up a special court for trying the cases of Qazis and nobles. The people were allowed to bring their suits even against the emperor and the Sultan personally submitted himself to the sentence awarded by the Qazi. Impartial dispenser of justice

The Sultan undertook certain administrative experiments like establishment of capital in Daulatabad, introduction of token currency and increase in taxation in the Doab. These measures were not merely visionary projects, they had a logic behind them and had been inspired by cogent reasons and calculated to promote the efficiency of the Government and the well-being of the people in the long run. But unfortunately, all these schemes failed. The cause of their failure was not that they suffered from inherent defects, but because of some extraneous circumstances such as famine in the Doab, the conservative nature of the people and the hasty and hot temperament of the Sultan. Lanepole says, "To him what seems good must be done at once, and when it proved impossible or unsuccessful his disappointment reached the verge of frenzy and he wreaked his wreath indiscriminately All his schemes failed because of some extraneous circumstances

upon the unhappy offenders who could not keep pace with his imagination. Hence with the best intentions, excellent ideas but no balance or patience, no sense of proportion Muhammad bin Tughluq was a transcendant failure."

Thus Muhammad bin Tughluq failed as a ruler in spite of his high political ideas, his inventive mind and his best intentions to better the lot of the people.

Causes of the Sultan's failure

Severe famine

The failure of Muhammad bin Tughluq as a ruler was largely due to circumstances over which he had no control. Famine played an important part in the failure of the Sultan. Dr. Ishwari Prasad says, "A severe famine which lasted for more than a decade marred the glory of his reign and set his subjects against him. The verdict that declares him a cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant like Nero or Caligul does little justice to his great genius and ignores his conspicuous plan to cope with famine and his efforts to introduce ameliorative reforms." He had a good heart and a sincere intention to uphold the interest of the empire.

Non-co-operation of the officers

But he never got the co-operation of the officers who were entrusted with the enforcement of his reforms and projects rather they were opposed to them. He was unable to understand why there should be any opposition to his schemes. He thought that these were the works of the mischief-mongers and he inflicted severe punishments on them without regard to position or birth.

His advanced ideas and opposition of the Ulema

Thus his every new scheme brought a series of punishments which ultimately created an impression that the Sultan was an unscrupulous tyrant. He was far in advance of his age and people could not appreciate his high ideas. Besides, the Ulema created no less troubles to his empire in their personal interests.

Disloyalty of the governors

According to Lanepoole, the provincial governors were "hungry adventurers" who could not be relied upon. It was they who revolted against the Sultan and asserted their independence. But the real cause of his failure lay in his obstinacy to carry out his scheme in the face of grim opposition. He failed to understand the social and economic difficulties of

those days and made no allowance for the feelings of his nobles and officers. None can deny this fact that a measure, however beneficial it may be, cannot be imposed upon the people against their will and in this respect Muhammad bin Tughluq was a poor judge of human psychology.

His obstinacy

Ibn Batuta

Ibn Batuta, who was born at Tangier in Africa in 1304 A.D. travelled for more than 25 years of his life almost all over the important countries of the Islamic world. He started on his travels in 1325 and during the next eight years explored the whole of Northern Africa, Arabia, Persia, the Levant and Constantinople. He came to Indo-Pakistan in 1333 and was appointed Chief Qazi of Delhi by Muhammad bin Tughluq. He held this office for about eight years. He at last lost the favour of the emperor and was imprisoned. It was after earnest prayers that he was released and sent a few months later as an ambassador to China. But on the way he was shipwrecked and after a sojourn of a few years here and there he returned to his native land in 1349. He recorded his experience in a book called *Safarnamah*.

A famous Moorish traveller travelled almost all over the Islamic world

Ibn Batuta has left an account of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. But the account of this famous traveller has to be accepted with great caution. Firstly, though he was restored to favour after imprisonment, he never forgot the punishment inflicted on him by the Sultan and hence the hatred he carried for Muhammad bin Tughluq is clearly reflected in his book. Secondly, he, like most of the travellers, mixed up facts with gossip and gave as much importance to unauthentic hearsays as to things which he personally saw. In spite of this defect Ibn Batuta's account is full of valuable information about this period. He described the Sultan as pious and generous, cruel and ruthless whose gateway was never free from a beggar whom he had made rich and the body of a man whom he had slain.

Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351—1388)

Accession of Firuz Shah, 1351

The death of Muhammad bin Tughluq threw the imperial army into great confusion and disorder. For two days the royal camp was plundered and harassed by the rebels of Sind and the Mongol mercenaries who had come to help the Sultan's army against the rebel Taghi. In the midst of these troubles the nobles offered the throne to Firuz, son of Rajab and cousin of Muhammad bin Tughluq. But Firuz was at first reluctant to accept the offer for fear of responsibility to God. He ultimately gave his consent, took up the charge of Government and started for Delhi with the imperial army. With his entry into the capital Khwaja Jahan, the deputy of the late Sultan who had placed a supposed son and successor of Muhammad bin Tughluq on the throne, came to him and was pardoned. While Khwaja Jahan was going back to the fief of Samana, he was killed on the way by an officer, named Sher Khan.

Expeditions to Bengal, 1353-54 & 1359-60

Recognition of the independence of Bengal

Firuz Shah was a peace-loving man. In his reign no serious battle was fought and no great conquest was made. In 1353, he led an expedition against Haji Ilyas who declared himself independent in Bengal and invaded Tirhut. With the approach of the Sultan of Delhi Haji Ilyas took shelter in the fortress of Ikdala. Firuz Shah could not reduce the fort and was obliged to retreat. In 1359, he again marched towards Bengal. Haji Ilyas was by that time succeeded by his son, Sikandar Shah. Sikandar Shah like his father shut himself up in the fort of Ikdala. The imperial troops besieged the fort and peace was then concluded on favourable terms for Sikandar Shah who agreed to pay a tribute of 40 elephants and to surrender Sonargaon.

Expedition to Jajnagar

On his way back to Delhi from Bengal, Firuz Shah halted for some time at Jaunpur in 1360 and then led an expedition into Jajnagar (modern Orissa). The Raja of this place soon offered his submission. The next expedition was directed against the fortress of Nagorkot. After a siege of six months, its Raja submitted to him.

In 1361-62, the Sultan turned his attention towards Sind in order to punish the people of Thatta, the capital of Sind, for their disloyalty to Muhammad bin Tughluq. He marched against Thatta at the head of a large army. His first attempt ended in failure and he retreated to Gujrat with a view to reinforcing his army. When the imperial army was strengthened by the reinforcement sent from Delhi by his minister, Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, the Sultan again attacked the Sindhis and forced the *Jam* (ruler) of Thatta to surrender. The *Jam* was granted a pension and his brother was allowed to govern Sind.

Conquest of Sind

Firuz Shah did not make any attempt to bring the Deccan under his control. Since his failure in the Bengal expedition, he took an oath not to go to war except for suppressing rebellions. On his return to Delhi he was called upon to suppress a few rebellions. In 1377, the Governor of Gujrat rose in revolt but was defeated and killed. This was followed by the rebellion in Katehar. The Sultan not only suppressed the rebellion but ordered a general massacre of the suspected criminals in Katehar.

Suppression of rebellions

Administration of Firuz Shah

Firuz Shah deserves to be known as one of the best rulers of Delhi. He was not a good warrior and his military enterprises were mostly unsuccessful. But he was a just and benevolent administrator. His long reign of 37 years was a period of prosperity and happiness. On his accession he wrote off the loans which had been advanced to the people by the late Sultan during the days of famine. Firuz re-introduced the *jagir* system (grant of land to the military officers in lieu of cash salaries) which had been abolished by Alauddin Khalji. He tried his utmost to eradicate the bad effects of his predecessors' reign. He reduced taxation to a limit prescribed by the Quranic Law. He abolished many unjust and vexatious taxes which had been levied upon the people during the previous reigns. According to *Futuhat-i-Firuz Shah*, the Sultan abolished 23 such cesses, for they were not sanctioned by the

Abolition of many unjust taxes

Relief of merchants from irregular duties

laws of Islam. He levied four kinds of taxes sanctioned by the Quranic Law, namely, kharaj, zakat, jizya and khums or 1|5 of the spoils. The merchants were exempted from the payment of irregular and oppressive duties. The officers were warned against demanding anything more than the prescribed dues and if they did otherwise, they were seriously dealt with. The new system of taxation was beneficial to the development of trade and agriculture. Shams-i-Siraj Afif, a contemporary historian says, "As a result of these regulations the ryots grew rich and they were satisfied." The Sultan encouraged agriculture and constructed 150 wells and 4 canals which irrigated large areas of land. Another beneficial measure taken by him was the reclamation of waste land, the income of which was spent for religious and educational purposes. Firuz Shah had the credit of issuing coins of small denominations—half and a quarter 'jitals', known as *adha* and *bikh* respectively.

Encouragement of agriculture

Abolition of inhuman torture

Justice was rigorously administered in the empire. The *Muftis* and the *Qazis* tried the cases. The former expounded the law and the latter delivered the judgement. The Sultan put an end to oppression and the inhuman method of punishments.

Marriage bureau and employment bureau

Firuz Shah took special care for the welfare of his subjects and for this he brought about certain reforms. In the first instance, he instituted a special department of charity known as *Diwan-i-Khairat*. It had two sections—(a) the marriage bureau' and (b) the 'employment bureau.' He took upon himself the task of seeing that no Muslim girl of marriageable age remained unmarried for want of dowry. Widows and orphans were also given pecuniary help. The employment agency was chiefly concerned with those who wanted clerical and administrative employment. The construction of public works and extension of cultivation provided ample employment for labourers and handicraftsmen. It was the duty of the *Kotwal* of Delhi to find out those who were without employment and to produce them before the Sultan. The Sultan personally made inquiries into the cir-

cumstances and qualifications and after due consultation he provided them with employment. Secondly, the Sultan established a free big hospital called *Dar-us-Shafa* in Delhi where good physicians were appointed to look after the patients and medicine and diet were distributed among the sick and the needy at the expense of the State.

Free distribution of medicine and diet

Firuz Shah organised the army on a feudal basis. The regular soldiers received grants of land and the irregulars were paid from the royal treasury and those who received neither salary nor grants of land were given assignments upon the revenue. He, out of kindness, passed a new regulation to the effect that when a soldier grew old and incapable his son should succeed him as his deputy, if he had no son, his son-in-law and failing any son-in-law, his slave shall represent him. The Sultan took special care to maintain the slaves for the utilization of their services in the State and organised the institution of slavery into a system.

Organisation of army and slave system

Firuz Shah was a great builder of cities and mosques. He established a new capital at Delhi and named it Firuzabad. He also founded the cities like Hisar-Firuzah, Fatehabad, Jaunpur and others. The Sultan built a number of mosques, palaces, sarais, reservoirs, hospitals, tombs, bath, monumental pillars and bridges. He constructed a double system of canals from the Jumna and the Sutlej in order to supply water to the new city, Hisar-Firuzah. He also took interest in the preservation of ancient monuments and caused two monoliths of Asoka to be removed to Delhi. He laid out 1,200 new gardens in the vicinity of Delhi and restored 30 old gardens of Alauddin Khalji.

Works of public welfare

The benevolent and humanitarian measures like the abolition of illegal taxes and inhuman punishments, the improvements of agriculture, the administration of poor relief, and the encouragement of numerous public works made the life of all sections of people happy and prosperous. But some of his acts, though benevolent, proved detrimental to the interests of the Sultanate of Delhi and ultimate-

Criticism of some of his reforms

ly contributed to its fall. One of the disasterous measures introduced by the Sultan was the revival of Jagir system. The nobles became all-powerful in their areas and as a result, the control of the Central Government over local administration gradually relaxed. Secondly, he allowed the sons and slaves of old and infirm soldiers to succeed them in their office. In most of the cases, the successors did not inherit the qualifications of their predecessors and possess the fitness for the post. This practice of hereditary succession in office weakened the military organisation of the Delhi Sultanate. Thirdly, the Sultan had a large number of slaves which at one time reached the high figure of 18,000. For their proper management he had to establish a separate department with a regular staff of officers. The maintenance of a huge number of slaves not only caused a heavy drain upon the treasury but these slaves, later on, proved a source of constant danger to the empire and became one of the causes of its downfall.

His Religious Policy

The Sultan was not in advance of his age

Firuz Shah was a staunch follower of Islam who governed the country according to the laws of the *Shariat*. He inflicted punishments on the Brahmins for their misconduct and the imposition of *jizya* on them was a State policy. It should be remembered that the able Muslims were not exempted from the payment of *zakat* which was far heavier a tax than the *jizya*. The Shias were also severely dealt with. But one should not forget the age and circumstances in which he lived. This was an age of cruelty and intolerance and Firuz Shah was not in advance of his age. But he was not worse than his contemporary rulers both Asiatic and European. Hence to call him a bigot is perhaps unfair.

His death, 1388

The last days of Firuz Shah were not peaceful. His minister, Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul became very powerful in the State and his arrogant behaviour drove Muhammad Khan into rebellion. In the midst

of these troubles he breathed his last in 1388. "The death of Firuz," as Moreland observes, "marks the end of an epoch."

Estimate of Firuz Shah

Firuz Shah was one of the best Sultans of Delhi. He was a God-fearing, just and generous ruler. His rule was enlightened and humane. He had to his credit a record of beneficial works which ensured the peace and prosperity of the empire. The abolition of many unjust taxes and inhuman torture, the improvement of agriculture, the encouragement of trade, the introduction of grand-motherly legislation and patronage of buildings testify to his genius as a benevolent administrator. He was a friend of the poor and the needy. Under his benign rule, people lived in peace and happiness.

Benevolent administrator

Firuz Shah was not a good general. He did not make any serious attempts to recover the lost provinces of the empire. His military expeditions to Bengal were of the lowest order. He also lacked the essential qualities of a statesman. His revial of the *jagir* system, his misplaced generosity to the soldiers and the abnormal development of the slave system proved fatal to the empire.

Not a good general & statesman

Though not a great general and statesman, Firuz Shah was a patron of learning and piety. Many learned divines and scholars enjoyed his patronage. The works of Ziyauddin Barani and Shams-i-Shiraj Afif were written under his patronage. On the conquest of Nagarkot, some Sanskrit works fell into his hands and these were translated into Persian under his care. Besides the patronage of individuals, he established a large number of schools and colleges for the education of his subjects.

Successors of Firuz Shah

On the demise of Firuz Shah the throne of Delhi became the bone of contention among his sons and grandsons. At last his grandson, Ghiyasuddin Tughluq II occupied the throne. He was weak and worthless and gave himself up to pleasure and indolence. He was soon murdered by his cousin Abu Bakr who

Weak successors of Firuz Shah

became king in February, 1388. But Nasiruddin Muhammad, the Governor of Nagarkot, snatched the throne from him. After his death his son, Humayun ascended the throne. He died very soon and was succeeded by his younger brother, Nasiruddin Muhammad Tughluq. He was the last representative of the House of the Tughluqs.

Invasion of Timur (1398-99)

The wealth of India and the toleration of idolatry by the Sultans were the causes of invasion

When the successors of Firuz Shah were at feud and brought the empire to the brink of destruction and dissolution by their policy and deeds, the king of Samarkand, Amir Timur invaded Indo-Pakistan with a large Turkish force. He became the leader of the Chagtai Turks at the age of 33. He then conceived the idea of world conquest. After the conquest of Persia, Afghanistan and Mesopotamia, he turned towards Indo-Pakistan. The wealth of this country and the toleration of idolatory by the Sultans of Delhi drew his attention and he determined to invade Indo-Pakistan. The distracted and chaotic condition of the Sub-continent also favoured him in his project. Early in 1398, he sent his grandson, Pir Muhammad who proceeded with an army of 30,000 horse. He crossed the Indus and captured Uchh and Multan after a few months. He overran the territories of Dipalpur and Pakpattan. He reached as far as the Sutlej and began to wait there for Timur. In August 1398, Timur himself marched towards Indo-Pakistan with a big force of 92,000, cavalry. He crossed the Indus in September 1398 and met Pir Muhammad who had been waiting for him on the bank of the Sutlej. The combined forces marched towards Delhi. In December 1398 Timur's forces reached Delhi. Mahmud Shah, the last ruler of the House of Tughluq, was the Sultan of Delhi. He and his minister Mallu Iqbal collected a large army to oppose him but they were defeated and took to flight. Timur entered the city of Delhi in 1399 as a conqueror. He agreed to spare the lives of citizens on condition of payment of a heavy ransom. But the conduct of the soldiers in collecting provi-

sions led the Hindus to resist and Timur then ordered a general massacre and converted Delhi into shambles. Sack of Delhi by Timur's soldiers is one of the most tragic events in the blood-stained annals of that ill-fated city.

Sack of Delhi and massacre of inhabitants

Timur had no desire to stay in this country. He left Delhi after a stay of 15 days with a large number of slaves and laden with enormous booty. On his way he stormed Meerut, captured Kangra, and sacked Jammu. He appointed Khizr Khan who joined him in Delhi, to the governorship of Multan, Lahore and Dipalpur as his viceroy in Indo-Pakistan. Thus he left Indo-Pakistan "leaving behind him the tales of horror and destruction as well as famine and pestilence."

Khizr Khan appointed his Viceroy in India

After the departure of Timur, the whole of Northern India was in disorder and confusion. As a result of the whole destruction of stores of grain and standing crops, famine and pestilence swooped down upon the land, and it took Delhi more than half a century to recover from the appalling devastation wrought by him. Thousands of innocent people had been ruthlessly killed, many cities and large villages had been reduced to ashes, large tracts of field had been laid waste and the administration of the provinces, through which he had passed had been completely thrown out of gear. "Delhi was utterly ruined and those of its people who were left while for two whole months not a bird moved wing in the city," says Badauni. Timur completed the dissolution of the Tughluq empire and the anarchy that followed his departure enabled many provinces to assert their independence.

Famine and pestilence followed as a result of whole-sale destruction of Delhi by Timur

The history of the Sultanate of Delhi after Timur's departure is the history of devastated Indo-Pakistan. Mahmud who had fled to Gujrat after the defeat of the Indian army returned to his capital. Being a weak king he could not make proper use of his restored position. He died in 1413 after a reign of 20 years and with him the Tughluq dynasty ended.

Causes of the Fall of the Tughluq Dynasty

Policy of Muhammad bin Tughluq

There were many causes of the fall of the Tughluq dynasty. Firstly, Muhammad bin Tughluq was partly responsible for the disintegration of his house. His establishment of the second capital at Daulatabad, his introduction of token currency and the increased taxation of the Doab created a lot of troubles for his people and thus he unconsciously sowed the seed of its downfall. As a result of his policy, there were revolts in many parts of the empire and several independent kingdoms came into being.

Revival of Jagir system, hereditary succession and slave system weakened the empire

Secondly, although Firuz Tughluq tried to heal the wounds inflicted by his predecessor, his revival of the *Jagir* system, the hereditary succession in office and the slave system weakened the administration and were responsible for the fall of the empire.

Opposition of the Hindus

Thirdly, the Hindus, though subjected to foreign rule for a long time, had not given up their attempt to become free and independent. They always continued to revolt and the control of the Delhi Sultanate was nominal. Their opposition constituted a factor in the fall of the empire.

Weak successors of Firuz

Fourthly, the weak successors of Firuz Tughluq were mainly responsible for the fall of the Tughluq dynasty. They were too weak to recover those parts of the empire which had become independent during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. They contented themselves with their personal pleasures and spent their time in mutual fights.

Extent of empire

Fifthly, the Sultanate of Delhi under Muhammad bin Tughluq extended not only to Northern India but also to Southern India. It was practically impossible to control and rule over such a vast empire in those days when means of communications were under-developed.

Invasion of Timurlane

Lastly, when the empire was tottering under the weak successors of Firuz Tughluq, the invasion of Timurlane gave a death blow to the Tughluq dynasty.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SAYYID AND LODI DYNASTIES

On the death of Mahmud Tughluq, the throne of Delhi was occupied by Daulat Khan Lodi who governed the country for about two years. In 1414, he was defeated by Khizr Khan, the ruler of Multan. After the defeat of Daulat Khan, Khizr Khan was crowned as king of Delhi. He claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet and the dynasty founded by him is known in history as the Sayyid dynasty.

Khizr Khan, 1414-21

Khizr Khan's claim to be a Sayyid is very doubtful. 'It does not rest on any family claim but on the guess of a holy man.' Secondly, Khizr Khan was good natured, generous, pious, clement and truthful. These are the excellences of the Prophet's character and as these were found in him, he could not but be a Sayyid. Khizr Khan did not assume the royal title but professed to govern as the viceroy of Timur's son and successor, Shah Rukh and occasionally sent him tribute.

Generous and pious man

Khizr Khan was a brave and resourceful man. He never hesitated to undertake a distant and difficult campaign, when an occasion arose. His grants in cash and kind and remission of revenue after the rapine of Timur had resulted in the return of confidence and rehabilitation of Delhi. He was able to revive the Sultanate in the Punjab, Rohilkhand and the Doab. He not only revived the last prestige of the Sultanate, but also contributed to the increase of its life-span. 'From Multan in the west, upto the frontiers of Jaunpur a little beyond Etwa and from the foot-hills of the Himalayas, upto the boundary of Malwa—all these tracts were brought by him once more under the rule of the Delhi Kingdom.'

Revival of the Sultanate of Delhi

Khizr Khan died in 1421. "People," says Ferishta, "were happy and contented under his rule and for this reason, old and young, the slave and the free lamented his death by wearing black garment."

His death

Later Sayyids (1421-51)

Mubarak Shah

After the death of Khizr Khan, his son Mubarak Shah ascended the throne of Delhi. He was a very good king but was murdered in 1434 by a noble named Sardarul Mulk. Muhammad Shah, a nephew of Mubarak Shah, was placed on the throne. The new king soon avenged the murder of his uncle and got Sardarul Mulk assassinated by his soldiers. He ruled for about 12 years.

Muhammad Shah

Alam Shah, 1444-1451

Muhammad Shah was succeeded by his son, Alauddin Alam Shah, who was the last and the weakest king of this dynasty. He voluntarily abdicated in 1451 in favour of Bahlol Lodi, an Afghan noble who by a friendly agreement allowed the last king of the so-called Sayyid dynasty to live in peace at Badaun till his death in 1478.

The Lodi Dynasty (1451-1526)

Bahlol Lodi, 1451-88

Conquest of Jaunpur

The Lodi Sultans were the only real Pathan kings of Delhi. The other Sultans of Delhi were Turks, either pure or mixed. Bahlol Lodi, who ascended the throne in 1451 was a very pious, wise, generous and capable king. The conquest of Jaunpur was the chief event of his reign. His son Barbak Shah was appointed governor of Jaunpur. He also suppressed the rebellious chief in Mewat and the Doab. He reigned for 38 years and died in 1489.

Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517)

Subjugation of Jaunpur and conquest of Bihar

Nizam Khan, the second son of Bahlol Lodi, succeeded him under the title of Sikandar Lodi. He was an able administrator who to some extent restored the lost prestige of the Delhi Sultanate. His brother Barbak Shah, governor of Jaunpur who defied the central authority, was forced to submit to him. Sikandar Lodi conquered Bihar and reduced Gwalior to subjection. He changed his capital from Delhi to Agra with the object of subjugating the chiefs of Central India. Sikandar Lodi died in 1517 after a successful reign of 28 years.

Sikandar Lodi was the ablest and greatest king of the Lodi dynasty. He extended the dominion of

his father in all directions. The Sultan crushed the power of the haughty Afghan nobles and re-established his authority over the chiefs and zamindars in the eastern provinces. He was an administrator of no mean merit. He re-organised the administration on a sound basis. He abolished corn duties and patronised trade and commerce. He was a pious man and tried to live according to the law of Islam. He was kind and generous to the poor and the needy. He was a poet of repute. He composed under the pen-name of *Gulruk* He was also a patron of learning and ordered a Sanskrit work in medicine to be translated into Persian.

Greatest king of the Lodi dynasty

Ibrahim Lodi (1517-26)

On the death of Sikandar Lodi, his son Ibrahim Lodi was raised to the throne. But a faction of the nobility advocated a partition of kingdom and placed Jalal Khan, younger brother of Ibrahim, on the throne. But the attempt of the nobles was frustrated by the Sultan. Rana Sanga of Mewar took advantage of the civil war between Ibrahim Lodi and his brother and made encroachments upon the dominion of the Sultan. The Sultan, in order to give him a good lesson, attacked the Rana and inflicted a crushing defeat on him.

Defeat of Rana Sanga

The rebellion of his brother and the subsequent activities of the Afghan nobles made the Sultan suspicious of their movement. So he became cautious and took stern measures against them. Some of the nobles were dismissed and some of them were put to prison. The Sultan's behaviour and his drastic measures soon alienated the sympathy of the Afghan nobles. As a result rebellions broke out in many parts of the empire. After the death of Darya Khan, his brother Bahadur Shah declared independence in Bihar. Daulat Khan Lodi, Governor of the Punjab became dissatisfied with the Sultan. He sent his son Dilawar Khan to Kabul in order to invite Babur, the ruler of Afghanistan to come to Indo-Pakistan and to crush the power of the Lodies. Alam Khan, uncle of Daulat Khan extended his help to the Afghan nobles.

Discontent of the nobles

Babur who had been cherishing the idea of conquering Indo-Pakistan welcomed the invitation. In 1524 he led an expedition to this country and occupied Lahore after defeating the army of Ibrahim Lodi. But Daulat Khan Lodi went against Babur as the latter instead of leaving Lahore to him appointed his own administrators there. Babur, then entered into an agreement with Alam Khan on condition that he would be placed on the throne of Delhi only to retain the Punjab for himself. Daulat Khan joined Alam Khan and both of them made a common cause against the common enemy. They proceeded towards Delhi with an army of 30,000 to 40,000 Afghans and attacked it but they were defeated by the Sultan.

Babur's expedition to Indo-Pakistan

Babur now realised his position and thought that his success in this country would entirely depend on his own resources. He prepared himself for this campaign and started from Kabul in 1525 with an army of 12,000 strong. In April, 1526 he met Ibrahim Lodi in the historic field of Panipat where a battle was fought in which Ibrahim Lodi was defeated and killed and the government of Indo-Pakistan passed from the hands of the Pathan Sultans of Delhi into those of the Mughals.

Ibrahim's defeat at Panipat, 1526

Frontier Policy of the Turkish Sultans of Delhi

Ever since the dawn of human history the destiny of the Indo-Pak sub-continent has been moulded by its North-West Frontier. The problem is as old as anything in history. The root cause of the invasions into this land has been the political upheavals in the Central and Western Asiatic regions and the temptation which "the wealth of Hind" has offered to the outsiders. When the Turks stepped into the position of the early Hindu rulers of Northern India they profitted by the lessons of the past. Their own success exhibited that their Hindu predecessors did not possess anything like a scientific and systematic frontier defence. They, therefore, became quite alert to the gravity of the problem.

Origin of the problem

But the problem was no less formidable. The Sultans of Delhi had to deal with the unceasing in-

undation of the Mongol hordes. They overran the country and swept away all that came in their way. Equally important was the problem created by the Khokhars who had established themselves in the region between Lahore and Ghazni on the southern border of Kashmir. They joined the confederacy of the Hindu chiefs, who opposed Sultan Mahmud on the invitation of Anandapal, the ruler of Lahore and they had done tremendous havoc in Mahmud's army. They were equally opposed to the Ghurians. Hostility of the Khokhars to the Ghurian Turks seems to have been so deep in their minds that throughout the Sultanate period they continued to trouble the Delhi Sultans by constant incursions in their territory. According to Ferishta, Sultan Muhammad Ghuri was murdered by some Khokhars.

Two aspects of the problem

The Mongol cataclysm created the most formidable frontier problem for Sultan Iltutmish. Jalaluddin Khawarizm Shah fled from Ghazni from the invasions of the Mongols and took shelter in the Doab between the Indus and the Jhelum. He sent envoys to Iltutmish requesting him to grant him asylum in his dominions against the Mongols. But Iltutmish sent a diplomatic refusal to the Khawarizm prince on the plea of the country's uncongenial climate and thus saved the Sultanate from the odium of the terrible Chengiz Khan. After this, the frontier region enjoyed uninterrupted peace from the Mongol invasion till December, 1241 when Prince Bahram was on the throne. Sultan Nasiruddin, who was a willing puppet in the hands of Balban, took up the question of the frontier defence with earnestness. His first expedition was to march out with his forces towards Multan and Sind along with tried generals of the realm with the object of destroying the Mongols and dealing effectively with the Khokhars. He sent Balban to the Jud Hills and Salt Range to punish the Khokhars for their continued incursions. Balban inflicted a terrible chastisement on them. Towards the close of 1257, the Mongols, who were becoming a growing menace invaded Sind but seeing Balban ready to receive them, retired.

North-West Frontier problem under Iltutmish

Under Bahram Shah

Under Sultan Nasiruddin

When Balban became *de jure* Sultan, the Mongol menace assumed a very threatening proportion and their raids became more frequent than ever. But Balban was not the man to rest on oars. For this he organised and disciplined his army to the highest point of efficiency. He stayed near the capital and never led campaigns to distant lands. He led an attack upon the Salt Range and severly chastised the Khokhars. His other measures for the defence of the frontier consisted of (1) maintaining the forts on the routes of the invaders in perfect preparedness, (2) building new forts wherever necessary, (3) keeping a vigilant watch on the routes and (4) appointing, as wardens of the marches, tried and experienced military hands, such as his cousin Sher Khan.

Under Balban

During the reign of Kaiqubad (1289-90), there was another invasion under Tamar Khan of Ghazni. But the well-organised defensive measures set up by the late Sultan were strong enough and the Mongols were once more vanquished.

Under Kaiqubad

On June 13, 1290 Jalaluddin Khalji was enthroned as Sultan. He had for long occupied the post of the warden of the Frontier. He had fought and driven back the incessant waves of the Mongol raids. But after he became the Sultan, there was only one invasion in 1292. An enormous horde of 150,000 Mongols is said to have invaded the country. He met the invaders, crushed their advance guard and compelled them to sue for peace. Ulugh Khan, a descendant of Chengiz Khan accepted Islam with thousands of other Mongol officers and they settled in a colony outside the capital. Jalauddin did not take any positive step to put a stop to the Mongol incursions.

Under Jalauddin Khalji

Under Alauddin Khalji, the frontier policy entered a new phase. Within a few months of his accession to the throne a huge force of the Mongols poured down into the kingdom and put the Sultan into a difficult situation. During this reign, there were as many as seven Mongol raids under different leaders and every time they were repulsed with

Under Alauddin Khalji

heavy loss. At first, Alauddin Khalji neglected the frontier defence. Unlike Balban he went twice on distant expeditions as far as Ranthambor and Chitor leaving the capital to its fate and remained away for over a whole year. But the havoc caused by the siege of Delhi by Targhi roused him from his dream of distant expeditions. This led him to organise a large well-equipped force and to repair the old forts. Two more invasions of the Mongols during the later period of his reign compelled him to resume the frontier policy of Balban. Besides repairing the old forts, he built new ones and placed efficient commanders in charge of them. He considerably increased his army and to maintain such a huge army he had to introduce an economic reform generally known in history as 'the price control system'. Thus Alauddin Khalji compelled by the logic of circumstances, took all possible steps to guard his dominion against the onslaught of the Mongols.

Under Ghiyasuddin Tughluq

During the last ten years of Alauddin's reign, the Mongols did not dare to renew their raids. On his death they renewed their attempts but found Ghiyasuddin Tughluq a tough enemy who successfully beat them back. His son and successor, Muhammad bin Tughluq had to face them but they did not prove to be serious during this reign.

Results of the Mongol invasions upon the policy of the Sultans

The Mongol invasions gave a serious check to the prosperity and onward progress of Islam. Mr. Sykes says, "The awful nature of cataclysm which set back the hands of the clock of progress among the Muslim States and thereby indirectly throughout the world is difficult to realise and impossible to exaggerate." The occupation of a portion of the Punjab by the Mongols constituted an ever-present menace to the Sultanate of Delhi. The Mongols stood as the greatest bar to the expansion of the Indian empire. The Sultan could not leave the capital for distant campaigns lest it was exposed to the Mongol attacks. Thus the internal policy of the Delhi Sultans was greatly moulded by the Mongol invasions.

Causes of the fall of the Sultanate of Delhi

Inherent weakness of the Government

The Empire of the Delhi Sultans mainly depended upon the ability and personality of the presiding sovereign. If the hand that rules the world be weak, it loses its hold upon the powerful elements but if it be strong it controls all. Sultan Shamsuddin restored peace and order in the country. After him, weak successors—Ruknuddin Firuz, Raziya, Muizuddin Bahram and Alauddin Masud ascended the throne one after another. Under them chaos and confusion were the order of the day. With the accession of Balban, peace was once more established but he left no worthy successors behind. In the Khalji period, Alauddin Khalji was the only capable and successful ruler under whom people lived in peace and tranquility. Thus with the exception of a few rulers, the Sultanate of Delhi present very few able kings. Under the weak rulers the throne of Delhi became the scene of rebellions and insurrections, disorder and discord.

Absence of of definite law of succession

The absence of a definite law of succession created much trouble in the Sultanate period. "During the 13th and 14th centuries there was no recognised procedure to which recourse might be had in case of disputes." The nobility played a very prominent part in the succession question in the Delhi Sultanate. 'Might is right' was sometimes the best qualifications of a candidate for a king. As a result, there was constant contest for the throne.

Effects of Muhammad bin Tughluq's measures and the policy of Firuz Shah

Though under Muhammad bin Tughluq, the Tughluq power reached its zenith, yet some of his measures caused untold sufferings to the people and unconsciously he sowed the seed of future trouble. It was in the Deccan that the trouble first began and its example was followed by others. Before the death of the Sultan, Bengal and the Deccan declared independence and were lost to the Sultanate of Delhi. Under his successor, Firuz Shah, the process of disintegration began to work rapidly. Besides his weak and worthless successors, the revival of the *Jagir* system, the hereditary succession in office and the slave system were responsible for the fall of the Empire.

The relation between the Central and Provincial Governments was not cordial. Since the governors were all-powerful in the provinces, they were always on the look-out for rebellion and tried to assert their independence. The Early Turkish Empire and the Khalji and Tughluq dynasties were always busy with the suppression of the provincial governors who proved a constant source of troubles to the Delhi Sultanate. Thus the centrifugal tendencies may be regarded as one of the factors for the overthrow of the Sultans of Delhi.

Decentralisation and provincialization

The Hindu opposition was another cause for the downfall of the Sultanate of Delhi. The bulk of the people in India were Hindus and as such, though they were defeated in the field, their co-operation was necessary for the establishment of good government. Some of the Sultans of Delhi might have done a little injustice to them on political ground but many of the capable Hindus were raised to high posts and positions. In spite of the privileges accorded to them, the rulers failed to win the hearts of Hindu chiefs and peasantry who induced rebellions and created disturbance in the empire. This is why Balban, Alauddin Khalji and Ghiyasuddin Tughluq had to adopt repressive measures against them.

Strength of the Hindu opposition

The deterioration of the ruling house may also account for the fall of the Sultanate of Delhi. Many of the Sultans led a pompous and luxurious life and cared little for the State. Moreover, the policy of Indianization did not prove beneficial to the State. Alauddin's "wooing of Hindu princes and his infatuation for Malik Kafur did more than anything else to undermine his prestige and to degrade the monarchy", says Dr. A. M. Husain. The union of Hindu-Muslim marriage could not always produce a man of strong character and hence the bulk of the Sultans of Delhi lost vigour and energy, courage and capacity to hold the sceptre.

Deterioration of the ruling house

To these causes we may add the foreign invasions. In the period of the Early Turkish Empire, the Khalji and the Tughluq, the Mongols always

entered into the frontiers of India. Their attacks were so sudden and terrible that many of the Sultans could not lead expeditions to a distant land for their fear. It was during the time of the later Tughluqs that the Delhi Empire received a great blow at the hands of Timur. His attack was soon followed by anarchy and many of the provinces declared their independence of the Delhi Sultanate. In 1526, Babur attacked India and gave a final blow to the tottering empire of Delhi in the historic field of Panipat. Thus the Sultanate of Delhi came to an end.

Results of foreign invasions

CHAPTER IX

INDEPENDENT KINGDOMS OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA

The fall of the Delhi Sultanate resulted in the establishment of a number of independent States in many parts of Indo-Pakistan. Bengal was one of the earliest provinces which declared its independence in 1338 A.D. "Its distance from the capital and its immense wealth had often tempted its governors to rise in revolt against the central authority."

Relation of Bengal with the early Sultans of Delhi

In 1201, Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji carried the victorious banner of Islam in the East and captured Nadia, the capital of the Sen kings of Bengal. Bengal was made a province of the Sultanate of Delhi and Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji was appointed its governor. Thenceforth Bengal owed its allegiance to the Sultans of Delhi. But under Balban, Bengal revolted under the leadership of Tughril Khan who had assumed the royal title and struck coins in his own name. The Sultan punished him and appointed his son, Bughra Khan, governor of Bengal. In the time of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, a civil war which broke out between two brothers for the vice-regal throne of Bengal, invited the interference of the Sultan. He was soon able to enforce his authority over there.

Kingdom of Bengal

Bengal declared independence during Muhammad bin Tughluq

Bengal came to be recognised as an independent kingdom of the Delhi Sultanate, when Fakhruddin revolted against Muhammad bin Tughluq and proclaimed himself ruler of Sonargoan (Eastern Bengal) under the title of Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah. About the same time Alauddin Ali Shah made himself independent in Western Bengal and removed his capital from Lakhnauti to Pandua. Thus the kingdom of Bengal was divided into two parts, each of which was governed by an independent king.

9—

Ilyas Shahi dynasty of Bengal (1342-1414)

Achievements of Ilyas Shah

Ilyas, an officer of Alauddin Ali, murdered his patron and ascended the throne of West Bengal in 1343 A.D./743 A.H. By conquering East Bengal in 1353 A.D., he united the two halves of Bengal and thus he became the first independent ruler of the entire province under the title of Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah. With the accession of Ilyas Shah, a new chapter was opened in the history of Bengal. On his accession he extended his power into different directions. 'He exacted tribute from the kingdoms of Orissa and Tirhut.' He extended his dominions as far as Benares. Firuz Shah Tughluq got alarmed at the activities of Ilyas Shah and sent an expedition against him. But the attempts of the Sultan ended in failure. The reign of Ilyas Shah was marked by peace and prosperity. He died at Pandua in 1358 and was succeeded by his son, Sikandar Shah, who was an equally strong and capable monarch.

Sikandar Shah, 1358

The Sultan made a second attempt to recover Bengal but Sikandar Shah like his father took shelter in the fort of Ikdala and frustrated the effort of Firuz Shah, who had to recognise him as the independent ruler of Bengal. We have got a large number of coins of various designs of his reign and these coins speak of a prosperous reign of Sinkandar Shah. He built a magnificent mosque at Adina (near Pandua). But his family life was not happy. He was killed in a fight with his son Ghiyasuddin Azam who revolted against him.

Ghiyasuddin Azam

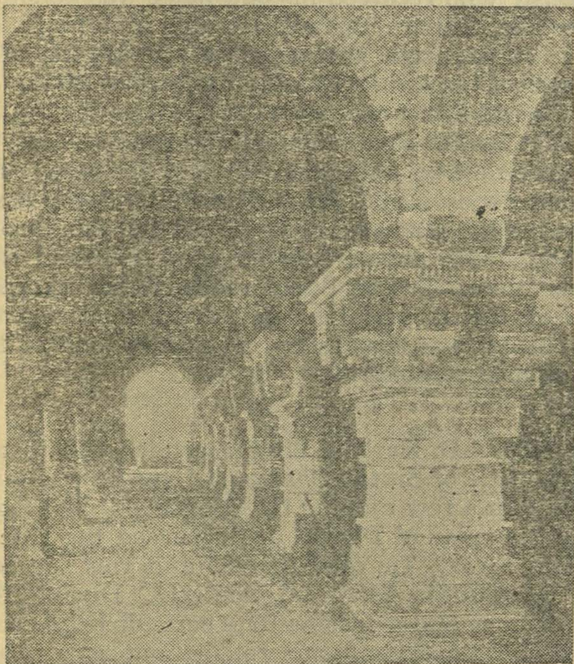
Saifuddin Hamza Shah

Ghiyasuddin Azam ascended the throne of Bengal in 1393. He had a profound regard for law. He received an embassy from China in 1408 and himself sent one to China in 1409. He died (1410) after a reign of 17 years. Ghiyasuddin Azam was succeeded by his son Saifuddin Hamza Shah. Under him a Hindu zamindar named Ganesh rose to power and seized the throne in 1411.

According to the Muslim historians Raja Ganesh, a Hindu zamindar of Dinajpur ruled Bengal as an independent king and abdicated the throne in favour of his son Jadu who later on became a Muslim and

assumed the title of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah (1414). As no coin of Raja Ganesh has been found, it has been suggested by some scholars that he was never an independent king but ruled the country in the name of some descendants of Ilyas Shah. He persecuted Muslims and tried to re-establish Hindu supremacy in Bengal. However, the rule of his dynasty did not last long. Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah died in 1431. He was a pious Muslim and tried his

Raja Ganesh and his successors (1414-42)



Adina Masjid, Pandua

best to spread Islam in the country. He transferred his capital from Pandua to Gaur. During his reign there was peace and prosperity in the country. Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah was succeeded by his son Shamsuddin Ahmed who reigned from 1413 to 1442. He was extremely unpopular on account of his tyranny and was murdered in 1442. With the death of this man, the dynasty of Raja Ganesh came to an end and the old dynasty of Ilyas Shah was restored.

Achievements of Jalauddin Muhammad Shah

Restoration of Ilyas Shahi dynasty (1442-86)

On the death of Shamsuddin Ahmed the nobles placed Nasiruddin Mahmud, a grandson of Ilyas, on the throne. He built a few buildings at Gaur and a mosque at Satgaon. It is said that 'Muslim rule was extended over parts of Jessore and Khulna districts during his reign'. He was succeeded by his son Ruknuddin Barbak Shah who was the first ruler in Bengal to maintain a large number of Abyssinian slaves. He patronised Bengali literature and the poet Maladhar Basu 'who received his patronage was honoured by the title, Gunaraj Khan'. He died in 1474. Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Ruknuddin Barbak Shah. He ruled Bengal from 1474 to 1481. It was during his reign that Sylhet was conquered by the Muslims. He was succeeded by Sikandar II. But the new ruler was soon deposed and Jalaluddin Fateh Shah, a son of Nasiruddin Mahmud was placed on the throne. The Abyssinian slaves became very powerful during his time. Fateh Shah realised the growing power of the Abyssinians and tried to check the same but he was murdered in 1486 by one of the slaves named Barbak.

Jalaluddin Fateh Shah

Habshi kings (1486-93)

In 1486 A.D. Barbak Shah ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Shahzada. But he was murdered within a few months by Idil Khan. Idil Khan became the ruler of Bengal and assumed the title of Saifuddin Firuz. He died in 1489 and was succeeded by Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah II. During this time intrigues and assassinations pervaded the country and chaos and confusion reigned supreme in the land. Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah II was ousted in 1490 by Sidi Badr who took up the title of Shamsuddin Abu Nasir Muzaffar Shah. He ruled Bengal from 1490 to 1493. The oppression and tyranny of Muzaffar Shah created much discontent in the country and resulted in the rebellion. Alauddin Husain, an Arab Sayyid by descent and the minister of the king took the lead of this rebellion. The king was besieged in Gaur for four months in course of which Muzaffar Shah died. The nobles then put Alauddin Husain, another foreigner, on the throne of Bengal.

Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah

Muzaffar Shah

Rebellion under Alauddin Shah

Husain Shahi Dynasty (1493-1538)

With the accession of Alauddin Husain, there opened a new chapter in the history of Bengal. It makes not only the beginning of a new dynasty but also a new era of peace and prosperity. The first act of Alauddin Husain Shah was to crush the influence of the palace guards composed of the force of the 'Paiks' who had become too powerful. A great part of the force of the 'Paiks' was disbanded and dispersed. He finally expelled the Abyssinians from Bengal as their presence had become a menace. He recalled the old Muslim and Hindu nobles to high offices. These measures of Husain Shah restored order and stability in the kingdom. He gave shelter to Husain Shah Shariq of Jaunpur in Bengal when he was driven from his kingdom by Sikander Lodi of Delhi. He tried to recover those parts of the kingdom that had been lost during the confusion of the previous reign. He extended the limits of his kingdom up to the borders of Orissa in the south. He recovered Magadha from the king of Jaunpur, invaded Assam and captured Kamatapur in Koch-Bihar (1499). According to Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah, "With the exception of the Assam campaign all the military projects of Husain were crowned with success." 'The territory of Muslim Bengal expanded on all sides during his time.'

A new era in the history of Bengal

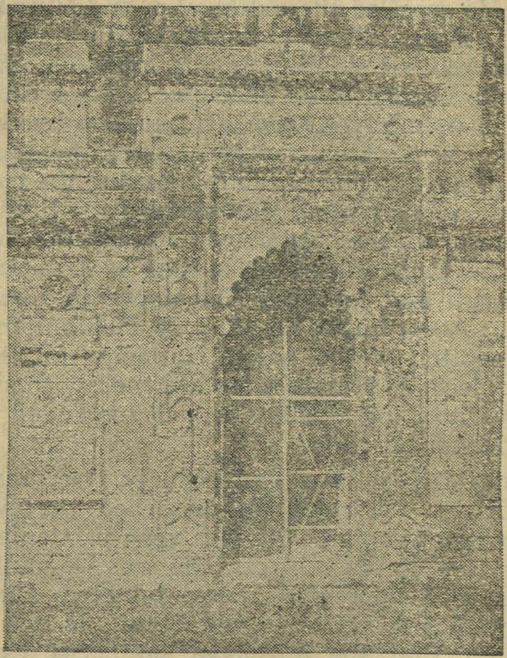
Achievements of Alauddin Husain Shah

Husain Shah was undoubtedly the greatest of his dynasty. No rebellion disturbed the peace of his prosperous reign. He was very particular about the welfare of his subjects. He was tolerant to the Hindus and appointed many talented Hindus to the important posts in the State. It was during his reign that the Vishnava saint Sri Chaitanya preached the doctrine of the Bhakti Cult. Husain Shah was a great patron of learning and his reign was famous for the development of Bengali language and literature. Maladhar Basu, Bijay Gupta, Bipradas—all these Bengali poets received liberal patronage at the hands of Husain Shah. During his reign Vijay Gupta of Barisal translated the *Padmapuran* into Bengali. Kavindra Parameshwar of Chittagong was a great poet who, under the patro-

Tolerant policy towards the Hindus

Patronage of literature

nage of Paragal Khan, General of Husain Shah, translated the *Mahabharata* for the first time into Bengali. The period of Husain Shah may be regarded as the golden age of Medieval Bengali literature. Alauddin Husain Shah built a large number of mosques and alms houses in different parts of his kingdom. The *Choto Sona Masjid* built by him at Gaur speaks of his love of architecture. He died at Gaur in 1518 A.D. "having enjoyed a peaceful and happy reign, beloved by his subjects and respected by his neighbours."



Choto Sona Masjid, Gaur

Nasrat Shah was a patron of architecture and literature

Alauddin Husain Shah was succeeded in 1518 by his son Nasrat Shah. He was a man of amiable disposition. Nasrat Shah inherited the good qualities of his father. He has been described by Babur in his autobiography as one of the leading rulers of India. Early in his reign he annexed Tirhut. He gave shelter to many Afghan nobles who had fled from Delhi after the battle of Panipat and thereby

incurred the displeasure of Babur. After the battle of Gogra, he was compelled to make peace with the Mughal emperor. During his reign the Portuguese made their appearance in Bengal but their arrogance and misconduct soon called his attention. Their property was confiscated and their leaders were sent to Gaur as prisoners. Nasrat Shah was a patron of art, architecture and literature. He constructed two famous mosques—the *Bara Sona Masjid* (Great Golden Mosque) and *Qadam Rasul* at Gaur. He patronised Bengali literature and is said to have ordered a Bengali translation of the *Mahabharata.* He treated his brothers with greatest affection and doubled their inheritance. He was assassinated by his palace eunuchs in 1532.

Mahmud Shah

Alauddin Firuz Shah ascended the throne after the death of his father Nasrat Shah. He ruled for about three months and was overthrown by his uncle, Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah who was the last ruler of the Husain Shahi dynasty. He was expelled from Bengal by Sher Shah who occupied Gaur in 1538.

Thus Bengal became a part of the empire of Sher Shah. On the death of Sher Shah Bengal resumed its independence under the leadership of Sulayman Kararani who established a new Afghan dynasty. The authority of the Afghan family was overthrown by Akbar the Great and Bengal was annexed to the Mughal empire in 1576.

Islam in Bengal

Spread of Islam in Bengal

The Muslim rule in Bengal brought about a great change in the cultural and social life of the people. In the train of warriors and administrators came Muslim saints and savants who preached Islam in the land. The *sufis* established *darghas* and *Khanqahs* and carried on their mission to the distant part of the country. Their piety and way of life attracted thousands of converts from the downtrodden Hindu masses.

Of the *sufis* and saints, the name of Shah Jalal of Sylhet, Makhdum-ul-Mulk Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri, Shaikh Akhi Siraj-ud-din, Shaikh Alaul Haq

and Shaikh Nur Qutb may be specially mentioned here. Shah Jalal did much for the spread of Islam in Sylhet. He died in Sylhet and his *dargah* there is still visited by large number of people. Shaikh Akhi Sirajuddin preached Islam in Gaur and Pandua. Shaikh Alaul Haq and Shaikh Nur Qutb whose tombs are in Choti Dargah in Pandua took up the cause of Islam in this region. The popularity of Shaikh Alaul Haq aroused the jealousy of Sultan Sikdar Shah who exiled him to Sonargaon. But the Sultan had a great regard for Shaikh Qutb Nur whose tomb he used to visit every year. Shah Ismail lived at Lakhnauti during the reign of Sultan Rukn-ud-din Barbak Shah who put him to death on charges of disloyalty. These and many other unnamed *sufis* and saints established *khanqahs* "to which the rural masses flocked from time to time to find solace and comfort in their wordly difficulties and seek salvation and guidance in their spiritual yearning". In view of the tolerant policy and good treatment of the Muslims the Buddhists who had been ill-treated by the Hindus embraced Islam.

Sufis and saints in Bengal

The influence of Islam on the Hindu society 'led to the rise of several religious and social reformers who made serious efforts at reforming society from within'. The Vaishnava saint Sri Chaitanya who preached his mission on monotheism and equality of man was indebted to Islam. The Sultans of Bengal gave various opportunities to the Hindus in the field of religion and culture.

Influence of Islam on Hindu society

Kingdom of Jaunpur

The city of Jaunpur was founded by Firuz Shah Tughluq in 1360 to commemorate the name of his cousin and patron, Muhammad Jauna. During the reign of the last Sultan of the Tughluq dynasty, Khwaja Jahan, a eunuch whose real name was Sarwar, threw off his allegiance to Delhi Sultanate and founded a dynasty of independent rulers at Jaunpur, known as the Sharqi dynasty after his title 'Malikush-Sharq' (lord of the East). He suppressed the rebellions in Etawah, Koil and Qanauj and brought under

During the reign of Mahmud Tughluq, Khwaja Jahan declared independence

his subjugation the chiefs of Kara, Sandila Bahraich, Dalman and Bihar. Khwaja Jahan compelled the neighbouring chiefs and zamindars to acknowledge his authority. He was succeeded in 1399 by his adopted son, Mubarak Shah who died in 1400.

Ibrahim was the most remarkable king of Jaunpur

The next ruler Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, younger brother of the late Sultan, was the ablest and most remarkable ruler of this dynasty. On the death of Iqbal Khan, Mahmud Tughluq returned to Delhi and in the meantime Ibrahim Shah captured Qanauj. This success emboldened him to carry his arms into Delhi but the news of the advance of Muzaffar Shah of Gujrat forced him to abandon the conquered districts of Sambol and Baran. He invaded Bengal to punish Raja Ganesh who was persecuting the Mulims. Raja Ganesh promised to desist and allowed his son to embrace Islam. Himself a man of culture, Ibrahim Shah patronised art and literature. Under him Jaunpur became a celebrated centre of Muslim art and learning. The city was adorned with the construction of beautiful buildings. The *Atala Masjid* built by him "stands as a brilliant specimen of Jaunpur style of architecture."

Under Ibrahim Jaunpur became a centre of learning

Ibrahim Shah died in 1440 and was succeeded by his son, Mahmud Shah. He annexed the great part of the district of Chunar but his attempt at capturing Kalpi ended in failure. The *Lal Darwaja* was built by him. Husain Shah was the last independent ruler of Jaunpur. He built a magnificent *Jami Masjid.* In 1467, he was expelled by Bahlol Lodi who appointed his son, Barbak as governor of Jaunpur with full sovereign powers. Thus the independence of Jaunpur was brought to an end. The period of Sharqi rule in Jaunpur which lasted for more than 80 years was marked by prosperity and development of Indian art and literature.

Bahlol Lodi expelled the last independent ruler of Jaunpur

'Jaunpur was the first Muhammadan stronghold planted in the very midst of the most Hindu part of Northern India.' It became an important centre of Muslim culture and learning under the Sharqi kings and produced a number of scholars who led men and movements. The cultural eminence of Jaunpur earned for it the title, "the Shiraz of India".

Importance of Jaunpur

Kingdom of Malwa

Malwa was conquered in 1310 by Alauddin Khalji and from that time it was ruled by provincial governors till 1401 when Delwar Khan, a descendant of Muhammad Ghuri and the then governor, proclaimed independence. Delwar Khan was succeeded by his son, Hushang Shah who transferred his capital to Mandu. He was defeated and carried off as a prisoner by Muzaffar Shah of Gujrat. He was soon restored to his kingdom. His worthless son, Muhammad Shah, succeeded him but was murdered by his minister, Mahmud Khan, a Khalji Turk, who usurped the throne in 1436.

The Ghuri kings of Malwa

Hushang Shah

Mahmud Khan was a great warrior and general. He fought against the ruler of Gujrat and Rana Kumbha of Mewar. He also led an expedition against the Bahmani kingdom. His fame was so spread outside India that the Khalifah of Egypt recognised his position. He was the greatest of the Muslim kings of Malwa. The kingdom of Malwa reached its zenith under him. He was a just and generous administrator. Hindus and Muslims lived side by side in peace and happiness.

Achievements of Mahmud Khan

The next Sultan, Ghiyasuddin was a lover of peace but was soon poisoned to death by his son, Nasiruddin who ascended the throne in 1500. The last ruler of this dynasty was Mahmud II, under whom the Rajput influence became prominent in Malwa. He appointed Madini Rai, a Rajput Chieftain as his minister who soon became all powerful in the empire. The Muslim nobles in order to get rid of his minister invited Muzaffar Shah II of Gujrat to their help. But Madini Rai, with the help of Rana Sanga of Chitor, defeated Muzaffar Shah and captured him. The vanquished ruler was restored to his kingdom. But he soon incurred the wrath of the Rana by invading his territory.

Mahmud II was the last independent ruler of Malwa

The Rana's ally Bahadur Shah of Gujrat attacked Mahmud Shah II, and captured Mandu in 1531 and annexed Malwa to Gujrat. Thus the independence of Malwa came to an end.

The Mughal Emperor Humayun captured Malwa in 1535 from Bahadur Shah of Gujrat, Sher Shah

captured it in 1542 and Akbar finally conquered it in 1561.

Kingdom of Gujrat

Gujrat first conquered by Alauddin Khalji, 1297

Gujrat was first conquered and annexed to Delhi by Alauddin Khalji in 1297 A.D. Since then it was ruled by Muslim governors. In 1401, Zafar Khan, the son of a Rajput convert who was appointed governor there, proclaimed his independence and assumed the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah. Muzaffar Shah waged a successful war against the ruler of Malwa and captured Dhar. He was succeeded by his grandson, Ahmad Shah, who has been regarded as the real founder of independent Gujrat. He was a good warrior and led successful campaigns against the ruler of Malwa and the neighbouring Rajput chiefs. He was a good administrator and an impartial judge. He devoted his attention to the civil administration of his empire. In the first year of his reign he founded the city of Ahmadabad and made it his capital.

Ahmad Shah, the real founder of independent Gujrat

Mahmud Bigarah, a grandson of Ahmad Shah was the next important ruler who fought against the ruler of Malwa and conquered Girnar and Champaner. During his reign the Portuguese made their first appearance in India. He, in order to drive them out, invited the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt to his help and the combined fleet defeated the Portuguese in the harbour of Caul in 1508. But the Portuguese inflicted a crushing defeat on the combined fleet near Diu in 1509 and forced Mahmud to grant them a site for a factory at Diu. Mahmud Bigarah died in 1511. "He added glory and lustre to the kingdom of Gujrat and was the best of all the kings, including all who preceded and all who succeeded him," says a famous Muslim historian. Under him the kingdom of Gujrat reached its extreme limits. After him, his son Muzaffar II ascended the throne. He waged successful wars against Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar.

Mahmud Bigarah was the most important ruler of Gujrat

Bahadur Shah, a grandson of Mahmud Bigarah, was another famous ruler in the history of Gujrat. His main achievements were the conquest of Malwa and the capture of Chitor. But he was defeated by

Bahadur Shah, the last great ruler of Gujrat

Humayun in 1535 and lost the greater part of his kingdom. With the withdrawal of the Delhi troops, Bahadur Shah regained his kingdom. In 1537, he was treacherously put to death by the Portuguese. Under his weak successors, Gujrat became the scene of disorder and confusion. In 1572, it was finally annexed to the Mughal empire by Akbar the Great.

Kashmir

Shamsuddin Shah, the first ruler on Kashmir

Kashmir was mainly inhabited by the Muslims, but was ruled by the Hindu princes till 1349 when Shah Mirza, after the death of his royal patron, ascended the throne under the title of Samsuddin Shah. He had several sons who reigned successively for about 45 years.

Zainul Abedin, 'the Akbar of Kashmir' was a liberal ruler and a patron of education

Of the rulers of Kashmir, Zainul Abedin was the best and the most liberal under whom people enjoyed a peaceful and prosperous reign. He tried his level best to do good to the people. "He regulated the prices of commodities, lightened the burden of taxation on the people, and rehabilitated the currency which had been greatly debased during the reign of his predecessors." He was a man of liberal views and broader ideas. He was remarkably tolerant to other religions. He recalled the Hindus who had left the kingdom during the reign of Sikandar and granted them all sorts of privileges in his kingdom. He abolished the Jizya and allowed the Hindus to rebuild their temples, which had been destroyed during the previous reign. A scholar in Persian, Hindi and Tibetan, Zainul Abedin patronised learning and literature. He caused the *Mahabharata* and the *Rajtarangini* to be translated into Persian and "several Arabic-Persian books were translated into the Hindi language." Considering all these qualities he may be called "the Akbar of Kashmir."

Kashmir under Akbar in 1586

Under the weak successors of Zainul Abedin, anarchy reigned supreme in Kashmir. Towards the end of 1540, Haider Mirza, a relative of Humayun, occupied it. But the Mirza dynasty was overthrown by the Chakk dynasty in 1561. Akbar conquered and annexed it to his empire in 1586.

The Bahmani Kingdom

Among the independent States that arose on the ruins of the Sultanate of Delhi the Bahmani kingdom was the most prominent and powerful. During the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, the nobles of the Deccan rose in revolt as a protest against the tyranny and oppression of the Sultan and sieged the fort of Daulatabad under the leadership of Ismail Mukh who soon resigned from his post in favour of Hasan. He proclaimed his independence and assumed the title of Hasan Abul Muzaffar Alauddin Bahman Shah. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Bahmani dynasty. The story, that Hasan was originally a servant of a Brahman astrologer named Gangu and that he named his dynasty after his master and patron, is not supported by the later historians and the evidences of coins and inscriptions. Hasan claimed his descent from the famous Persian hero, Bahman bin Isfandiyar. On his accession Alauddin Shah established his capital at Gulbarga. He soon launched upon a brilliant career of conquest. His territories were extended from the Waingana river in the north to the Krishna river in the south and from Daulatbad in the west to Bhongir (in the Nizam's dominions) in the east. He divided the empire into four *tarafs* or provinces each under a governor. The author of *Burhan-i-Masir* says, "Sultan Alauddin I was a just king and the cherisher of his people and pious. During his reign his subjects and the army used to pass their time in perfect ease and content and he did much towards propagating the true faith."

The Bahmani dynasty was founded by Alauddin Bahman Shah

Alauddin Shah was succeeded in 1338 by his son, Muhammad Shah I who re-organised the administration on a sound basis. But his reign was mostly occupied in waging wars against the rulers of Warrangal and Vijayanagar. These rulers gave a strong resistance but were defeated and forced to conclude peace on humiliating terms. The struggle between Bahmani kingdom and Vijaynagar was continued by his successor, Mujahid, who made an unsuccessful attempt to capture it. The next ruler,

Muhammad Shah I, 1358-73

Muhammad Shah II

Muhammad Shah II was a peace-loving man who devoted his time to learning and architecture. The eighth Sultan, Firuz Shah (1397-1422) was a mighty ruler. He followed the traditional policy of his dynasty in waging wars against the ruler of Vijaynagar and some other Hindu kings of the Deccan. But towards the close of his reign he was defeated by the Vijayanagar troops at Pangul. After this event he left the administration in the hands of his brother Ahmad. Firuz Shah was a generous and cultured prince at the beginning of his reign, but later on he became degenerated. He beautified the capital with many buildings.

Firuz Shah, 1397-1422

On his accession, Ahmad Shah carried on the struggle against Vijayanagar to avenge the defeat of his brother at Pangul. A battle was fought on the bank of Tungabhadra in which the Raja was defeated and forced to purchase peace by paying the arrears of tribute and sending valuable presents. In 1424, he attacked Warrangal and captured it. Next he waged wars against the Muslim rulers of Malwa and Gujrat. He transferred his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar. After his death his son Alauddin II became the ruler of the Bahmani kingdom. Soon after his accession he had to suppress a rebellion headed by his own brother. In 1436, he reduced the Hindu chiefs of Konkan to submission and in 1443, he waged war against Vijayanagar and compelled the Raja to buy peace by promising regular payment of tribute. Alauddin II was a 'stern ruler, a great builder and a patron of learning.'

Ahmad Shah

Conquest of Warrangal and the removal of capital to Bidar

Alauddin II

After the death of Alauddin Shah, his son Humayun ascended the throne in 1457. He was a cruel despot who showed no mercy in shedding human blood. But he was fortunate enough to secure the services of Mahmud Gawan who loyally served the State to the last day of his life. He died in 1461 and was succeeded by his minor son, Nizam Shah. During his minority, the administration of the empire was conducted by the Queen mother, Makhdoomah-i-Jahan, with the help of Khwaja Jahan and Mahmud Gawan. It was at that time that the rulers of Orissa and Telingana invaded his kingdom, but they

Humayun, 1457-61

Nizam Shah

were driven back by Mahmud Gawan. Next Mahmud Khalji of Malwa invaded the territory of the minor king and occupied Bidar. The attack was repulsed only when the ruler of Gujrat sent his army for help. On the death of Nazim Shah the nobles raised his brother, Muhammad III, a boy of nine to the throne in 1463. The new king put the old minister, Khwaja Jahan to death for the embezzlement of public funds and Mahmud Gawan became the chief minister in the State. The military record of Mahmud Gawan was one of triumph. He fought against and subjugated the Hindu States of the Deccan and "increased the Bahmani dominions to an extent never reached before." In 1472, he invaded the chiefs of the Konkan and captured Goa. He led successful expeditions against the Andhra country and Orissa. In the course of a campaign against Narasingha of Vijayanagar the city of Kanchi was plundered and captured. But this 'unrivalled minister' could not save himself from the Deccani faction. The Deccanees became jealous of his power and influence. To get rid of him they, by means of a forged letter, convinced the Sultan of his treasonable intention and one fine morning Mahmud Shah ordered him to be executed. "With him," says Meadows Taylor, "departed all the cohesion and power of the Bahmani kingdom."

Muhammad III

Military operations of Mahmud Gawan

Execution of Mahmud Gawan

Mahmud Gawan was one of the foremost figures in the political history of Indo-Pakistan and was the greatest statesman of southern India. He served the Bahmani kingdom under Alauddin Humayun Shah and his son Muhammad Shah III with conspicuous ability and integrity. He was a great general and conqueror as well as a remarkable administrator. He reformed the system of revenue based upon survey and assessment. The agriculturists were allowed the option of paying the revenue of the State either in cash or in kind. He also reformed the army and improved the administration of justice. It was under him that the big provinces were divided into two and the administration of these were entrusted to officers directly appointed and paid by the Sultan. These administrative measures curtailed the

Estimate of Mahmud Gawan

Great general and administrator

powers of the governors. A lover of justice, a man of spotless integrity, magnanimous and chivalrous, Mahmud Gawan was a munificent patron of learning and built at Bidar a magnificent college. He was simple in his habits and pious in the observance of his faith. The only property which he left at his death was his splendid library at Bidar which contained 3,000 books.

Patron of learning

Fall of the Bahmani Kingdom

Muhammad Shah breathed his last in 1482 and was succeeded by his minor son, Mahmud Shah. During the reign of the minor king, disorder and confusion increased on all sides and taking this advantage the provincial governors began to declare their independence. The faction between the Deccanees and the foreigners continued as before, but the rulers had not the courage and ability to stop it. Mahmud Gawan was a dominating personality and a capable administrator of the Bahmani kingdom. His death was a fatal blow to the kingdom. Besides the removal of this strong and able minister, the demoralization of the later Sultans and the division into provincial governments proved detrimental and ultimately hastened the fall of the empire.

Internal disorder was mainly responsible for its fall

Of the eighteen kings of this dynasty, some of them were weak and worthless and some of them were able and efficient administrators. The history of this dynasty is mainly a history of warfare waged against the Hindu States, especially against Vijayanagar. Some of the rulers of Vijayanagar had to drink the cup of humilitation at their hands. One of their rulers gave his daughter in marriage to Firuz Shah. Most of the rulers of the Bahmani kingdom championed the cause of Islam in the South where it was in danger. Considering the history of Europe in the 15th and 18th centuries, they cannot be blamed for religious persecution. In the midst of warfare and internal troubles, Bahmani Sultans took steps for the betterment of the subjects. Many of them were great patrons of arts and architecture, learning and education. Regarding the condition of the empire, a Russian traveller named Athanasius Nikitin, who visited the Bahmani kingdom during the reign of Muhammad Shah III, says, "The country

Many of the Sultans were good administrators and patrons of learning

was populous, the lands well-cultivated, the roads safe from robbers. The capital of the kingdom was a magnificent city with parks and promenades. The nobles lived in great magnificence, but the lot of the people in the country was hard and miserable."

On the break-up of the Bahmani kingdom, five independent states arose, one after another in the Deccan. The dynasties derived their names from the title of the founders. The Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar was founded by Fathullah Imad Shah in 1490. This dynasty lasted up to 1574 when it was annexed by Ahmadnagar. Ahmad Nizam Shah founded the Nizam Shahi dynasty at Ahmadnagar (1490-1637). It was finally annexed by Shah Jahan to the Mughal Empire. Yusuf Adil Shah founded the Adil Shahi dynasty at Bijapur in 1490. Quli Qutub Shah founded the Qutb Shahi dynasty at Golkunda in 1512. Bijapur and Golkanda were finally annexed by Aurangzeb to the Mughul Empire in 1686 and 1687 respectively.

Offshoots of the Bahmani Kingdom

The Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar was established by Amir Barid in 1526. It was annexed by the Adil Shahis of Bijapur to their empire in 1618-19 A.D.

Kingdom of Khandesh

Khandesh was situated in the valley of the Tafti river. The territory was known as Khandesh (land of the Khan) from the title of Khan adopted by its founder.

It was a province of Muhammad bin Tughluq's empire. Firuz Shah Tughluq entrusted its government to Malik Raja, one of his personal attendants in 1370. After the death of Firuz Shah, Malik Raja declared his independence of the Delhi Sultanate. He was a man of peaceful disposition and treated his subjects—both Muslims and Hindus with kindness and consideration. He was succeeded in 1399 by his son, Malik Nasir who captured the fortress of Asirgarh from a powerful chieftain. But he was defeated by Ahmad Shah, the Sultan of Gujrat. During the reign of his successors who possessed no ability to run the administration, the fortunes of

Capture of Asirgarh by Malik Nasir

Khandesh rapidly declined. Adil Khan II, one of the grandsons of Malik Nasir, was an able ruler who tried hard to restore administrative order in the kingdom. But he was followed by a series of weak rulers who could not resist the encroachment of foreign powers. The fortress of Asirgarh fell into the hands of the Mughul emperor, Akbar in 1601 and Khandesh was subsequently annexed to his empire.

Kingdom of Vijayanagar

Origin of the Vijayanagar Empire

There is a great deal of controversy about the origin of the Vijayanagar kingdom. It was generally believed that the city of Vijayanagar was established by the five sons of Sangama on the southern bank of the Tungabhdra facing the fortress of Anagondi on the northern bank. This traditional account has been accepted by Sewell, the renowned historian of Vijayanagar Empire. According to some historians, Harihara and Bukka were in the service of the Raja of Warrangal. They fled from the country in 1324 when it was captured by the Muslims. They took shelter with the Raja of Anagondi in the Raichur district; but when that city too fell into the hands of the Muslims, they were taken to Delhi. After sometime the Sultan released them and allowed them to go to Anagondi and live there as vassals of Delhi. The five brothers got inspiration for their enterprise from the famous saint and scholar Madhava Vidyaratna and his brother Sayana. At their suggestion they founded the kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1336 A.D. as a place of refuge for the Hindus against the aggression of the Muslim invaders.

The significance of the Vijayanagar empire is to save Hindu culture and religion in the south

The significance of the Vijayanagar kingdom in the history of India is that for three centuries it stood as the bulwork of Hinduism and saved the Hindu culture and religion from being engulfed by the rush of Muslim culture. Secondly, the continual struggle between the kingdom of Vijayanagar and the Bahmani kingdom kept the Deccan Sultans busy and it thus indirectly prevented the extension of the Muslim empire in the North where the power of the Delhi Sultanate was on the road to decay and decline.

Harihara and Bukka who were mainly responsible for the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire did not assume the royal title. Bukka sent an embassy to the court of Chinese emperor in 1374. He was succeeded by his son, Harihara II, who was the first independent ruler of Vijayanagar. He consolidated his authority over a large part of Southern India and assumed all the royal titles. His reign was a period of 'unbroken peace.' Next Deva Raya I became the king. His reign was a struggle with the Bahmani king, Firuz Shah. He was defeated and forced to purchase a peace by giving his daughter in marriage to the Sultan. The greatest ruler of the line of Bukka was Deva Raya II under whom the authority of Vijayanagar empire was established over the whole of southern India. He met with some reverses in his wars with the Bahmani kings, Ahmad Shah and Alauddin. During this reign the two distinguished travellers Nicolo Conti and Abdur Razzaq visited Vijayanagar and have left valuable accounts of the country. Under his successors, confusion reigned spreme in the empire and Narasinga Saluva, the governor of Chandragiri took this opportunity and usurped the throne in 1486. This is known as the First Usurpation. Narasinga was a capable ruler who conquered the Tamil country to the south. He was always at war with the Sultan of the Bahmani kingdom. He was succeeded by his son, Immadi Narista who was murdered by his general Narsa Nayaka. This is known as the Second Usurpation. The dynasty founded by Narsa Nayaka is known as the Tuluva dynasty.

Bukka

Saluva dynasty founded by Narasinga Saluva, 1486

Tuluva dynasty founded by Nayaka

Krishna Raya was the greatest ruler of the new dynasty and one of the best rulers in the history of India. He was a gallant warrior and a successful administrator. He led a campaign against the Raja of Orissa and captured the fortress of Udayagiri in the Nellore district. The greatest of his military achievements was the recovery of the Raichur Doab from Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur. He temporarily occupied Bijapur and destroyed the fortress of Gulbarga, the early capital of the Bahmani kingdom. But the cruel and inhuman behaviour of his officers gave offence to the Muslim states. Krishna Raya was

Krishna Raya, the greatest king of the Tuluva dynasty

Conquests of Raichur

famous for his religious zeal, tolerance and hospitality to the foreigners. He maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese and granted them some concessions. In 1510, Albuquerque, the Portuguese Governor conquered Goa from the Muslims and obtained permission to build a fort at Bhatkhal by sending a mission to the ruler of Vijayanagar. The Portuguese traveller, Paes who visited Vijayanagar during this time praised Krishna Raya in eloquent terms and has left a vivid account of his personal appearance and character. Himself an accomplished scholar, the Raya was a generous patron of learning. Under him the Vijayanagar empire rose to the zenith of its glory and prosperity.

His relation with the Portuguese

Patron of arts and letters

Krishna Raya was succeeded by his week and incapable successor Achyuta Raya. After his death his nephew Sadasiva Raya succeeded him. But the real power was in the hands of his minister, Rama Raja who took an important part in the politics of the Deccan. He played one against the other accordingly as it suited his own purpose. In 1543, he made an alliance with Ahmadnagar and Golkunda against Bijapur. But his object was frustrated by the diplomacy of Asad Khan, the able minister of Bijapur. In 1558, he joined Bijapur and Golkunda against Ahmadnagar and ravaged the latter's territory so much that all the Deccan Sultans except that of Berar were compelled to stand up against the common enemy. In 1565, the combined armies of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golkunda and Bidar fought against Vijayanagar and inflicted a crushing defeat on it in the battle of Talikota. The battle of Talikota was one of the decisive battles in the history of India. It shattered all hopes of the revival of Hindu supermacy in the South.

Rama Raja

Importance of the battle of Talikota

Rama Raja's brother, Trimala usurped the throne in 1570 by deposing Sadasiva and thereby laid the foundation of a new dynasty known as the Aravidu dynasty. The most remarkable ruler of this dynasty was Venkata who transferred his capital to Chandragiri. He was an able ruler and extended his patronage to poets and scholars. His

Aravidu dynasty

weak and inefficient successors could not check the consequent rise of disintegrating forces. Ranga III was the last noble king who failed to resist the aggression of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkunda. The insane pride, blind selfishness, disloyalty and mutual dissensions of the Vijayanagar kings largely facilitated the conquest by the Muslims states of the Deccan.

Adminis-tration

The government of Vijayanagar was highly centralised and the king, though assisted by a council of ministers, officers, scholars and priests was a perfect autocrat. He was the supreme authority in civil, military as well as judicial affairs and sometimes intervened to settle social disputes. His power was unlimited ; but yet he was conscious of his responsibility. Krishna Raya says, "A crowned king should always rule with an eye towards Dharma." The empire was divided into several provinces each under a governor who enjoyed immense power and maintained his own court and army. Punishments for crimes were very severe and prostitution was considered as a source of income. On the whole the country was well-administered and the people lived in peace and prosperity.

The kings were despots but benevolent

Patronage of arts and literature

Some of the rulers of Vijayanagar were patrons of literature and made immense contribution to the culture of southern India. Many beautiful and splendid buildings were built in the empire. The art of painting and sculpture attained a high level of excellence. Sapana, the famous commentator on the Vedas and his brother Madhava, who flourished during the early part of the Vijayanagar rule, shed lustre on the court of Vijayanagar. Krishna Raya, Rama Raja and his brothers were all accomplished scholars. The former was a musician, poet and liberal patron of Telugu authors.

Foreign travellers

Vijayanagar was visited by a number of foreign travellers who have left glowing accounts of the empire. The Italian traveller Nicolo Conti who came to India during the reign of Deva Raya II estimated the circumference of the city to be 60 miles and was much impressed by the strength of

Nicolo Conti

Abdur Razzaq

Paes and Nunity

the fortifications. He considered the king to be more powerful than any other king in India. He refers to the practice of *Sati* prevalent in the empire at that time. Abdur Razzaq who visited Vijayanagar in 1443 gives a vivid description of its wealth and grandeur. He also says that the kingdom was well populated. The Portuguese travellers, Paes and Nunity visited the city of Vijayanagar in 1522 and 1535 respectively. Both of them speak of the magnificance of the court and the numerical strength of the army. Paes considered the kingdom of Vijayanagar as the best provided city in the world.

CHAPTER X

ADMINISTRATION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE UNDER THE DELHI SULTANATE

Nature of the Government

There was no recognised law of succession in the Sultanate period. Often the rulers were elected, and sometimes the ruling prince nominated his own successor. But though the priority of birth, the question of efficiency and the nomination of the dead king received some consideration, the choice of the nobles, who usually preferred personal convenience to the interest of the State, played a very important part in deciding the question of succession in the 13th and 14th centuries.

The Shar, of a ruler largely depended upon the nobility

The learned jurists of Islam believe in the supremacy of the *Shar* (the civil canonical law of Islam) and hold that it is enternal and unchangeable in its essence. The *Shar* is based on the Quran which was revealed to the Prophet who could not change but only explain and interpret the revelation. The structure of Muslim law is built on the Quran and the Hadith (tradition of the Prophet). 'This law was the sovereign in Muslim lands and all were ruled by it."

The Shar, the real sovereign

The ruler appointed and accepted by the Muslims was the Khalifa who was the supreme judge and chief executive in the world of Islam. His representative in Delhi was the Sultan to whom he delegated his powers. But in course of time the Sultan became so powerful and was at such a distance that it would not have been possible for the Khalifa to meddle with his affairs. Hence the Sultan was the main human agency for enforcing and interpreting the law in the Empire.

The Sultan

The Sultan was the supreme interpreter of the law ; but in practice he could not go against the recognised interpretation. He was only free to take an indepedendent decision where the jurists disag-

reed. He had the power to make all civil and political regulations for public benefit; but he could not contravene the *Shar* 'in legislating on these occasions'. The supremacy of the *Shar* has misled many to think that the Muslim State of Indo-Pakistan was a theocracy. In the opinion of the Pakistan History Board, 'the essential feature of a theocracy (the rule of an ordained priest-hood) is missing in the organisation of the Muslim state, the jurists are all laymen who claim no immunity from error and wield no special power.'

The Muslim State in Indo-Pakistan was not a theocracy

The concentration of power in the hands of one man has led many historians to say that Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan was the perfect example of despotism. According to them, the power of the Sultan was unlimited. But in practice all political power has certain limitations and depends for its very existence on the co-operation of strong elements in the State. The Sultan had very little legislative power and could not interfere with the personal and religious law of his subjects. He could command the support and loyalty of the faithful only so long as he ruled in accordance with the law. Some of the Sultans violated the laws of the *Shariat* and behaved like despots. But they were few and far between. The Sultan was not Caesar and the Pope in one as it is suggested by Dr. Iswari Prasad in his book, 'A Short History of Muslim Rule in India.'

Limitation on the Sultan's power

The rulers of Indo-Pakistan had to depend on the active support of the nobles. They had also to secure the co-operation of the Ulema (the learned theologians) and the lawyers on account of their influence with the Muslim populace. The cultivators of the soil, the Hindu peasants and their representatives, the village headmen, the local chiefs and tribal heads were not to be ignored. Besides, there were many officers in various branches of the administration whose co-operation and support in the State services were esentially necessary. No ruler was successful in his projects without the support of any of these elements. Muhammad bin Tughluq was not successful, because he did not get the co-

Necessity of co-operation

operation of the officers and his execution had created widespread discontent throughout the empire. Alauddin Khalji's measures were successful in spite of many difficulties, for he had a very good technical staff at his disposal 'who efficiently co-operated with him.'

The Council

The Sultan had a council of friends and trusted officers whom he consulted in case of the important matters relating to the State. But the opinion of the councillors were not binding on him. He might accept it or refuse it. The Sultans like Iltutmish, Balban and Jalaluddin Khalji generally took the advice of the council before taking important step in any direction.

The Central Government

The Wazir was the highest officer

The highest officer in the Central Government was the *Wazir* and his department was called the *Diwan-i-Wazirat*. The *Diwan-i-Wazirat* was a very well-organised department under the Sultanate of Delhi. The central finance office was the immediate concern of the *Wazir*; but he was also responsible for the other offices at headquarters. The *Wazir* had an assistant called *Naib-Wazir*. He had two other important officers named *Mushrif-i Mumalik* or Accountant-General and *Mustaufi-i-Mumalik* or Auditor-General. Both of them enjoyed ministerial rank and had direct access to the Sultan.

Other departments

There were three other main departments, such as the *Diwan-i-Risalat*, the *Diwan-i-Arz*, the *Diwan-i-Insha*. The *Diwan-i-Risalat* dealt with religious matters, pious foundations, stipends to deserving scholars and men of piety, and the *Diwan-i-Arz* with the military department. The *Diwan-i-Insha* dealt with royal correspondence. Besides these, there were other departments. Each department had its own establishment consisting of secretaries helped by a number of clerks and subordinate officers.

Justice

The Sultans considered maintenance of justice their primary duty. Justice was usually administered by the Chief Qazi (*Qaziul Quzat*) who was helped by *Muftis* to expound the law. All important

towns had a Qazi for the administration of justice. The cases in which only the Hindus were concerned were decided by the *Panchayat*. The *Kotwal* was the custodian of peace and order. Another municipal officer called *Muhtasib* was 'to watch over the conduct of the people, to control the markets and to regulate weights and measures.' The Sultan kept himself infromed of all the activities of his people through spies. Punishment was very severe for criminal cases. Firuz Shah Tughluq abolished some of the cruel forms of punishment.

Kotwal and Muhtasib

Spy system

The sources of revenue were mainly derived from the land-tax called *Kharaj*, *Zakat*, *Jiziya* spoils of war, mines, custom duties and heirless property. Besides these, there were other taxes like house-tax, grazing-tax, water tax, etc. Taxes were paid both in cash and kind.

Sources of revenue

Provincial Administration

The Empire was divided into a number of provinces, each of which was governed by a governor or *Wali*. According to Ziauddin Barani, there were 12 provinces at the beginning of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. But afterwards the Sultan increased the number of provinces for the better administration of the empire. So the number of provinces varied from twenty to twenty-five. The governor was in charge of the civil as well as the military administration of the province. He maintained a local militia and had to render military help, if necessary, to the Sultan. But his office was not hereditary. His appointment, dismissal and transfer depended upon the will of the Sultan. He was paid from the revenue of the province and after meeting the expenses of his administration he had to remit the surplus to the Imperial Treasury.

Division of the empire into provinces

Functions of the governor

In those stormy days the Sultan had to maintain a large army consisting of three parts—the cavalry, the infantry and the elephant corps. The provincial governors were ambitious, rebellion was rife and the mode of communication extremely difficult and in such a state of affairs, the only means to restrain the works of the provincial governors

The Army

and check their disruptive tendencies was the formation of a well disciplined standing army. In those days the rulers generally depended upon the provincial governors and fief-holders for the supply of troops in times of necessity. But this was an extremely irksome process. The provincial governors and the fief-holders sometimes put the Central Government in a difficult position by wilful negligence of the royal mandate.

Defects of the standing army

Alauddin Khalji was the first who conceived the idea of organising the Indian army on a solid and sound basis. He fixed the pay of the soldiers who were then paid by the Central Government in cash. He introduced the system of branding horses and thereby checked the corruption of the army. On his death, the efficiency of the army was greatly impaired and abuses slowly crept into the military organisation. The cavalry formed the backbone of the army. During the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq the number of cavalry rose to 37,000 and in the reign of Firuz Shah 'there was an army of 80,000 and sometimes 90,000 horses exclusive of slaves.' The Arz-i-Mumalik administered the business of the army. But Firuz Shah Tughluq sowed the seeds for the future dissolution of the Delhi empire by increasing the power of the nobles at the expense of the State.

After Alauddin Khalji, the efficiency of the army impaired

Social Condition

Islam has taught the world the idea of universal brotherhood. In Islam, a slave of to-day can be a king of to-morrow provided he has got requisite qualifications. During the Sultanate of Delhi no distinction was made in appointment to the services. Many a humble person rose to the highest position in the State by dint of his merit. Muslim society was not divided into water-tight compartments, though there were people of different professions. There were economic distinctions, no doubt, but that did not isolate the individual from the rest of his people. Some sections of the populace, namely the highly paid Government officers and the great trad-

ers were in affluent circumstances. A large number of the populace 'belonged to the middle class and some belonged to the humbler strata of society.'

The Nobility

The Muslim nobility during the Sultanate of Delhi occupied a prominent place in society. They exercised a great influence upon the activity of the Sultans. They enjoyed the key-posts in the State. The nobles played a very important role in deciding the question of succession. They became so powerful during the reign of the weak successors of Iltutmish that Ghiyasuddin Balban and Alauddin Khalji had to take steps to curb their power. During the reigns of the Lodi Sultans they became very proud and powerful. Ibrahim Lodi had lost his throne and life in going to curb their power. The nobles were generally graded as Khans, Maliks and Amirs. But the nobles in the 13th century did not act as a homogenous and well-organised body like the nobles of France and England. The nobles sprang from men of various nationalities, such as Turks, Arabs, Afghans, Abyssinians, Egyptians, people of Java and Indians. Such a heterogeneous class could not work together to check the arbitrary actions of the Sultans. On the contrary they proved a source of trouble and danger to the empire. Most of these nobles started their careers as slaves.

The Ulema

The Ulema were held in high respect and they exercised a great influence in society. The power of the Ulema was curtailed by Alauddin Khalji ; but after him no attempt was made to curb the influence of the Ulema. Muhammad bin Tughluq inflicted punishment on individuals and had nothing to do with the class of the Ulema and the Shaikh. The Sufis also played an important part in the social history of the Sultanate period. Besides the Ulema and the Shaikh, the Sayyids were respected by all classes of people.

Position of women in the society

Dependence of women on their husbands was a special feature of social life among the Hindus and the Muslims in Indo-Pakistan. They enjoyed a respectable position in the society. "The culture of the women varied according to the classes to which they belonged." Some of the upper class ladies evinced a keen interest in arts and sciences ; but the ordi-

nary village women were absorbed in their domestic duties. The *Purda* system was prevalent both among the Hindus and the Muslims except in some coastal towns. Early marriage and the practice of *Sati* were in vogue among the Hindus. The Sultans maintained a large number of slaves. "Alauddin Khalji had 50,000 slaves and their number rose to 100,000 under Firuz Shah Tughluq." Some of the slaves rose to the highest position by dint of merit and ability. At first the slaves were beneficial to the State ; but later they became a menace to the empire and brought about its downfall.

The slave system

Some of the Sultans were generous and pious and nothing was reported against their conduct ; but some of them led pompous and immoral life. Drinking and gambling seem to have been the common vices in the 12th and 13th centuries. Musicians, athlets and story-tellers were patronised in the royal palace.

Hindu society was broken into several watertight compartments. The caste system had become even more rigid and the tyranny of the Brahmins over the Sudras and the untouchables had grown to intolerable extents. In the circumstances the light of Islam appeared on the horizon of Indo-Pakistan. The spirit of equality, toleration and social justice began to attract a large number of oppressed Hindu masses under the fold of Islam.

Hindu society

Condition of the Hindus under the Sultanate

It has been said by the hostile critics that the lot of the Hindus under the Muslims was miserable. It is clear from the records and evidences that the Hindus were not only treated justly but even generously. They were given the status of *dhimmis'*—an allied people which entitled them to consideration and protection. Though some of the temples were broken in course of military operations and various measures were taken against the Hindus to bring them to obedience and submission, they were allowed complete freedom of religion and ceremonies during the Sultanate of Delhi. Mr. Elphinstone

Complete freedom of religion granted to the Hindus

says, "The Hindus were not molested in the exercise of their religion." The Hindus had the right to preach their doctrines in Indo-Pakistan during Muslim rule and it is clearly shown from the development of the *Bhakti* cult. The Hindu rulers were allowed to retain their power if they acknowledged suzerainty of the Muslims. Many of the Hindus secured high appointments such as governorships or commands in the army. "One of the Sultans of Bengal," says Ferishta, "enlisted 5,000 Hindu footmen as his bodyguards." Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq employed a number of Hindus in the service of the State. The *jizya* was imposed on the Hindus in lieu of military service; but those who volunteered their service in the army were exempted from it. "It was really as political malcontents and not as 'dissenters' or 'recusants' that the Hindus were harassed, if at all and as such even Musalmans were not spared," says Dr. A. M. Hosain. Many leading Muslims were either killed or banished from the empire for their misconduct by Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq. Many of the Sultans were sincere in the observance of their religious rites and ceremonies; but they never forced their religion on others. The local administration was entirely in the hands of the Hindus. The burden of taxes on the Hindus was much lighter than that under Hindu rulers. The Hindus had large shares in the trade, commerce and agriculture. Money-lending and banking were entirely in their hands. In culture, the same spirit of toleration was shown towards the Hindus. The art and architecture, language and literature, music and painting and tradition and philosophy of the Hindus were allowed to develop side by side with those of the Muslims.

Appointment of Hindus in the state service

Jizya imposed in lieu of military service

Economic Condition

That the economic condition of the country was on the whole prosperous is attested by the foreign travellers who visited India during this period. Most of them are of opinion that the State gave liberal encouragement to trade and industry. Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta both speak highly of Broach and

Calicut where merchants from all parts of the world came to buy goods. Gujrat is described by Wassaf as a rich and populous country and Bengal by Ibn Batuta as a rich and fertile province. Though agriculture formed the main occupation of the bulk of the people in the rural areas, there were the textile industry, including the manufacture of cotton cloth, woollen cloth and silks, the dyeing industry and calico-painting, the sugar industry, metal work, stone and brick work and the paper industry. Marco Polo says, "The inhabitants are good and live by their trade and manufacture."

Trade and industry

The chief imports were articles of luxury as well as horses and mules for the wealthier classes and the principal exports consisted of varieties of agricultural goods and textile manufacture. Gujrat and Bengal were specially famous for the exports of textile goods. Bengal is considered by Barthema to be "the richest country in the world for cotton, ginger, sugar, grain and flesh of every kind." The prices of goods were cheap in times of peaceful condition ; but in times of famine and scarcity it rose abnormally high. During the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq and Ibrahim Lodi, the price of grain was very low. In the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq when the country was visited by severe famine, it rose from 16 to 17 *jitals* per seer. Ibn Batuta says that he had never seen "country where commodities sell cheaper" than in Bengal. Eight dirhams were sufficient 'for the annual expenses of a family of three.' On the whole the prices of goods and other articles were cheap during this period. But the standard of living of the peasantry was not high, while the ruling and the official classes rolled in luxury and wealth. The economic depression began towards the close of the 14th century. The invasion of Timur upset the life of the country and 'shook the very foundation of society'.

Chief imports and exports of the country

Prices of goods and other articles were cheap

The Impact of Islam on Indo-Pakistan

The advent of Islam and the permanent establishment of Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan proved to be of great importance in the political, social, cultural and religious history of the country.

Establishment of a new system of Government

Politically, the Turko-Afghan conquests brought about a unification of the sub-continent to an extent that had never been achieved in the pre-Muslim period. Before the Muslim conquest, no Hindu ruler was successful to forge his sword over the divided and disunited provinces of India. Secondly, the establishment of a vast empire with centralised government under the hegemony of the Muslims enhanced the power and prestige of the Far East. Besides this, the fusion of political ideas between the Hindus and the Muslims culminated in the establishment of a new system of Government which was partly Indian and partly Islamic.

Strengthening of caste system and the growth of 'Purda' system

Socially, the Muslim conquest of India left immense results on Hindu society. Islam has proved and shown to the world from the Early Turkish Empire that a slave of today may be a king of tomorrow provided he possesses requisite qualifications of a king. This universal equality and brotherhood of Islam dealt a death blow to the Brahmins and the privileged classes who, out of fear for their privileged position, tightened the caste system as a sort of passive resistance against the force of Islam. Secondly, it encouraged the 'Purda' system which was strictly maintained in society. The threat of attacks by foreigners on the female members and the example set by the ruling class compelled the conquered to introduce and maintain the 'Purda' system. Thirdly, there were exchanges of social customs and manners between the conquerors and the conquered. Some of the customs of the conquered (Hindus) were adopted by the conquerors and similarly the conquered adopted many manners and practices of the conquerors.

Exchange of customs and manners between the two communities

The greatest change was brought in the field of culture and civilization. The free mixing of the Muslims with the Hindus resulted in absorption and assimilation of Muslim culture by the Hindus. The first step in the direction was the study of Arabic and Persian by the Hindus who wanted to know Muslim arts and sciences. As a result of close association between the two communities there grew up the Indo-Islamic styles in art and architecture and

Necessity of a common language led to the growth of Urdu

music and painting. It also led to the evolution of a common language. The conquerors spoke either Turki or Persian while the inhabitants of northern India spoke Hindi. So a common language was necessary for the mutual understanding of the conquerors and the conquered and out of this necessity grew up Urdu which is a common vehicle between Hindi and Persian.

Religiously, the impact of Islam on Hinduism produced an important change in the history of Indo-Pakistan. Islam became supreme in the land, while Hinduism was seriously affected. The first result of the religious impact of Islam was the disappearance of Buddhism from Bihar and Bengal. Secondly, it spread Islam in Indo-Pakistan. The equality of Islam, the position and honour in society and the economic privileges enjoyed by the Muslims won over many to the religion of their rulers. Lastly, the most important religious result of the Muslim conquest was the rise of new religious schools which aimed at establishing unity and amity between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Oneness of God and the simplicity of Islam left a profound impression on the minds of the Indian thinkers who all preached the unity of Godhead and the equality of all religions. To them, true religion did not consist in empty forms but in *Bhakti* or true devotion to God.

Disappearance of Buddhism

Spread of Islam in India and the rise of religious movement

Bhakti Movement

During the Sultanate of Delhi, a series of Hindu religious thinkers and reformers led a movement for religious reform which emphasised the cult of *Bhakti* (devotion) and was known as *Bhakti* movement. This movement took its birth in Southern India but by and by it spread to the whole of the subcontinent.

The pioneer of the *Bhakti* movement of Indo-Pakistan was Shankaracharya. He was born in a Brahmin family at Kaldi (Malabar) in 788 A.D. From his childhood Shankaracharya possessed wonderful talent and spiritual leanings. As he grew up, he

Shankaracharya, the pioneer

became a great advocate of monastic philosophy. He preached the unity of Godhead and thus brought a revolution in Hinduism and became a great forerunner of the *Bhakti* cult. He died at the age of thirty-two in 820 A.D.

Ramanuja

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, the first great exponent of the *Bhakti* cult was Ramanuja who flourished in the early years of the 12th century. He did his best to popularise the cult of devotion and preached that salvation could be had by this means alone.

Ramanand flourished in the 14th century

Influence of Sufi saints on the movement

The next reformer was Ramanand who lived in the 14th century and raised his voice for the first time against the caste system. Ramanand was the bridge between the *Bhakti* movement of the North and the South. He preached his mission during the reigns of the Khalji and Tughluq Sultans. During this period the famous *Sufi* saint, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya propagated the teachings of love and humanity and his followers reached every part of Indo-Pakistan to reform the lives of the lower class people. Historians are of opinion that Ramanand was much influenced by the *Sufi* saints. He travelled over different parts of the country and after studying the religious and social condition he came to the conclusion that unless fundamental changes were made in the belief of the Hindu faith, reform was impossible. He asked his disciples to help him in the matter. He emphatically rejected caste rules enjoined in the Brahmanical systems and established the worship of *Ramu* instead of *Vishnu*. He exhorted his disciples to help men of all castes and was the first reformer to preach in the vernacular.

Kabir

Among his disciples Kabir, a Muslim weaver of Benares was the most famous. Kabir was the greatest standard-bearer of love and humanity in the history of Indo-Pakistan. He addressed the common people in their own language and conveyed his teachings of *Bhakti* to them through his *dohas*. He was the first man of medieval reformation to take an effort for Hindu-Muslim unity in the sphere of religion. He strongly condemned the worship of idols and the caste system.

The greatest saint of the *Bhakti* movement was Chaitanya who was born in a Brahmin family of Nadia in Bengal in 1485. He renounced this world at the age of 25 and became a *sannyasi*. Love is the watch-word of the cult of Chaitanya. He raised his voice against the caste system and proclaimed the universal brotherhood of man. He is worshipped by millions of people as incarnation of Sri Krishna and his name had become a household word in Bengal. He admitted to his religious fraternity all sorts of people—irrespective of caste and creed.

Chaitanya

Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, was another famous reformer of this period. Like Kabir he condemned idolatry and the caste system and preached the unity of God.

Guru Nanak

Nanak was deeply influenced by Islam and he tried to reconcile Islam and Hinduism. He emphasized good actions and purity of life. He had both Hindu and Muslim disciples.

The Bhakti movement had far-reaching consequences in the history of Indo-Pakistan. The impact of Islam liberalised the outlook of Hinduism in Indo-Pakistan. This new outlook brought to the submerged classes the understanding that if they were despised by men they would be loved by God provided they could worship Him with *Bhakti*. The religious reformers made attempts to bridge the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims and though they were not successful in their efforts, they paved the way for the liberal policy of Akbar the Great. But the most important result of this movement was the growth of vernacular literature which received a great impetus in the hands of the reformers who used it as a vehicle of their teaching.

Results of the reformation movement

Sufism and its influence

The *Sufis* who came to Indo-Pakistan in large number in the train of Muslim conquerors played a most important part in the spread of Islam in the sub-continent. They worked not only for preserving the inner spirit of Islam but also for attracting

'thousands of converts from the down-trodden Hindu masses'. The saints and *Sufis* of this country had dedicated their lives to the cause of Islam. The evils of the caste system and their simple way of life contributed a great deal to the success of the *Sufis* for the spread of Islam in the sub-continent.

Meaning of Sufism

Sufism was a great spiritual movement in Islam 'which sought mystic realisation of the Almighty Allah'. "It is not so much a set of doctrines as it is a mode of thinking and feeling in the religious domain. Muslim mysticism represents a reaction against the intellectualism of Islam and the Quran and the formalism which developed as a consequence. Psychologically its basis should be sought in the human aspiration to a personal, direct approach to, and a more intense experience of the diety as a religious truth. Like other Islamic movements Sufism traces its origin to the Quran and the Hadith". In order to keep *Sufism* within the discipline of Islam the *Sufis* organised themsclves into *Silsilas* or orders and established *Khanqahs* (hospices). There were many *Silsilas* or *subsilsilas* of which the *Qadriyah* founded by Shaikh Abdul Qader Gilani (1077-1166), the *Naqshbandiyah* called after Khwajah Bahauddin Naqshband, the *Chistiyah* founded by Khwaja Abu Ishaq Shami and the *Suhrawardiyah* founded by Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya were the most important.

Silsilas or orders established by the Sufis

Data Ganj Baksh

In the train of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni many Muslim saints along with the warriors and warlords came to Indo-Pakistan. These saints permeated the rank of Indo-Pakistan society and preached Islam in the sub-continent. Shaikh Ali Hujweri popularly known as Data Ganj Baksh came from Ghazni to Lahore a few years after the death of Sultan Mahmud. He was the first Muslim mystic in the history of this country. He was mainly responsible for the propagation of Islam in the Punjab.

The *Chistya* order was brought to Indo-Pakistan by Khwaja Muinuddin Ajmeri who belonged to this order. He made a tour to many parts of the Muslim world. Ajmer where he died in 1236 A.D. was chosen as the centre of his activity. He was

very popular with the people of the sub-continent who called him out of affection *Khwaja Gharib Nawaj* (Saint of the poor people). Shaikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki and Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj Shakar who popularised the Chistiyah order in many cities of Indo-Pakistan were the two important successors of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti. The Chistiyah was the most popular and powerful order during the Sultanate period. The Sufis of the Chistiyah order played a great role in the history of the sub-continent. They were mainly responsible for the spread of Islam in the North, the Deccan and Bengal.

Khwaja Muinuddin of Ajmer

Shaikh Farid appointed Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya (1238-1325) as his Khalifah. He was perhaps the greatest *Sufi* saint in the history of the sub-continent after Khwaja Muinuddin. It was Nizamuddin Auliya who trained up a band of *Sufis* for the propagation of Islam in Gujrat, the Deccan and Bengal. His tomb at Ghiyaspur outside Delhi attracts a large number of visitors throughout the year.

Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya

Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya of Multan was the founder of the Suhrawardiyah order in the sub-continent. He travelled in many parts of Muslim countries and while he was at Baghdad, he became a disciple of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi. After his return to Multan he established a Suhrawardi *Khanqah* there and brought this order into prominence. Many Hindus from Sind, Multan and Lahore accepted Islam at his hands. His disciple Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari, popularly known as Mukhdum Jahanian Jahangasht was one of the important saints of the Suhrawardiyah order. He founded a strong Suhrawardi centre at Uchh and pleyed an important part in the propagation of Islam in Sind. The Suhrawardiyah order contributed largely to the spread of Islam in West Pakistan and Gujrat.

Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya of Multan

Shah Jalal who came from Turkey was a great saint of Bengal. He was the disciple of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi and came to this sub-continent in the reign of Iltutmish. After a brief sojourn at Delhi, he reached Bengal where he passed the rest

Shah Jalal of Sylhet

of his life. Shah Jalal helped Shamsuddin Shah, the Sultan of Bengal and took part with him in a war against Gaur Govinda, a Hindu ruler of Sylhet for his ill-treatment towards the Muslims. After the conquest of Sylhet he settled there and preached Islam in the land. It was due to his missionary activities that Islam gained a good ground in Sylhet. In 1347, Shah Jalal died in Sylhet and was buried there.

Other Sufis in Bengal

There were many sufis and saints in Bengal who came either directly from Western and Central Asia or from different parts of Indo-Pakistan. They contributed much to the spread of Islam in this part of the sub-continent. Shaikh Ala-ul-Huq of Pandua and his son Nur Qutb Alam established new orders and these orders were named after their names. Some saints in Bengal played the role of fighters in the cause of Islam and later they 'came to be regarded as saints by the people of the localities.' The names of Zakar Khan Ghazi of Tribeni (Hughli), Khan Jahan Ali of Bagerhat (Khulna) and Shah Ismail Ghazi may be specially mentioned in this connection.

Art and Architecture

Patrons of art and architecture

The political and military activities of the Muslim rulers in Indo-Pakistan did not hamper their progress in the field of architecture and literature. The Sultans of Delhi extended their patronage to architecture which has been regarded as the best index of human progress. Some of the builders were emperors of Delhi and others were kings or nobles of Bengal, Gujrat, Malwa and the Deccan. Among the classes of buildings erected by the Sultans were the royal palaces, forts, mosques, mausoleums, tombs of great men and shelters for the poor. Muslim architecture in Indo-Pakistan is, in its design, a mixture of the Syrian, Byzantine, Egyptian and Iranian styles, while in its detail is Hindu, Jain or Buddhist. Sir John Marshall says, "Indo-Islamic art is not merely a local variety of Islamic art." Likewise, it is not merely "a modified form of Hindu art . . . Broadly speaking, Indo-Islamic architecture derives its character from both sources,

Mixture of styles

though not always in an equal degree." There is a contest between the Indian and Islamic styles. The Hindu monuments were generally ornamented with figures of deities and Muslim conception of decoration 'found expression in calligraphy, geometrical pattern and floral designs."

The contact of Islam with the Hindus, resulted in the evolution of a style which has sometimes been called the Indo-Muslim school of architecture. This amalgamation of indigenous architectural styles was possible due to the appointments of the local artisans who consciously or unconsciously have left clear signs of their own traditions in the buildings of the early period of the Sultanate. The so-called Indo-Muslim architecture was nothing but Muslim architecture possessing in detail certain features of the Hindu art of building.* In course of time Muslim artisans and craftsmen began to pour into this land in large number and the gradual decrease of Hindu characteristics from the buildings of the later period was distinctly noticed.

Indo-Muslim architecture was possible due to certain factors

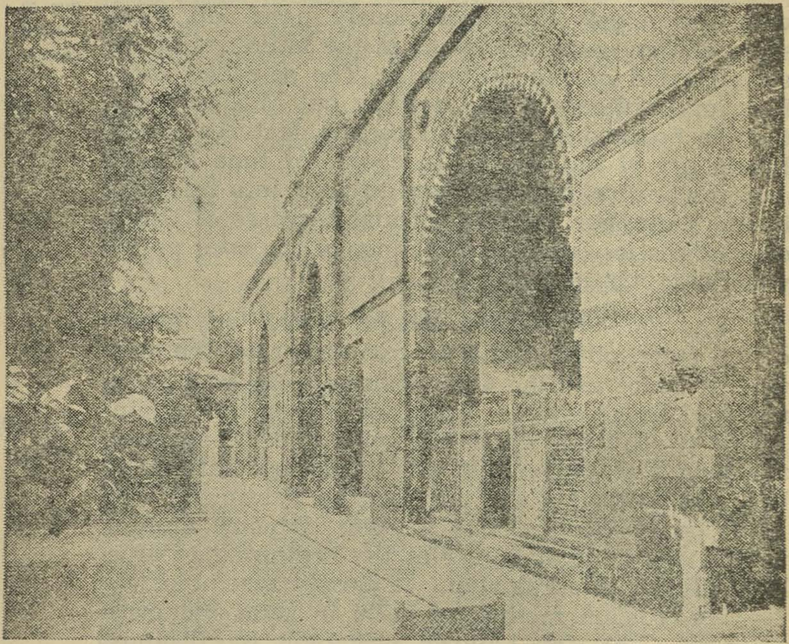
The *Qubbat-ul-Islam* mosque which was founded by Qutbuddin Aibak to commemorate the capture of Delhi and the *Qutb Minar* are the best specimens of Delhi styles. The Qutb Minar was originally a tower from which the *muazzin* could summon the people to prayer. It was begun by Qutbuddin, but was completed and enlarged by Iltutmish. The *Arhaidin-ka-Jhonpra* was another famous mosque which was built at Ajmer at the beginning of Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan. It closely resembles the *Qubbat-ul-Islam* mosque of Delhi in style and construction. The *Jam-i-Masjid* was built by Iltutmish in 1223 A.D. His successors had left but a few architectural monuments among which the tomb of Balban may be mentioned here. The Muslim character of construction is best noticed in the buildings of the Khalji period. The most prominent of these monuments are the *Jamaat Khanah Masjid* at the Dargah of Nizamuddin Auliya and the *Alai Darwaja* at the Qutb Minar. The latter one is 'one of the most

The Delhi style

*Pakistan History Board, *A Short History of Hind-Pakistan.*

treasured gems of Islamic literature.' The other monuments of this period are the city of Siri and the *Hauz-i-Alai* or the *Hauz-i-Khas*. The ruins of Siri throw some light on the military architecture of the period. The Tughluq kings adopted a simple but massive style in their buildings of which the tomb of Ghiyasuddin is a good specimen of its kind. This simplicity and sobriety was due to the religious idea of the Tughluqs. Muhammad bin Tughluq constructed the *Begumpuri Masjid* as the principal

Simplicity in style is the main feature of Tughluq buildings



Masjid at the Dargah of Nizamuddin Auliya

mosque of his new capital. Firuz Shah, the third ruler of this dynasty, was a great builder who excelled all the Sultans in his love for buildings. He himself used to say, "Among the many gifts which God bestowed upon me was a desire to erect public buildings." He employed several architects for building purposes. The chief architect was Malik Ghazi Shahna who was assisted by one Abdul Haq. The Sultan is said to have built as many as 300 cities. It

may be an exaggeration but it cannot be denied that he founded cities like Firuzabad, Fatehabad, Jaunpur, Hisar Firuz and others. Besides, he built a good number of mosques, palaces, sarais, reservoirs, tombs, baths, monumental tombs and bridges.

After the fall of the Tughluq dynasty, the Sayyid and Lodi Sultans built a number of mosques and tombs.

Some of the provincial rulers were great builders of palaces, mosques and tombs. The buildings erected by the provincial rulers bear ample testimony to their architectural tastes. The buildings of the Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur are noted for their "massive slopping walls, square pillars, small galleries and cloisters." One of the brilliant specimens of the Srarqi style is the *Atala Masjid* which was begun in 1377 and completed in 1408. The next is the *Jam-i-Masjid* which was built by Husain Shah. The third is the *Lal Darwaza Mosque*. The other important buildings are the broken facade of the *Jhanjheeri* and the *Khalis Mukhlis*.

Atala Masjid, Jam-i-Masjid and Lal Darwaza Mosque of Jaunpur

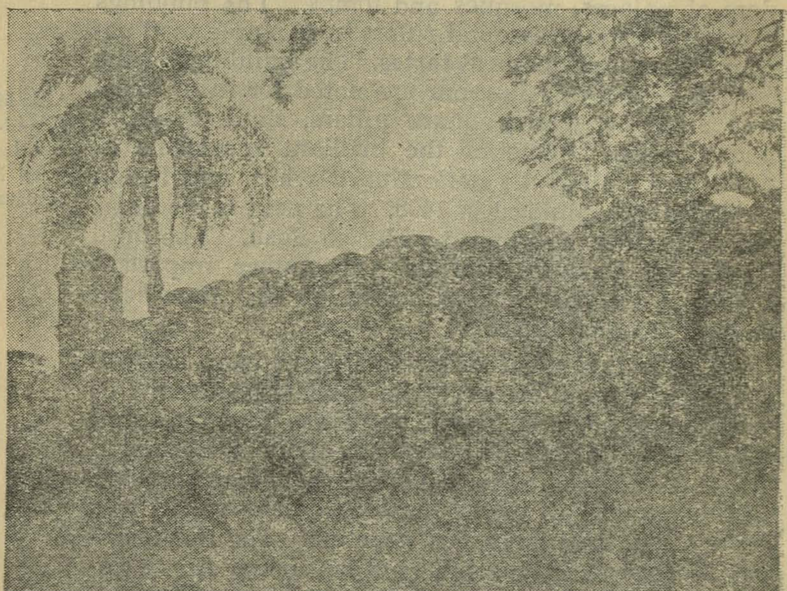
The independent rulers of Bengal were also interested in architecture. The earliest specimens of the Bengal style of architecture are the tomb and mosque of Zafar Khan Ghazi. The well-known *Adina Masjid* at Pandua was built by Sikandar Shah in the second half of the fourteenth century. It was a very huge and ambitious structure. The *Sat Gumbaj Mosque* and the tomb of Khan Jahan Ali at Bagerhat (Khulna) are the famous architectural monuments in this part of Pakistan. The *Sat Gumbaj*, as its name shows, is covered by sixty domes, but it has actually seventy-seven domes. Another beautiful building is the tomb of Jalal Uddin Muhammad Shah, which is considered to be one of the finest tombs in Bengal. The *Dakhil Darwaza* at Gaur is "as perfect an example of brick structure as can be found anywhere in the world." The other well-known structures at Gour are the *Lotan Masjid*, the *Bara Sona Masjid*, the *Chhota Sona Masjid* and the *Qadam Rasul Mosque*. Of these the Bara Sona Masjid "has the merit of greater simplicity and impressiveness."

Adina Masjid

Sat Gumbaj Mosque

Bara Sona Masjid and Chhota Sona Masjid

In Bengal there grew up a mixed type of architecture. In Gujrat Muslim architecture has developed along its own line. Its rich ornamentation, delicacy of style and floral designs provide a contrast to the simplicity of style prevailing in Bengal. Hindu architecture was well-developed here long before the Muslim conquest of Indo-Pakistan. When the Muslims conquered this country, they adopted Hindu and Jaina designs with necessary modifications accord-



Sat Gumbaj Mosque, Bagerhat

ing to their requirements. One of the best examples of the Gujrat style is the well-known *Jam-i-Masjid* at Ahmadabad erected by Ahmad Shah in 1311. It has fifteen domes which are supported on two hundred pillars. Another equally beautiful building is the tomb of Ahmad Shah. The city of Champaner also contains remarkable buildings including a grand mosque built by Mahmud Begraha and the palaces in the fort. Dr. Burges lavishes praise on the Gujrat style and says that it contains

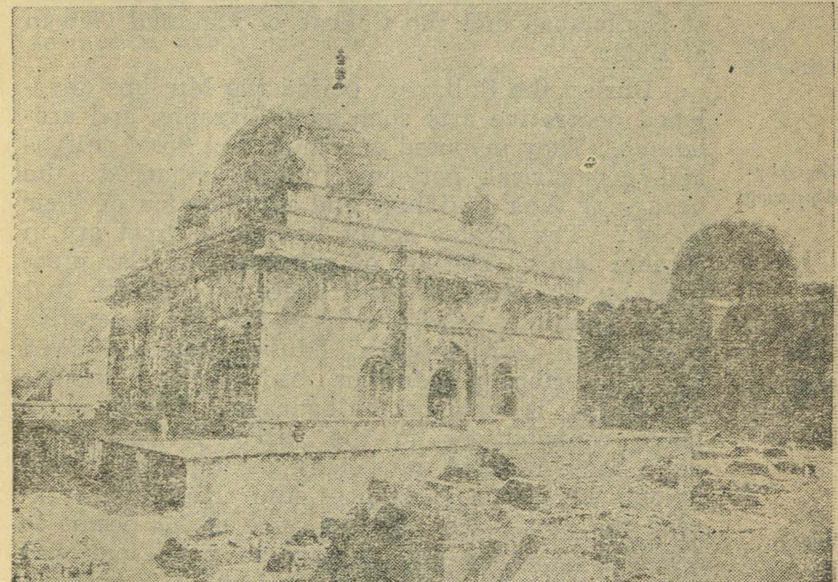
Jam-i-Masjid at Ahmadabad

"all the beauty and finish of the native art with a certain magnificence which is deficient in their own works."

The province of Malwa evolved a style of its own. The buildings of Mandu, capital of Malwa are Muslim in design and execution and bear a close resemblance to those of Delhi. The most notable buildings of Mandu are the *Jam-i-Masjid*, the *Hindola Mahal*, the *Jahaz Mahal*, Hushang Shah's tomb and palaces of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati. The Jam-i-Masjid was planned and started by Hushang Shah, but it was completed by Mahmud Khalji. The *Darbar Hall*, which is popularly known as Hindola Mahal, was probably erected by Hushang Shah. Hushang Shah's tomb is the first great tomb in the

Jam-i-Masjid

Hushang Shah's tomb



Tomb of Hushang Shah

country built wholly of white marble. The *Jahaz Mahal*, with its arched walls, roofed pavilions and beautiful reservoirs, is one of the most conspicuous buildings in Mandu. The palaces of Baz Bahadur

Jahaz Mahal

and Rupmati are built high up on the plateau overlooking the Narmada. In short, Mandu "is, of all fortress cities of Indo-Pakistan, the most magnificient."

The Deccan art

The Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan were great patrons of art and architecture. They brought into existence a peculiar style of architecture which was a mixture of a number of elements, such as, Indo-Pakistani, Turkish, Egyptian and Persian. The mosques at Gulbarga and Bidar are beautiful specimens of this art; but the most beautiful Deccan architecture is found at Bijapur. The magnificent mausoleum of Muhammad Adil Shah, popularly known as *Gol Gumbaj*, is built after a peculiar style. There are other equally celebrated buildings, such as, the *Jam-i-Masjid* at Gulbarga, the *Chand Minar* at Daulatabad and the College of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar.

Calligraphy and painting

During the Sultanate period the Muslims developed decorative arts such as calligraphy and arabesque. They invented and improved floral designs and geometrical patterns "which enhanced the beauty of their buildings and illumination of their books." The Arabic script became a great art in Muslim lands. The art of painting was also practised by the Muslims and "there is evidence that moral paintings were widely in use for decorative purposes in royal palaces." Music, though disliked by the orthodox Muslims had such irresistible appeal that it could not be banished. The Muslims made contributions to the native music. There were some reputed musicians during this period among whom the great poet Amir Khausrau occupied the first place. He set some of his poems to the Indian tunes and is said to have improved some of the most popular instruments such as *Sitar*.

Music

Literature

Many of the Sultans and Amirs of Delhi and the Muslim rulers and nobles in the provinces freely patronised learning and the learned. Persian was the court-language of the Delhi Sultans and its literature received a great impetus at their hands.

There were Persian writers and poets at the court of almost every Sultan from Qutbuddin Aibak down to Sikandar Lodi. The most distinguished figure of this period was Amir Khausrau (1253-1325). His original name was Muhammad Hasan and he was born at Patiala in 1253 A.D. Amir Khausrau took up service as a court-poet under Prince Muhammad Khan, the eldest son of Balban. He had the fortune to serve under six successive Sultans of Delhi from Balban to Ghyasuddin Tughluq. He was a prolific writer and is said to have written more than four lakhs of couplet. He was unquestionably the greatest of the Indo-Pakistan poets writing in Persian. Maulana Shibli says. "India has not produced during these six hundred years a person with such universal perfection in the art of poetry." Some of his *masnawis* 'provide us with valuable information about the history and social conditions of the times'. He has also written a number of prose books. The most well-known books of this category are the *Khazainul Futuh*, *Tughluqnama* and the *Tarikh-i-Alai*. Amir Khausrau was the first Muslim writer to make use of Hindi words. He was not only a poet and historian, but also an excellent singer. He played an important part in the development of Indo-Pakistani music. He is generally described as *Tuti-i-Hind* or 'Parrot of India'. Amir Khausrau's friend, Amir Hasan Dihalvi, whose full name was Najmuddin Hasan was a Persian poet of great ability and genius. He enjoyed the patronage of Muhammad bin Tughluq. He migrated to Daulatabad where he died in 1338. At the provincial courts, too, there were poets and scholars who produced a crop of literature in Persian.

Persian literature

Amir Khausrau

Amir Hasan Dihalvi

The Muslims made great contributions in the field of history. It was the Muslims who introduced the art of historiography in the sub-continent. We have several well-written histories during this period. Among the distinguished historians who shed lustre on the Delhi court, the names of Qazi Minhajuddin Siraj, Ziauddin Barani, Shams Shiraj Afif and Yahya bin Ahmad stand out prominently in the historical literary activities of medieval Indo-Pakistan.

Historical literature

Qazi Minhajuddin Siraj was one of the distinguished historians of the earliest period of Muslim India. His book, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* is named after his patron, Nasiruddin Mahmud. Ziauddin Barani, the author of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* was the most remarkable historian of this period. He was the author of several works of which *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* is the most authentic history for the Khalji and Tughluq periods. Shams Shiraj Afif, the author of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and Yahya bin Ahmad, the author of *Tarikh-i i-Mubarak Shahi,* are the two famous historians of the Tughluq period. Side by side with Persian, Sanskrit, the classical language of the Hindus also received a great impetus at the hands of the Muslims. Some of the Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. Al-Beruni who came to Indo-Pakistan during the 10th century was a great Sanskrit scholar who translated several works on different subjects from Sanskrit into Arabic. Under Sultan Sikandar, the second ruler of the Lodi dynasty, a medical treaties was translated from Sanskrit into Persian. Most of the rulers of the Bahmani Kingdom and other independent States like those of Bengal, Jaunpur, Bijapur, Golkunda, Ahmadnagar, Malwa and Vijayanagar were patrons of arts and literature. In Sanskrit and Hindi many excellent books were written on religion and philosophy by the Hindu scholars. Of the Hindi poets, Chandbardi, the author of *Prithviraj Rasan* was the prominent. But the Hindu writers failed to display any aptitude for writing histories. The only historical treatise is *Kalran's Rajatarangini* or "River of Kings' which was composed in the 12th century.

Sanskrit works translated into Persian

Sanskrit and Hindi literature

Hindu scholars had no aptitude for writing history

Some of the Sultans of Bengal were also patrons of Bengali literature. They appointed scholars to translate the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* from Sanskrit into Bengali. Under the patronage of Paragal Khan, Husain Shah's governor of Chittagong, Kabindra Parameshwar translated the Mahabharata for the first time into Bengali. Urdu literature also received considerable encouragement at the hands of Delhi Sultans as well as the Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan.

Bengali

Urdu

PART II

BOOK II

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

SECTION I

INDO-PAKISTAN ON THE EVE OF BABUR'S INVASION

Political Condition

Indo-Pakistan at the opening of the sixteenth century was a "congeries of States". Since the death of Firuz Tughluq, the disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate had set in and a large number of independent States had sprung up in this country. When Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire, finally conquered Indo-Pakistan in 1526, there was no strong central authority. He writes in his Memoirs : "At the period when I conquered the country five Muslim kings and two Pagans (Hindus) exercised royal authority." Besides these States mentioned by Babur, there were many other States which were also playing a considerable part in the politics of Indo-Pakistan. Of the important independent states of Northern India the names of Delhi, Gujrat, Malwa, Bengal, Mewar, Khandesh, Punjab, Sind and Kashmir may be mentioned here. These States were in a states of mutual warfare and this had greatly weakened their power.

No political unity

At the time of Babur's invasion Ibrahim Lodi was the Sultan of Delhi. He was a weak and inefficient ruler. The Lodi kingdom extended only nominally from Bhera to Bihar but actually it included only Delhi, Agra, Doab, Biana and Chandri. The Punjab had been separated under Daulat Khan Lodi. Sind and Multan in the West and Jaunpur, Bengal and Orissa in the East had asserted their independence. Most of Ibrahim Lodi's own kinsmen, disgusted with his haughty and harsh behaviour, were in open revolt. Darya Khan Lohani of Bihar organised a powerful revolt against

The Delhi Sultanate

the Lodi Sultan. Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar was also making plans to oust Ibrahim Lodi and establish his own rule in Delhi. In a word, the Delhi Sultanate had become very weak and was in a state of utter confusion.

Gujrat

The second Muslim State, according to Babur, was Gujrat. Sultan Muhammad Muzaffar Shah II was the ruler of Gujrat at that time. He had greatly increased the size of the State at the expense of Malwa but he was checked in his designs by Rana Sangram Singh, popularly known as Rana Sangha who inflicted a defeat on him. After his death in 1526, he was succeeded by his son Bahadur Shah who played a very important role in the politics of Hindustan in the time of Humayun.

Malwa

Malwa was another important Muslim State in Northern India. Sultan Mahmud II was the ruler of Malwa at the time of Babur's invasion. The affairs of the State were virtually controlled by a Hindu minister, Medini Rao Chanderi. Mahmud tired of his haughly behaviour, wanted to get rid of his minister and that with the help of the ruler of Gujrat. But Medini Rao backed by Rana Sangha of Mewar defeated the forces of Malwa and the Sultan fell into the hands of the Rajputs.

Bengal

Another important Muslim State in Northern India was Bengal. It was at that time governed by the Husain Shahi dynasty. After the death of Alauddin Husain Shah in 1519, his son Nasrat Shah became the ruler of Bengal and Babur had to fight with him. Babur writes in his Memoirs that Nasrat Shah "was a prince of considerable importance".

Mewar

The most important Hindu State in Northern India was Mewar which at that time reached the zenith of its glory. It was then held by Rana Sangha who was a hero of hundred fights and had received as many as eighty wounds in the battle-fields. By his bravery and heroic deeds he had struck terror in the hearts of the other neighbouring rulers. He wanted to establish his rule in the whole of Indo-Pakistan and in order to fulfil his ambition he invited Babur to invade Indo-Pakistan. He is said to

have promised him every kind of support against Ibrahim Lodi.

The Punjab which was a part of the Delhi Sultanate had practically become independent in the beginning of the 16th century. Daulat Khan Lodi, a relative of Ibrahim Lodi, was the governor of this Province. He became disgusted with the haughty and insulting behaviour of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and had asserted his independence. He even went to the length of inviting Babur to invade Indo-Pakistan and promised to make a common cause with him against Ibrahim. The Punjab

Khandesh, once a province of Delhi Sultanate, had become independent under Adil Khan Faruqi who ruled over it from 1457 to 1503. He did a lot to increase the material prosperity of the kingdom and under him Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh, became one of the most attractive cities of Indo-Pakistan. Miran Muhammad was the ruler of this kingdom at the time of Babur's invasion. Khandesh

Sind and Kashmir had also become independent but they were not playing very important roles in the politics of the sub-continent.

The southern part of India or Deccan was also in a state of distraction at the time of Babur's conquest of Indo-Pakistan. Babur in his Memoirs takes notice of only two important Southern States—Bahmani kingdom and the Vijayanagar empire.

The Bahmani kingdom was a famous Muslim State of the Deccan at that time. But by the beginning of the 16th century it had been destroyed and on its ruin five independent States had sprung up, namely Nazam Shahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar, Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur, Imad Shahi kingdom of Golkunda and Barid Shahi kingdom of Bidar. All these States were engaged in warfare with one another and the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. The Bahmani Kingdom

In the extreme South of Indo-Pakistan was the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. Krishna Deva was the ruler of this kingdom. According to Babur, he was the most powerful of the Pagan provinces in The Vijayanagar Kingdom

point of territory and army. He was often engaged in wars against the Bahmani States in general and the Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur in particular.

Political condition of Indo-Pakistan favoured Babur's design

Thus we see that in the absence of any paramount power in Indo-Pakistan on the eve of Babur's invasion, many independent States came into being. They were all fighting with one another and a state of tension prevailed in the country. Some of them even sent invitation to Babur to invade Indo-Pakistan and oust Ibrahim Lodi, the Sultan of Delhi. Babur lost no time in exploiting the golden opportunity created by internal conflicts in the country and planned an attack on it. Though he was not successful at first, ultimately he conquered a part of Northern India and set up the Mughal line of kings in the sub-continent.

Social and Cultural Condition

Better relation between the Hindus and the Muslims

According to Edwards and Garret, although India was politically divided, yet culturally she was becoming one. The spread of the *Bhakti* movement was bringing the Muslims and the Hindus closer to each other. The great apostles of the Bhakti movement were all alive in the opening of the 16th century. The teachings of these reformers set aside the caste-distinctions and thereby they not only brought the Hindus and the Muslims together but also welded them into a new Indo-Pakistan society. The Sufis in Islam supplemented the work of these reformers. The result of all this was that the Hindus began to respect the Muslims and the Muslims began to respect the Hindus. According to S. R. Sharma, "The mental chasm thus abridged, an intellectual exchange between the Hindus and Muslims was established which created a very rich amalgam. The literature, architecture and religious movements of the period—all illustrate the trend towards union and elimination of differences". The most important result of the Bhakti movement was the growth of vernacular literature, which received a great impetus in the hands of the reformers. The great Sanskrit works–*Mahabharata* and *Rajatarangini* were translated into Persian, while se-

veral Persian and Arabic works were rendered into Hindi.

Economic Condition

According to Babur "the chief execllency of Hindustan is that it is a large country and has abundance of gold and silver." Agriculture was in a flourishing condition. There was brisk trade—internal and external. Sea-borne trade was carried on with Malaya, China and Indonesia. A very brisk trade existed with Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, Tibet and Bhutan through the land routes. The standard of living in general was poor, but the upper middle class and the rich lived in luxury.

Trade relations with other countries

Military Condition

Indo-Pakistani soldiers were second to none in fighting qualities but they lacked in training, discipline and equipment. Several changes had taken place in the technique of fighting and the gun powder had come to be used. While Iran and Afghanistan had learnt all these things from the West, the Indo-Pakistanis refused to accept the latest inventions in the field of military science. It was difficult for them to fight against the latest weapons of the West. Artillery was brought into Indo-Pakistan for the first time by Babur. Thus, military Indo-Pakistan was very weak and undefended.

Want of modern technique of fighting

SECTION II

ZAHIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD BABUR
(1526-30)

Early Career

Babur is one of the most attractive personalities that ever graced the throne of Asia. Though his permanent place in history rests upon his Indo-Pakistani conquests, his early career cannot be ignored. Flora A. Steele remarks: "Given such a man, it would be sheer perversity to treat him solely in reference to the part he played in India, as this would be to deprive ourselves of no less than thirty-six years of the very best of company." Babur came to Indo-Pakistan in 1526 and remained here for four years only. In order to have a thorough understanding of his personality in general and of his works and achievements during these four years in particular, an idea about his previous life is essentially necessary.

Is Babur a Mughal or a Turk?

Babur was descended from Timur, a Chaghtai Turk, on his father's side and from Chengiz Khan, a Mongol, on his mother's side. He thus combined in his veins the blood of two great warriors of Central Asia. He inherited the energy of the Mongols and the courage and capacity of the Turks. He was not a Mughal. In his Memoirs "he calls himself a Turk and speaks contemptuously of the Mughals." But the people of Indo-Pakistan used to call all Muslim invaders, excepting the Afghans, Mughals and hence the name of the dynasty.

His birth

Babur was born on Februray 24, 1483 at Andijan, the capital of Farghana, a small principality in Central Asia. His original name was Zahiruddin Muhammad. But from his early days he began to be known by his pet name "Babur", a Turkish word which means a tiger.

We know very little about the education of Babur, but from the references in his Memoirs we find that two persons exercised tremendous influence in the early years of his life. One was his tutor, Sheikh Majid and the other was his maternal grandmother, Aisan Daulat Begum. From the former he learnt Persian, Arabic, Turki and the art of composing poems and from the latter he learnt the lessons of courage and self-reliance. The climate of his hilly country made him stout and strong and developed in him great love for nature.

Early influences

Babur's father, Umar Sheikh Mirza who was the ruler of Farghana died in June, 1494. Babur was called upon to succeed him to his kingdom when he was only a boy of eleven years old. He soon found himself surrounded by formidable enemies. His near relatives, kinsmen and the Uzbegs under the leadership of Shaibani Khan stood in his way. But Babur with the help of his nobles and loyal subjects defeated his rivals and established himself safely upon the throne.

Accession of Babur to the throne of Farghana

Having seated himself upon the throne of Farghana, he thought of making some conquests. First of all, he cast his eyes upon Samarkand, the capital of his great ancestor Timur. He was captivated by the beauty of the city which "had a number of colleges, mosques, baths, charming gardens, palaces and pleasure-houses". In 1496, Babur led his first expedition to Samarkand but he failed to capture it. In 1497, he again made an attempt to conquer Samarkand and this time he was successful. But Babur was not destined to hold it for long. Lane Poole says, "For just a hundred days Babur revelled in the delight of this beautiful city and then lost it". The reason was that Babur fell seriously ill at Samarkand and taking advantage of his illness and absence, some of his nobles raised the standard of revolt in Farghana. Babur had to hasten back to his home kingdom in order to suppress the rebellion but to his dismay he found that Farghana had fallen into the hands of the rebels. He then went to Samarkand but that too was lost. Thus Babur lost both Farghana and Samarkand. He writes in his Memoirs, "For the sake of Farghana I

Expeditions to Samarkand (1496-97)

Loss of Farghana and Samarkand

had given up Samarkand but now I find I had lost one without securing the other."

Babur was now reduced to the position of a mere wanderer—a king without any kingdom. Ferishta writes, "A football of fortune, like a king on a chess-board, Babur moved about from place to place". He tried to reconquer Samarkand but failed. An attempt at Andijan (Farghana) too came to naught But still he did not lose heart. He captured Farghana in 1498 only to lose it again in 1500. In 1501, he succeeded in capturing Samarkand, but after about eigth months, he was given a crushing defeat by Shaibani Khan and consequently lost Samarkand. The years from 1502 to 1504 formed the hardest period in the career of Babur. During these years he was confronted with unusual misery and destitution.

Hardest period of Babur's career

All prospects having been lost, Babur bade farewell to his beloved country and set out to try his luck beyond the Hindukush and occupied Kabul in 1504. He consolidated his position in the new kingdom and assumed the title of 'Padsha'—a title never obtained by his ancestors. With the help of the Shah of Persia he conquered Bokhara and Samarkand in 1513. But his outward conformity to the Shia faith annoyed his Sunni subjects and Shaibani Khan, taking advantage of this, exploited their sentiment. He was again defeated and driven 'from post to pillar and pillar to post.' Thus his ambition being foiled in the west he decided to try his fortune in the east. Hence, it can be said that his 'conquest of Hindustan was the fruit of his disappointments in Central Asia.'

Conquest of Kabul

Causes of Babur's Failure in Central Asia

Many factors accounted for the failure of Babur in Central Asia. As a young and inexperienced man, Babur entered into the stage of struggle. Moreover, his position was insecure and unconsolidated in his newly obtained empire. In the second place, Babur had to face a formidable rival in the person of Shaibani Khan who with his organised Uzbeg people gave him 'a tough resistance'. Lastly, his submis-

Insecured position of Babur

sion to the overlordship of the Shah of Persia annoyed the people of Central Asia who did not support him against his opponents in times of troubles. Want of support

Babur's invasions of Indo-Pakistan

The ambition of Babur and his failure in Central Asia, the proximity of Hindustan to Kabul and Babur's familiarity with the geography of Indo-Pakistan and the political condition of the country coupled with the invitation of Indian chiefs were the main factors that obliged Babur to come and conquer India. Causes of Babur's invasion of Indo-Pakistan

Babur made several attempts to conquer Indo-Pakistan. In 1519, he undertook his first expedition, and conquered Bajaur and Behra. He left Bhera in charge of Hindu Beg and himself returned to Kabul. After sometime, people of Bhera revolted and made him leave their country. First expedition (1519)

The second expedition was also undertaken in 1519. This time he advanced as far as Peshawar. But due to disturbance in Badakhshan he had to go back. Second expedition (1519) In 1520, Babur invaded Indo-Pakistan for the third time. He recovered Bhera and then proceeded to Sialkot which was easily conquered. He came as far as Sayyidpur where the people offered him a tough resistance. Third expedition (1520) Babur wanted to proceed further but due to disturbances in Qandahar he had to go back. In 1524, he led his fourth expedition to Indo-Pakistan. This time Daulat Khan Lodi of the Punjab who was not on good terms with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi invited him to invade this country. Fourth expedition (1524)

Babur, who was already planning the conquest of Indo-Pakistan, welcomed the invitation. He entered the Punjab and occupied Lahore, Jullundur and Dipalpur without much difficulty. After these victories, Daulat Khan expected that Babur would bestow on him the viceroyalty of the entire Punjab and himself return to Kabul. But when he was offered only two districts, Jullundur and Sultanpur, he turned against him and raised the standard of revolt. Daulat Khan was miserably defeated and driven to Shiwalik hills. Babur divided and distributed the territories of the Punjab among Dilawar Khan, son

of Daulat Khan, Alauddin, uncle of Ibrahim Lodi and Mughal chiefs, and himself retired to Kabul.

Fifth and final expedition (1525-26)

During the absence of Babur, Daulat Khan came out of the hills, defeated Alauddin and reconquered the whole of the Punjab. Alauddin went to Kabul and sought the help of Babur. Babur directed the Mughal chiefs of the Punjab to help Alauddin against Daulat Khan. But soon he was informed that Alauddin had also joined Daulat Khan. He then decided to proceed to the Punjab and led his fifth expedition (1525) with the determination of conquering Indo-Pakistan. Daulat Khan, finding himself unable to cope with Babur, submitted to him. The Punjab was occupied. Babur then marched towards Delhi and met the forces of Ibrahim Lodi in the historic field of Panipat on April 21, 1526. In the battle that followed, Ibrahim Lodi was defeated and his army was utterly routed. Delhi and Agra were quickly occupied.

Battle of Panipat, 1526

Significance of the battle

The first battle of Panipat is considered to be one of the most significant battles in the history of Indo-Pakistan. In the first place, as a result of this battle the power of the Lodi dynasty was shattered to pieces. Ibrahim, the Lodi Sultan was killed in the battle-field along with thousands of his soldiers. Of course, Lodi chiefs like Alauddin and Mahmud were still there but they were too weak to bring about the restoration of the dynasty. Secondly, the battle of Panipat put an end to the Delhi Sultanate which had existed for more than three centuries. Thirdly, the triumph of Babur at Panipat led to the foundation of the Mughal empire in Indo-Pakistan. Just after his victory Babur occupied Delhi and Agra, seated himself on the throne of the Lodi and laid the foundation of Mughal rule in Indo-Pakistan. Thus, "just as Clive's victory at Plassey has a great significance in the establishment of the British rule in India ; similarly Babur's victory in the first battle of Panipat has a great significance in the establishment of Mughal kingdom in India." Both these victories were followed by more splendid victories like Khanwah and Buxar and eventually led to the establishment of Mughal rule in Indo-Pakistan in the

End of the Lodi dynasty

Fall of the Sultanate of Delhi

Foundation of the Mughal empire

case of the former, and British rule in Indo-Pakistan in the case of the latter. Lastly, the battle of Panipat led to the introduction of artillery as an essential part of the Indian military system. Hitherto the Indians were not conversant with the use of artillery. It was the Mughals who by making use of the guns and gun-powder in the battle of Panipat not only won the battle but also brought artillery to this country.

Use of artillery in India

It should be remembered that the victory at Panipat had made Babur the king of Delhi but not the king of the whole of Indo-Pakistan. Though after this victory Babur became the king of Delhi and Agra, yet his task was not completed. As a matter of fact, as R.B. William says, "The defeat of Ibrahim's army was but the beginning of his task". Babur was still to fight against many Afghan and Rajput rivals. The Afghans, though defeated, were not completely crushed. They could not reconcile themselves to the rule of a stranger and regarded him as a usurper. The Rajputs under Ranga Sangha of Mewar were entertaining the hope of political supremacy in the sub-continent and sooner or later a conflict with the Mughals was inevitable. And lastly, his own soldiers were murmuring to go back to the cool hills of Kabul as the hot climate of this country became intolerable to them. By a soul-stirring speech, Babur revived the spirit of his soldiers and with them he proceeded to complete the conquest of Northern Indo-Pakistan.

Position of Babur after the first battle of Panipat

War with the Rajputs

Babur first came into conflict with Rana Sangha of Mewar, the hero of a hundred fights, and met the Rajput confederates in the field of Khanwah in 1527. His soldiers were struck with panic at the sight of Rana Sangha's vast army. In order to infuse fresh courage and enthusiasm into the hearts of the dismayed soldiers Babur broke his wine vessels and vowed to renounce the use of wine for ever. The battle that followed was hotly contested. The Rajputs were defeated and the Rana was narrowly escaped.

The battle of Khanwah

The battle of Khanwah is one of the decisive battles in the history of Indo-Pakistan. Firstly, it

gave a death blow to the Rajput confederacy which hitherto was a dominant factor in the politics of Indo-Pakistan. Secondly, it removed once for all the menace of Rajput supremacy which had loomed large before the eyes of the Muslims in Indo-Pakistan for the preceding ten years. Thirdly, the Mughal empire in Indo-Pakistan was now firmly established. In this respect Prof. Rushbrook William observes, "Babur had definitely seated himself upon the throne of Sultan Ibrahim and the sign and seal of his achievements had been the annihilation of Sultan Ibrahim's most formidable antagonist". Lastly, from henceforth, the centre of gravity of Babur's power shifted from Kabul to Hindusthan. He resolutely remained in Indo-Pakistan for the rest of his days. The victory of Khanwah was followed by the capture of the fortress of Chanderi, where the Rajputs after their discomfiture gathered together under Medini Rao.

Results of the battle of Khanwah

Capture of the fortress of Chanderi

War with the Afghans

Babur next turned his attention against the Afghans who created disturbances in Bihar and Jaunpur by supporting the cause of Ibrahim Lodi's brother Mahmud Lodi. At the approach of the Mughals, the Afghan chiefs surrendered to Babur. Mahmud Lodi, being deserted by his supporters sought shelter with Nasrat Shah, the ruler of Bengal. Babur was then compelled to march towards Bengal. He met the Afghans in the battle of Gogra in 1529 and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. Nasrat Shah was forced to make peace with the Mughal emperor. Thus as a result of three battles Babur became the master of the whole of Northern Indo-Pakistan from Kabul to Bengal.

Battle of Gogra, 1529

Causes of Babur's Success

There were several factors which contributed to the success of Babur and the failure of Ibrahim Lodi. The superior generalship of Babur and the excellent discipline of his troops gave him a triumph over his opponents. The troops of his rival, Ibrahim Lodi lacked the qualities of trained and skilful sol-

diers. Babur was right when he recorded in his diary that the Indian soldiers knew how to die and not how to fight. The Indian army, which consisted of raw and inexperienced soldiers, was a heterogeneous force and as such there was no unity of purpose. The Mughal army, though composed of diverse elements like the Indian army, had been welded into a homogeneous unity by Babur. There was the unity of purpose among his chiefs and soldiers who had confidence in their great leader for whom they were prepared to die.

Superior generalship of Babur and the discipline of his troops

The use of better tactics and better weapons like artillery constituted another factor for the success of Babur against his rivals. While the use of gun powder was not unkown in Indo-Pakistan since the middle of the 15th century, yet no one in Northern India knew the use of fire arms before the coming of Babur who was the master of a power ful park of artillery, consisting of big guns and small muskets. Babur was also the master of a highly evolved system of warfare, while the Indian soldiers fought according to the old and out-worn system then in existence in the country. Babur was one of the greatest generals of his time and there was none in Indo-Pakistan who could be a match for him. Want of unity among the Indians was an important cause for the success of Babur. Had the Indians made a combined attempt against their common enemy, Babur would probably have been driven out of the country.

Use of better weapons like artillery by Babur

Modern system of warfare

Want of unity

Babur could not enjoy the fruits of his victories for a long time. His son, Humayun fell ill in 1530 and when his condition became serious, Babur took a vow and offered his life if God would grant his son recovery from illness. Humayun soon recovered and Babur fell ill which took him away from this land of living to the land of eternal peace.

His death, 1530

Character and Estimate of Babur

Babur was the founder of the Mughal empire in Indo-Pakistan. V. Smith has described him as "the most brilliant Asiatic prince of his age and

worthy of high place among the sovereigns of any age or country", while Havell says, "His engaging personality, artistic temperament and romantic career make him one of the most attractive figures in the history of Islam." Ferishta writes, "Babur was handsome, his address was engaging and unaffected, his countenance was pleasing and his disposition affable." Babur was unquestionably 'a man of outstanding genius, a lover of fine arts, a born naturalist, a keen and critical observer of men and things and an accomplished writer who immortalised himself, not merely as the founder of one of the most glorious dynasties that have ruled in India but also as the prince of autobiographers by bequeathing to posterity his delightful Memoirs.'

Views of historians

Babur was a very dutiful son. He had profound regard for his parents and superiors. Though polygamous like many Muslim rulers of Indo-Pakistan, he was thoroughly attached to his wives. He was an affectionate father, a generous friend, a kind master and a firm believer in Islam. He had a soft corner in his heart for his friends. It is said that he wept for days mourning the death of a playmate of his boyhood. His private life was, on the whole, marked by a standard of morality that was rare in the country of his birth and in the age to which he belonged. He was fond of wine; but he gave up drinking during the battle of Khanwah. Babur was not a slave to luxuries, ease or pleasure of life. Fond of adventures, he took delight in facing uncommonly dangerous situation in life.

As a man

His private life marked by a standard of morality

Babur was pre-eminently a soldier. He had to fight for the safety of his life and throne from the very beginning of his career to the end. He was "an admirable horsemen, a fine shot, a good sportsman and a mighty hunter." Besides these qualities, 'he was possessed of great physical powers and courage, spirit of adventure, contempt of death and uncommon patience and power of endurance.' Babur was equally a good general and leader of men. He could command respect and obedience from his followers and troops. He was a strict disciplinarian and would not allow his familiarity with his men

As a soldier and general

to stand in the way of discipline. As a general 'he made a clever synthesis of the various tactics and system of warfare that he had met with during the course of his long struggle with diverse peoples in Central Asia. He was a man of iron will. He never lost heart in the face of grim dangers and difficulties, rather he renewed his operations with greater skill. Twice he lost his throne and twice he had to fight for it. But he had the tenacity of Robert Bruce and the will and determination of Lenin. His military exploits in Central Asia and Indo-Pakistan testify to his genius as one of the greatest generals of history.

As a ruler

Babur was a great ruler. In his vast dominion that extended from Bhera (Bahrah) in the west to Bihar in the east, from the Himalayas in the north to Chanderi in the south, he took steps to protect his subjects from the oppression of free-booters. He maintained peace and discipline among his subjects. As a ruler, Babur promoted the welfare of his subjects and tried hard to give them protection from internal and external invasions. But as he was too much pre-occupied with wars and conquests, he could not devote any serious attention to the administrative organisations of his vast dominions. He followed the administrative system of the Delhi Sultanate.

As an administrator

Interesting personality in Asia

Babur "is one of the most human and interesting personalities in the history of Asia. He is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and Imperial Government, between Taimur and Akbar," says Lane Poole. He had combined in himself the energy of the Mughal and the courage and culture of the Turks. He was a brilliant conversationalist and was endowed with many good qualities of head and heart. He excelled in music and other arts. He was one of those restless men "who are so active in mind and body that they are never idle and always find time for everything." Babur was so jovial, frank and buoyant that 'no privation, distress or misfortune could disturb the equanimity of his temper.' Adventure was the very breath of his life. Babur was an ardent lover of na-

ture, an accomplished scholar, a gifted poet and a patron of art and literature. He was a man of versatile genius and possessed of a fine intellect. His Diwan or collection of Turki poems is regarded as a work of considerable merit. He was also a master of prose and could write with ease both in Turki and Persian. His autobiography which is known as *Tuzk-i-Babur* or Memoirs of Babur is the best of its kind. "His permanent place in history," says Lane Poole, "rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line; but his place in biography and in literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his earlier days, and by the delightful Memoirs in which he related them."

An accomplished ruler of Indo-Pakistan

His place in history

Babur's Memoirs

Babur was a great scholar and diarist. Like other members of his family, he was a lover of literature and the society of literary men. He wrote his autobiography known as Babur's Memoirs or "Tuzak-i-Baburi" or Babur Nama. The autobiography of Babur occupies a high place in the history of human literature. According to Beveridge, it "is one of those priceless records which are for all times and is fit to take rank with the confessions of St. Augustine and Rousseau and the Memoirs of Gibbon and Newton."

In his Memoirs, Babur has given a minute account of his own life which will remain for all times a first rate authority on the history of his reign. One of the greatest merits of his Memoirs is that whatever he saw, felt and experienced, he recorded it faithfully. In this respect Lane Poole says. "The utter frankness of self-revelation, the unconscious portraiture of all his virtues and vices, his obvious truthfulness and fine sense of humour give the Memoirs an authority which is equal to their charm. If ever there was a case when the testimony of a single historical document, unsupported by other evidence, should be accepted as sufficient proof of it, it is the case with Babur's Memoirs." *

Frank and authentic records of Babur's life and reign

* Lane Poole, *Babur,* P. 12.

The style of Babur's Memoirs is simple, and manly as well as lively and picturesque and it presents his countrymen and contemporaries in their dresses, appearances, actions, pursuits, manners, habits and hobbies as clearly as in a mirror. Simple style

The autobiography of Babur or *Babur Nama* has a great historical value. It gives a detailed picture of the political, social and economic conditions existing in Indo-Pakistan at that time. It also throws light on the attitude of Babur towards this country. He was not pleased with Indo-Pakistan and her people. He remarks, "The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charm of friendly society ; they have no genius for mechanical invention, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture." According to him, "the chief excellence of India is that it is a big country with plenty of gold and silver." Historical value Above all, it describes the career, character and achievements of Babur. In short, it is one of the greatest biographies of the world and has earned for Babur the title of "Prince of Autobiographers."

Babur's Memoirs were first written in Turki. In the time of Akbar it was translated into Persian by Abdur Rahman Khan-i-Khanan and later into English by Erskin, Beveridge and others.

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CHAPTER II

HUMAYUN AND SHER SHAH

Accession of Humayun

On the 4th day of Babur's death, Humayun ascended the throne on December 30, 1530. This unusual delay of his accession to the throne was due to the conspiracy of the Chief Minister of the State, Nizamuddin Ali Muhammad Khalifah. The Khalifah nominated his own candidate Sayyid Mahdi Khwaja, Babur's brother-in-law and husband of Khanzada Begum. Humayun followed the policy of his father by allowing Kamran to continue as the governor of Kabul and Qandhar, Askari of Sambal and Hindal of Alwar and Mewat. The government of Badakshan was entrusted to his cousin, Mirza Sulayman.

His accession on December 30, 1530

Difficulties of Humayun

Humayun soon understood that the throne of Delhi was not a bed of roses. The difficulties with which he was confronted were of great magnitude. In the first instance, he had inherited an ill-organised and unconsolidated empire from his father. Babur had merely defeated the Afghans and temporarily subdued the Rajputs, but he had not consolidated his conquests in Indo-Pakistan. In addition to this, he had made the mistake of dividing his empire into fiefs (Jagir) which he gave as regards to the jagirdars. These jagirdars were semi-independent and had created great troubles for Humayun. Babur had also distributed all the treasure that he had found at Delhi and Agra. His generosity and financial bungling had practically exhausted the treasury with the result that Humayun's administration was faced with a financial crisis from its very start. Thus Humayun had to face political problems which were not of his own creation. Secondly, as there was no law of succession, Humayun's brothers and relatives

Political instability

began to aspire for the throne and create troubles for him. Among his brothers, Kamran was the most dangerous and had cast his covetous eyes on the throne of Delhi. His other two brothers, Askari and Hindal were not capable of any independent action but they could easily serve as tools in the hands of ambitious rivals. Besides his brothers, Muhammad Zaman Mirza who had married his step-sister Masuma Begum and Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Mahdi Khwaja, the two other relatives of Humayun, were claimants to the throne of Delhi and proved his worst enemies. Thirdly, though the Afghans were defeated in the battles of Panipat and Gogra, their power was not crushed. The result was that at the accession of Humayun they became as bold in their activities as ever. Some of the Afghan nobles were powerful enough to contest for the throne with Humayun. Of these, the names of Mahmud Lodi, Bahadur Shah and Sher Khan may be mentioned here. Mahmud Lodi, though defeated at Khanwah and Gogra, had not given up the hope to recover his ancestral throne from the Mughals. Supported by the Afghan nobles, Biban and Bayazid and the king of Bengal, he made attempts to recapture his power. Bahadur Shah was another Afghan chief who had made himself an independent ruler of Malwa and Gujrat. He had given shelter to Alam Khan, the uncle of Ibrahim Lodi and was preparing to fight for the throne in his name. But of all the Afghan chiefs, Sher Shah Suri proved to be the strongest enemy of Humayun. Lastly, the army which Humayun had got from his father could not be relied upon. On the other hand, it consisted of Uzbegs, Chagtais, Mughals, Persians and Afghans. This army of heterogeneous elements did not care for the national interest. They were always at feud among themselves. As a result, they sacrificed the interest of the nation to the interest of their class.

Hostility of his brothers and relatives

Enmity of the Afghan rivals

Unreliable army

His war with the Afghans

Humayun's first military expedition was directed against the Afghans who under Sultan Mahmud Lodi threatened his position in the East. The Af-

ghans were defeated in the battle of Dadrah in August, 1532. Humayun next marched against the fort of Chunar, then held by Sher Khan. The Afghan chief soon surrendered to him.

Capture of Chunar

Humayun and Bahadur Shah of Gujrat

Humayun was soon called upon to deal with Bahadur Shah, a most distinquished ruler of Gujrat. He wanted to revive the glory of the Afghan rulers. With his accession, Gujrat entered on one of its most brilliant periods. He had largely extended the territory of Gujrat. His persistent policy of aggression, i.e. the conquest of Malwa, Rajputana, Ranthambor, Chitor, etc. which threatened the Mughal kingdom brought him into conflict with Humayun. But the main and the most prominent cause of his conflict with the Mughal Emperor was his help towards the latter's enemies. The two Afghan nobles who were his arch enemies were not only given shelter in his dominions but also supported and helped with finances by Bahadur Shah.

Causes of Humayun's conflict with Bahadur Shah

Humayun requested Bahadur Shah to hand over the fugitives to him. But on his refusal, he marched against him and defeated him in the open field. He besieged the camp of Bahadur Shah and cut off his supplies. The ruler of Gujrat had no alternative but to run way. In April, 1535, he shut himself up in the fort of Mandu. Humayun besieged the fort and occupied it. But Bahadur Shah made good his escape and fled away to Champanir. This place was also occupied by Humayun. He next occupied Ahmadabad and Cambay and Bahadur Shah had to take shelter in the island of Diu. Thus by August, 1535, Humayun had occupied the whole of Gujrat and it was no doubt his great achievement. He had entrusted the administration of various parts of Malwa and Gujrat to highly incapable and unreliable men like Askari, Hindu Beg and Tardi Beg. Instead of establishing strong government in the newly conquered provinces, Humayun committed the folly of giving its various parts to the governors whose loyalty had not been tested. Mirza Askari and Hindu Beg conspired against him. Askari who was in

Humayun defeated the ruler of Gujrat but could not retain his conquests

charge of Gujrat gave himself up to pleasure and merry-making. Bahadur Shah took advantage of this and recovered the whole of Gujrat. Malwa was also occupied by him. Humayun could not think of subduing Bahadur Shah as he was recalled to the East to meet the revolt of Sher Khan.

Early career of Sher Shah

Sher Shah was a man of humble origin. His original name was Farid. He was born at Bajwara near Hoshiarpur in 1472. His father Hasan Sur was in the service of a big Jagirdar of Hoshiarpur. Hasan had four wives and Farid was by his first wife.

His birth

Hasan Sur took up service with Jamal Khan of Hissar after the birth of Farid. With the transfer of Jamal Khan to Jaunpur, Hasan also went along with his master and was granted jagir of Sahsaram, Khawaspur and Tanda. He settled at Sahsaram (Bihar) and it was here that Farid, the future ruler of Indo-Pakistan, spent his childhood.

Farid at Sahsaram

Hasan who was a slave to his youngest wife and showed preference for children from her, did not like his first wife and neglected her son Farid. Farid could not tolerate this treatment of his father and so he left Sahsaram and went to Jaunpur, the seat of learning and culture. There he devoted himself to the study of letters and within a short time he acquired much proficiency in Arabic and Persian. By his ability and hard work he attracted the attention of Jamal Khan, the Governor of Jaunpur and patron of his father who brought a reconciliation between the father and the son.

Farid at Jaunpur

Hasan brought his son back to Sahsaram and being impressed with his ability placed him in charge of his parganas. He successfully managed the affairs of the parganas. As regards his success in administration Abbas Sarwani, the author of *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi,* says, "In a very short time both parganas became prosperous and the soldiery and peasantry were alike contented." But this enkindled the jealousy of his step-mother who pressed her husband to remove Farid and give the charge of the parganas

to her son, Sulayman. The intrigue of his step-mother ultimately compelled Farid to leave the parganas for the second time. He went to Agra and secured a job there. The death of his father brought him to Sahsaram again ; but he was deprived of his jagir by his relatives.

Farid under Bahar Khan Lohani

Farid was then out in search of his fortune and entered into the service of Bahar Khan Lohani, an independent ruler of Bihar in 1522. He soon received the title of 'Sher Khan' (means Tiger Lord) from his master for having shown gallantry by killing a tiger. Later on, Bahar Khan made him the tutor of his minor son, Jalal Khan. The rapid rise of Sher Khan excited the jealousy and hatred of other Afghan nobles who poisoned the ears of Bahar Khan against him and got him expelled.

Sher Khan in service of Babur

In 1527, Sher Khan went to Agra and took service under Babur. The service with the Mughals was of great help to him. He could study the Mughal camp and its weakness. His expulsion from Bihar was thus a great blessing in disguise for him. He rendered great service to Babur when the latter attacked Bihar and in recognition of his services the Mughal Emperor helped him to recover the jagir of his father from his step-brothers. In 1528, he left the Mughal service.

As Deputy Governor of Bihar

With added experience Sher Khan again met his old master, Bahar Khan, and was re-appointed the tutor and guardian of his son, Jalal Khan. After the death of Bahar Khan, his widow, Dadu Bibi appointed him the Deputy Governor of Bihar. As Deputy Governor, Sher Khan brought much improvement in the administration of the kingdom and at the same time greatly strengthened his position. On the death of Dadu Bibi, Sher Khan became the virtual ruler of Bihar in 1529.

Acquisition of Chunar

In 1530, Sher Khan captured the important fortress of Chunar. After the death of Taj Khan, the ruler of Chunar, Sher Khan negotiated with his widow, Lad Malika whom he married and got possession of the fort. The capture of Chunar brought him into direct conflict with the Mughals. In 1531

Humayun marched against Sher Khan and the latter saved himself by timely submission.

In the meantime, Jalal Khan of Bihar came of age and became jealous of the growing power of Sher Khan. He with other nobles of Bihar sought the help of Mahmud Shah, the ruler of Bengal to oust him from power. The allied troops met Sher Khan at Surajgarh in 1534 and a severe battle was fought there in which the latter came out victorious. It was a great victory for Sher Khan. According to Dr. Qanungo, "But for the victory at Surajgarh, the jagirdar at Sahsaram would never have emerged from his obscurity into the arena of Hindustan politics, to run, in spite of himself, a race for the empire with hereditary crowned heads like Bahadur Shah and Humayun Padshah." Moreover, all the treasure, a large number of elephants and a fine park of artillery fell into the hands of Sher Khan.

Battle of Surajgarh and its importance

Struggle between Humayun and Sher Shah

By the close of the year 1531, Sher Khan had made himself practically the master of Bihar and had also captured the fortress of Chunar. Humayun got alarmed at the activities of Sher Khan. Having defeated Mahmud Shah of Bengal he turned his attention towards the Afghan chief. He at once moved towards Chunar and besieged it. The siege continued for four months when Humayun made peace with Sher Khan as he got news of trouble in Gujrat by Bahadur Shah. Sher Khan was allowed to retain Chunar on condition that he would send his son Khutb Khan to accompany the Mughal Emperor in his expeditions against Bahadur Shah. These terms of peace were accepted by both the parties in 1533.

Chunar besieged by Humayun

After the treaty of peace Humayun was busy in wars against Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and Sher Khan got a free hand to increase his power in Bihar and Bengal. As the ruler of Bengal had tried to create all sorts of handicaps for him when he had his difficulties with the Mughal Emperor, Sher Khan decided to settle his business with Bengal. He defeated the forces of Bengal in the battle of Surajgarh in

Occupation of Bengal by Sher Khan

1534. It was a great victory for him. "The whole of the treasures, elephants and a train of artillery of the Bengal army fell into the hands of Sher Khan." The victory of Surajgarh added to the lust of Sher Khan. He made attacks on Bengal many a time and every time he defeated the ruler of Bengal. In 1537, he invaded Bengal once again and appeared before the gates of Gaur.

Humayun at Chunar

When Humayun heard of Sher Khan's success in the East, he marched against him with a large army. Near Chunar he consulted his men whether he should take first Chunar or Gaur. In spite of the wise advice of Yusuf Khail to conquer Gaur first, Humayun undertook the siege of Chunar. He had to waste six months in the capture of this fort. During this time Sher Khan had occupied the territory of Bengal between Monghir and Gaur and had besieged the capital of Bengal (Gaur). He had also acquired the fort of Rohtasgarh in Bihar. At last Humayun thought of making peace with Sher Khan and even allowing him to keep Bengal under him. But the circumstances did not permit him to do so.

Capture of Bengal by Sher Khan

The Afghans captured Gaur, the capital of Bengal after hard efforts. The authority of Sher Khan was established in Bengal. But his success was short-lived and temporary. As Humayun proceeded to capture Gaur, Sher Khan took his treasure from Gaur to Rohtasgarh and allowed the Mughal Emperor to go into Bengal without any hindrance.

Recovery of Bengal by Humayun

Humayun reached Gaur and occupied it. After this victory, he indulged himself for many months in merry-making. During this interval, Sher Khan was able to establish his control over the territory between Bihar and Delhi. He cut off all the lines of communications between Delhi and Bengal and entrapped him in Bengal. The lion was in the net. Humayun in great haste, started from Bengal to Agra. Sher Khan baffled him on his return march and took him unawares at Chausa. At that critical moment he sought the help of his brothers, but they did not pay heed to him. Even many of his soldiers and nobles began to desert him. He at last met the enemy with a small band of soldiers but was defeated in June, 1539. The victory of Chausa was of great

Battle of Chausa, 1539

importance. It greatly encouraged Sher Khan and enhanced his prestige. He now assumed the title of Shah.

Humayun once more made an attempt to recover his lost position. He tried to unite his brothers and other nobles in a common cause against Sher Shah. But here also he did not get the co-operation of his brothers. At last he was able to collect a large army consisting of about 90,000 soldiers but most of them were raw recruits and did not come into action. Again he was defeated by the Afghans at the battle of Qanauj which took place in May, 1540. Jauhar, a contemporary historian, says, "Many soldiers were killed in the battle and many of them were drowned in the river." The statement of Haider Mirza that "Not a man either friend or foe was wounded" is questionable becauses of the fact that he himself was the commander of the army and may have suppressed the fact of the disorder and defeat of his army. Moreover, he could not accurately see the movement of the enemy as long as he was in the battle-field. 'A spectator sees more of the game than the players.' The battle of Qanauj cost the throne and empire of Humayun and brought the Afghans to power.

Defeat in the battle of Qanauj, 1540

Causes of Humayun's failure

The defeat of Humayun at the hands of Sher Shah in two significant battles at Chausa and Qanauj were due to several causes. Firstly, his blunders and lack of statesmanship constituted an important factor for his defeat. He neglected the rising power of Sher Khan for a long time in spite of the warning of Yusuf Khail and this enabled his rival to extend his power. And when he actually marched against the Afghan chief, he made a great blunder of attacking Chunar instead of Gaur. Again after the conquest of Gaur, he wasted seven or eight months in the opium-eater's paradise and during this interval the Afghan chief greatly strengthened his power and position. He also committed a fatal mistake by giving the supreme command of his army to Haider Mirza who was then suffering from mental disorder.

Humayun's blunders and lack of statesmanship

In the battles of Chausa and Qanauj, Humayun himself proved to be a poor organiser and general. Secondly, Humayun's officers like Hindu Beg and Shaikh Khalil proved treacherous to him. When Sher Khan was becoming dangerous to his position, he sent Hindu Beg to survey the whole situation. But Hindu Beg received bribes from the Afghan chief and gave false report to Humayun regarding his designs and attitude. Similarly, when the Mughal emperor sent Shaikh Khalil as ambassador, he too got bribes from Sher Khan and told him all the secrets of the Mughal empire. Thirdly, the veteran soldiers had either died in Bengal or had accompanied Kamran to Lahore and his hastily collected soldiers were inexperienced and proved unfit to the occasion. In addition to this, there was lack of discipline in the Mughal army. In this connection Haider Mirza, author of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* says, "Every one went and came at his own will". In this state of confusion, the Mughal soldiers could not fight, while the Afghans continued their work. Fourthly, the hostile attitude of his brothers was one of the important cause of his defeat. Instead of helping Humayun in his fight against the Afghans, they rather created troubles for him. Kamran openly refused to lend his forces to his brother against Sher Shah. He wanted to take advantage of Humayun's difficulties and set up his own empire, if possible. Askari and Hindal too intrigued and conspired against Humayun. Just before the battle of Chausa, Hindal revolted at Agra. It was this revolt that encouraged Sher Khan to declare war against Humayun. Had the sons of Babur stood united, it would have been very difficult for Sher Shah to defeat Humayun. Lastly, Sher Shah's diplomacy and military skill were far superior to that of Humayun. He knew how to commence and conclude an engagement. 'A clever diplomat, he would surrender humbly whenever he was not militarily prepared'. He was a great military general and organised his forces in a very efficient manner. He would inspire confidence among his soldiers by repeatedly telling them that "the Mughals are not superiors to the Afghans in battle or single combat but the Afghans have let the empire

Treachery of his officers

Inexperienced soldiers and lack of discipline in the army

Hostility of his brothers

Sher Shah's generalship and diplomatic skill

of Hind slip from their hands on account of their internal dissensions." The Afghans rallied round the banner of Sher Shah and gave him their help and whole-hearted co-operation.

Flight of Humayun

After his defeat at the battle of Qanauj, Humayun was moving from place to place like a homeless wanderer. He went to the Punjab and tried to win over his brothers. But when his brothers whom he loved so dearly gave him no shelter, he withdrew to Sind. There he besieged Bhakkar, but could not conquer it. It was at that time that he married Hamida Banu Begum, the daughter of Shaikh Ali Akbar Jami. Humayun next turned to Maldev of Jodhpur who had promised to help him. But owing to pressure from Sher Shah he soon changed his mind. Humayun, finding that there was no chance of help from Maldev, sought shelter with Rana Prasad at Amarkot. It was here that the Great Mughal Emperor Akbar was born on November 23, 1542 A.D. With the help of Rana Prasad he attacked Bhakkar. The Rana soon deserted the Imperial army owing to his quarrel with the Muslim officers and so the venture failed. Thus driven to despair, he decided to leave for Persia in search of support.

Humayun's wandering from country to country

Conquest of Sher Shah

The flight of Humayun left Sher Shah the undisputed ruler of Bengal, Bihar, Jaunpur, Delhi and Agra. On the expulsion of the Mughals from Indo-Pakistan he launched upon a career of new conquests. The Punjab which was held by Kamran was the first country to fall into his hands. Sher Shah then marched to subdue the warlike hill tribes of the Ghakkar country 'situated between the upper courses of the Indus and Jhelum'. He ravaged the territory of the Ghakkars, but could not thoroughly subdue the Ghakkars as he had to proceed to Bengal to suppress the rebellion of Khizr Khan, Governor of Bengal. He built a strong fort (Rotas) in the Punjab and left 50,000 troops there under the command of his able generals to subdue the country of the Ghakkars.

Conquest of the Punjab

Attempt of reducing the Ghakkar land

Sher Shah suppressed the rebellion of Khizr Khan ,the Governor of Bengal in 1541 A.D. He next turned his attention towards Malwa and completed his conquest by the end of 1542 A.D. This was followed by a series of conquests in Rajputana. In 1543, Sher Shah marched against Puran Mal of Raisin. Puran Mal and his Rajput soldiers fought bravely for the country, but could not save it from falling into the hands of the Muslims. It has been said by some historians that Sher Shah occupied the fort of Raisin by having recourse to treachery and perfidy. According to Dr. Qanungo, this charge of the historians against Sher Shah in the case of Puran Mal of Raisin is not historically true. He then turned against Maldev of Jodhpur. The Rajputs offered a strong resistance and when his valour seemed useless, he had recourse to stratagem. He sent to Maldev a forged letter which was written in the name of his nobles to the effect : "Let not the king permit any anxiety or doubt find its way to his heart. During the battle we will seize Maldev and bring him to you." The trick succeeded, for the ruler suspected treachery on the part of the nobles and decided to retreat without resistance. The Rajputs fought gallantly but were defeated. Sher Shah won the battle with great difficulty as he confessed, "I had nearly lost the kingdom of Delhi for a handful of 'Bajra' (Millet.)" After his victory he reduced to submission the whole region from Ajmer to Mount Abu and marched to besiege the fort of Kalinjar. Sher Shah succeeded in capturing the fort but 'died from an accidental explosion of gunpowder' on May 22, 1545.

Conquests in Rajputana

Administration of Sher Shah

A gallant warrior and a great conqueror, 'Sher Shah was the architect of a brilliant administrative system.' He was the first Muslim ruler who had the genius to see that the Government must be popularised, that the king must rule for the good of his people, that the Hindu must be conciliated by a policy of justice and toleration and that the land revenue must be settled on an equitable basis. His brief reign of five years was marked by many im-

Nature of administration

portant reforms. The historians praised him and talked of his reign as a golden age. The Afghans appreciated his creative genius and looked upon him as their saviour. Mr. Keene says, "No Government ....not even the British has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan." The Government of Sher Shah was highly centralised and though autocratic it was vigorous and enlightened. "He wanted to build his greatness," says Dr. K. Datta, "on the happiness and contentment of his subjects and not by oppressing them."

All civil and military powers were concentrated in his hands and he exercised them in the interest of the people rather than for himself. Sher Shah personally supervised all the departments of the State. He was assisted by a number of ministers. But his ministers had no independence of action. They were mere secretaries who only attended to the routine work.

Administrative Reforms

Sarkar and its administration

For the purpose of efficient administration the whole empire was divided into 47 'Sarkars' or divisions. The administration of a Sarkar was carried on chiefly by two officers, namely *Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran* or Chief Shiqdar and *Munsif-i-Munsifan* or Chief Munsif. The Chief Shiqdar was to maintain law and order within the Sarkar or district and to put down those who dared to revolt. He was also to supervise the work of the Shiqdars of the parganas. The Chief Munsif was the civil officer whose chief functions were to supervise the work of Amins, to settle disputes regarding boundaries of the parganas and to act as a judge for trying civil cases. These important officers were helped by a large number of clerks and accountants in the discharge of their functions.

Functions of Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran and Munsif-i-Munsifan

Parganas and its administration

Each Sarkar was sub-divided into a number of parganas. According to Abbas Khan Sarwani, there were 1,13,000 parganas in the empire of Sher Shah. In every pargana there were a Shiqdar, an Amin, a treasurer, a Munsif and two writers (Karkuns)—one to write Hindi and another to write

Persian. Besides these officers, there were the Patwari, Chowdhury and Muqaddam who acted as middlemen between the State and the people. It is to be mentioned that the Shiqdar was entrusted with police duties, while the Amin's duty was the assessment and collection of land revenue. The Shiqdar was a soldier, the Amin a civilian. The duty of the former was to execute royal *farmans* and to give military help to the Amin, when necessary. In order to check undue influence of the officers in their respective parganas Sher Shah introduced the system of transfering officers every two or three years.

Functions of Shiqdar and Amin

Sher Shah allowed the continuance of the autonomous existence of the village communities. In every village there used to be a *panchayat*, a council consisting of the influential men of the village. It performed the village administration.

Village administration

Military Reforms

Sher Shah was much impressed by the military system of Alauddin Khalji. Like him, he centralised the military organisation. The soldiers had to be in close contact with the State which we do not find in the military system of Akbar where there was no close contact between the king and the soldiers. The horses were branded so that only useful horses could be brought to the field and descriptive rolls of soldiers are also said to have been taken. All the soldiers were personally recruited by the Emperor and their salaries were fixed after personal inspection. For all these Sher Shah was indebted to his predecessor Alauddin Khalji to whom 'belong the credit of organising the Indian army on a new model.' He changed the relation between the common soldiers and the nobles. He told the soldiers to obey their immediate officers not as their personal chiefs but as servants of the Emperor. His main object was to prevent military revolt "which had its root in the attachment of the common soldiers to their immediate officers". He enforced strict discipline in the army and steps were taken to prevent corruption among the soldiers. One of the divisions of his army was called *fauji* which was

Centralisation of army

Branding of horses

Though indebted to Alauddin Khalji, Sher Shah's army organisation was a model of efficiency

commanded by a *faujdar*. The system of assigning jagirs in lieu of service was abolished and 'military officers were not allowed to stay in one place for more than two years.' Though he could not introduce grades like Akbar's *mansab* because of the Afghan sentiment, he created a rank of personal distinction. Hence, it can be said that the army organisation of Sher Shah was a model of efficiency.

Land Revenue Reforms

The fame of Sher Shah rests chiefly on his land revenue reforms. While he held the charge of his father's jagir at Sahsaram, he had realised that the existing land revenue system was not based on the principles of justice. The poor cultivator was arbitrarily taxed and much beyond his means. As soon as he became the emperor of Hindustan he ordered the measurement of land. The land was measured by rope, while Sikandar Lodi used *Gaj* (yard) for measurement. After a proper survey of the lands, the State demand was fixed at one-third of the produce. Sher Shah made it optional for the cultivators to pay the State demand either in cash or in kind. Once the State demand was fixed, a *Kabuliyat* (deed of agreement), in which the liabilities of the tenants were stated, was taken by Sher Shah from every individual and in return he gave him a *Patta* (title deed). He gave instructions to the revenue officers to show mercy at the time of assessment but to be strict at the time of collection. He had also passed orders that while the army was on the move, it was not to cause injuries to the crops of the peasants. Sher Shah had a great regard for the welfare of the peasants. He would reduce or remit the revenue in times of calamities. Agriculture was encouraged and loans were advanced to the agriculturists to make improvement on their lands. This efficient system of revenue settlement which increased the resources of the State was in later days adopted and developed by Akbar the Great.

Survey of land

Stand demand fixed at one-third

Kabuliyat and Patta

Interest of peasantry protected by Sher Shah

Currency and Tariff Reforms

Sher Shah took steps to reform the currency. Before him, currency was in a miserable condition.

There was frequent debasement of the metal and there was practically no relation between gold and lower metals. Sher Shah 'reconstructed the currency upon the most comprehensive basis'. First he introduced a large number of new copper coins. He then introduced the halves, the quarters, the eighths and sixteenths of the silver and copper coins. He introduced a standard silver tanka of 178 grains. His coins were both square and circular in shape and bore the name and title of the emperor and the place of the mint. Some coins were in Devnagri script and bore the names of the four Khalifahs. He also introduced gold coins. According to V. A. Smith, "Sher Shah is entitled to the honour of establishing the reformed system of currency which lasts throughout the Mughal period, was maintained by the East India Company up to 1835 and is the basis of the existing British currency."

Introduction of small copper coins

Abolition of oppressive taxes

Sher Shah also did a lot to encourage trade. Many duties were abolished in order to help trade and commerce. Only two duties, one at the time of entry of goods and the other at the time of sale were allowed. All internal customs were abolished, officers were directed to buy the goods at the usual bazar rates and not to harass the merchant.

Police System

The police system of Sher Shah was highly efficient. His police system was based on the principle of local responsibility. In every village, the headman was made responsible for the maintenance of peace and detection of criminals in his locality. If any theft or robbery took place and the culprit was not traced out, the headman along with the people concerned was called and he had to make good the loss. The system of local responsibility resulted in the complete security of life and property. The travellers and wayfarers slept without the least anxiety even in the desert and the Zamindars themselves kept watch over them for fear of the king. Abbas Khan Sarwani writes, "In the time of Sher Shah's rule a decrepit old woman might place a basket full of gold ornaments on her head and go on a journey and no theif or robber would come near

System of local responsibility

her for fear of punishment which Sher Shah inflicted." *

Sher Shah not only protected the villages but kept a strict watch over powerful nobles who were in the habit of oppressing their subordinates and dependents. This he did through an efficient system of espionage which always kept him in touch with all that happened in his empire.

System of espionage

Judicial Reforms

Sher Shah had a great sense of justice. He used to say, "Justice is the most excellent of religious rites and it is approved alike by the kings of infidels and the faithful". He was himself the highest court and the cases of high nobles and officials were always decided by him. He dispensed even-handed justice and would not spare even his relatives and high nobles if they committed a crime. Below him was the Chief Qazi of the kingdom who was the head of the department of justice. In the parganas, civil suits were tried by the Amin, while the Qazi and the Mir-i-Adal administered the criminal cases in the *Dar-ul-Adalat* (Court of Justice). The criminal law was more severe and the punishment was an exemplary one in the time of Sher Shah. The cases of Hindus were decided by the village Panchayats.

Administration of justice

Public Works

According to Dr. Qanungo, "The most permanent among the monuments of his glory are his great roads which have kept his memory still green in the mind of his countrymen". Sher Shah connected the important places of his kingdom by a chain of excellent roads which were utilised for public convenience as well as for the defence of the empire. The longest of his roads was the Grand Trunk Road running from Sonargaon in East Bengal to Rohtas in the West Punjab. It passed through Agra, Delhi and Lahore. Besides the Grand Trunk Road, roads running from Agra to Burhanpur and

Roads

*Abbas Khan Sarwani, *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*.

Agra to Jodhpur may be mentioned. These roads proved very useful. They facilitated military transport and brought many commercial advantages. For the comfort of the travellers 'shady trees were planted on both sides of these roads and sarais were constructed at the interval of two koses'. According to Abbas Khan Sarwani, Sher Shah constructed as many as 1700 sarais. Every sarai consisted of two quarters—one for the Hindus and the other for the Muslims. There was a mosque and a well in every sarai. In the words of Dr. Qanungo, these sarais became "the veritable arteries of the empire." They were used as Dak Chowkis which supplied the Government of Sher Shah with news from different parts of the empire.

Sarais

Sher Shah also set up general charitable institutions. In the first place, he "had opened a public kitchen for the poor and it was known as a *Langar-i-Fukra*". Any person could get food from this kitchen. Secondly, he was very liberal in giving grants to Imams and Ulema. Thirdly, he built alm-houses, laid out gardens, erected hospitals and founded many *Maktabs* and *Madrasahs*.

Charitable institutions

Sher Shah was a great builder. He built a magnificent city at Delhi and a famous fort at Rohtas in the Punjab. The mausoleum of Sher Shah which he constructed during his life time is one of the splendid monuments in Indo-Pakistan. Another important building of Sher Shah is Purana Qila which he built on the bank of Jamuna near Delhi.

Buildings

Religious Policy

Sher Shah was a pious Muslim but not a bigot. He was the first Muslim ruler who studied the good of his subjects and realised that 'the Hindus must be conciliated by a policy of justice and toleration. The appointment of Brahmajit Gaur and Ram Singh in important posts of the State is a proof of his liberal and tolerant policy towards the Hindus. He built separate sarais for Hindus and in every sarai he employed Brahmins for their entertainment. "His attitude towards Hinduism was not of contemptuous

Toleration of religion to all his subjects

sufferance but of respectful difference ; it received due recognition in the State", says Dr. Qanungo. The levying of the Jizya tax on the Hindus, breaking of temples in Rajputana and his treatment towards Puran Mal of Raisin on which the charges of Prof. Sharma are based, were the exigencies of time and political necessity. Probably it would have also been abolished if he had reigned longer. His reign of five years was too short to pay attention to many affairs. But it will not be fair to describe that "Sher Shah's religious policy remained narrow".

Estimate of Sher Shah

Sher Shah was a great general, a successful ruler and a far-sighted statesman. Like a comet he appeared in the horizon of Indo-Pakistan. From a very humble position he rose to be the leader of Afghan revival and eventually the ruler of Indo-Pakistan by sheer merit and ability. As a warrior and general he showed extraordinary courage and skill in his fighting with the Mughals. His triumph over Humayun and Maldev shows his skill in stratagem and his campaigns against Bengal, Malwa, Bundelkhand and Rajputana reveal his genius as a tactician and military commander. But he was averse to cruelty and unnecessary blood-shed. As a ruler he organised a sound administrative system. His administration was just, wise and vigorous. By his political reforms and the policy of religious toleration, he prepared the way for the greatness of Akbar. He was the fore-runner of Akbar in many respects. The Great Mughal followed him in various fields of administration. Sher Shah's land revenue system—based on measurement of lands, their classification into various categories and welfare of peasants—was adopted and developed by Akbar. In civil and military administration, Akbar owed certain reforms to Sher Shah. "Sher Shah was a reformer but not an innovator". The postal and espionage systems, the construction of roads, the military system and the measurement of land—all existed during the Sultanate period. Sher Shah had the credit of improving and developing them.

As a general & administrator

Fore-runner of Akbar

As a statesman

"Sher Shah was the first who attempted to found an Indian Empire broadly based upon the people's will," says Mr. W. Crooke. He fully realised that the king must work for the benefit of his subjects and his government. Not a single section of the Indian people was kept aloof from his government and he made no racial distinction in extending patronage to any man—whether Hindu or Muslim. He was a staunch Muslim ; but his firm faith in Islam did not colour his State policy. Akbar may have done injustice to Islam and Aurangzeb to Hinduism, but "Sher Shah," says Dr. Qanungo, "stands as the ideal of the new India—the India of the Hindus and the Musalmans united in heart and spirit."

As a nation-builder

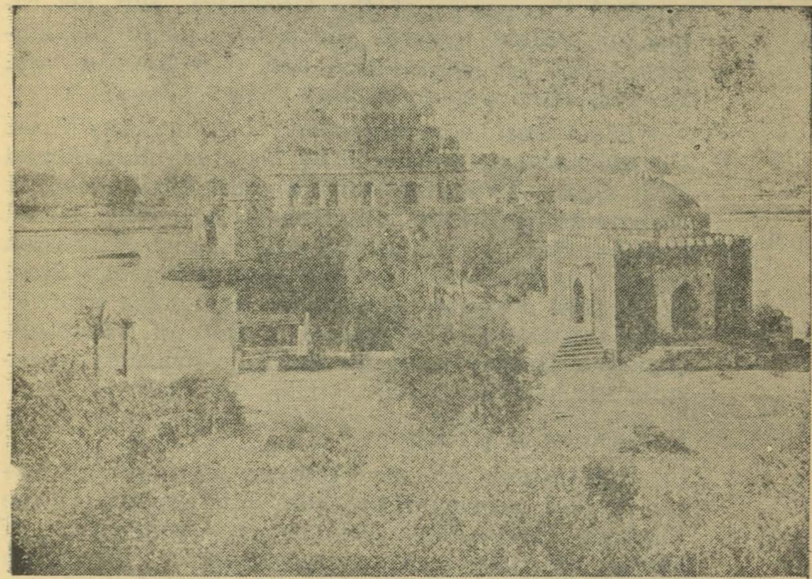
Sher Shah made attempts to build up an Indian nation by reconciling the followers of different creeds. He looked upon all with the same eye and used to rebuke any of his people who enquired about the tribe of another. His reforms secured the best interests of his subjects. "He had," says Erskine, "more of the spirit of a legislator and a guardian of his people than any prince before Akbar." He granted toleration of religion to all sections of his subjects. Though he could not abolish Jizya, and encourage inter-marriages which are associated with the name of Akbar, he gave the country a just, vigorous and intelligent government. He worked for the political and economic prosperity of the Hindus and fulfilled the primary conditions of the growth of an infant nationality. In spite of his failure to abolish Jizya for political reasons and want of time, the relation between the Hindus and the Muslims was not less cordial than it was at the time of Akbar's reign.

Man of extraordinary genius

Sher Shah was a man of varied talents and extraordinary genius. Mr. Sharma says, "It would not be unfair to compare him with Henry VII in his dealings with the feudal nobility, with Frederick William I of Prussia in the care he bestowed upon both military organisation and civil administration, with Kautalya and Machiavelli in his practical outlook and political principles, and with Asoka in his benevolent intentions and solicitude for the welfare of all classes of his subjects."

Sher Shah was a veritable father to his people. He was kind and generous to the poor and the destitute. There was a general order that no one should go without food from the royal kitchen. He was also a lion of justice. Even his own sons were not spared from the administration of justice if they committed any wrong. He had a lofty ideal of kingship and he used to say, "It behoves the great to be always active." He devoted his time and indefatigable energy to the welfare of his subjects. He supervised every detail of administration in his own

Veritable father to his subjects —kind to the poor & strict to the unruly



Sher Shah's Mausoleum, Sahsaram

person. Sher Shah was a patron of education and 'the construction of mausoleum at Sahsaram testifies to his love for architecture'. Himself a pious Muslim he was just and tolerant to the Hindus. Under him the Hindus were appointed to important posts of the State. Sher Shah stands in the same political relation to his subjects as Akbar, but he was greater than the latter in point of executive ability, constructive statesmanship, attention to the details of government, indefatigable industry, sense

of justice and purity of personal character. Had he lived longer, Indo-Pakistan would have been benefited much more from his reforms and the restoration of the Mughals would not have been possible so soon. Dr. Smith says in this respect, "If Sher Shah had been spared, the Great Mughals would not have appeared on the stage of history."

Successors of Sher Shah

On the death of Sher Shah, his son Jalal Khan ascended the throne in 1545 under the title of Islam Shah. Intelligent, brave and resolute, Islam Shah crushed the power of the Ghakkars. But his repressive policy towards the nobles made the empire a hot bed of sedition and rebellion for him. He died after a reign of nine years.

Islam Shah

Islam Shah was succeeded by his son Firuz. Firuz Khan was murdered by his uncle Muhammad Adil Shah. The accession of Adil Shah brought many into open rebellion. One of the nobles named Ibrahim Sur seized Agra and Delhi and Adil Shah retired to Chunar. Another noble Sikandar Shah then drove away Ibrahim and occupied the cities of Agra and Delhi. This disturbed state of affairs encouraged Humayun to invade Indo-Pakistan to restore his lost dominion.

Adil Shah

Restoration of Humayun

Let us now turn to Humayun who left for Persia in 1541 to secure the help and support of the Shah of Persia. Shah Tahmasp, the young king of Persia, accorded him a warm reception. The Shah assured Humayun of every help provided the latter would fulfil the following conditions: (1) On Humayun's becoming Shia. (2) on his agreeing to spread Shiaism in Indo-Pakistan and (3) on his promising to return Qandahar to the Shah. At the request of his well-wishers, he declared his acceptance of the Shia creed with great reluctance. With the help of the Persian troops he attacked the kingdom of his brother Kamran. Kabul and Qandahar were occupied in 1545. Akbar was restored to him from Kamran who was, after the conquest of Kabul blinded and sent to Mecca. Mirza Askari was also caught

Humayun's reception at the court of Shah Tahmasp who helped him to regain his throne

and allowed to proceed to Mecca. Having got rid of all his rivals, Humayun marched towards India in November, 1554 and captured Lahore in 1555. Sultan Sikandar Sur advanced against him, but was badly defeated at Sirhind and put to flight. He entered his old capital with victory in July, 1555. Thus the remark of Lane Poole is justified when he says, "He tumbled through life and tumbled out of it." But he did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his life-long struggles. He died on January 24, 1556.

His death in January, 1556

Estimate of Humayun

Humayun was a man of many virtues. He was an obedient son, a sincere friend and a generous monarch. He was also an accomplished gentleman. To the contemporary historians, Humayun 'emerges as a scholar and a lover of arts, intensely humane and morally unimpeachable, possessed of soldierly qualities and of a general's strategy. For fifteen years he endured the hardship and misfortune with patience and fortitude. His brothers gave him untold trouble but, "he never disregarded his father's dying injunction and treated them with kindness." He was interested in astronomy, mathematics and poetry. Regarding his character Nizam-uddin Ahmed says, "His (Humayun) angelic character was adorned with every manly virtue and in courage and heroism he excelled all the princes of his time. All the wealth of Hindusthan would not have sufficed to maintain his generosity. In the sciences of astrology and mathematics he was unrivalled. He made good verse and all the learned and great and good of the time were admitted to his society and passed the night in his company." But he was not free from defects. His addiction to opium marred many of his good qualities and deprived him of the fruit of his victories. He had to suffer much owing to his irresoluteness and misplaced generosity. His failure as a king must be considered in the light of his difficulties, namely the rivalry of his brothers, the opposition of the Afghans under Sher Shah, the political condition of the country and the precarious position of the Mughal Empire.

He was a man of many virtues

His character was partly responsible for his failure

CHAPTER III

AKBAR THE GREAT

(1556—1605)

Accession of Akbar

Akbar was at Kalanur, a town in the Punjab when his father died. To ensure a peaceful succession his guardian, Bairam Khan who proved a great asset to Akbar in the most critical period of his early life, crowned him king there on the 14th of February, 1556. At the time of accession to the throne, he was a boy of thirteen and so Bairam Khan was appointed as his regent.

Regency of Bairam Khan

Condition of Indo-Pakistan at his Accession

On his accession Akbar found the throne of Delhi in a state of disorder and confusion. Famine and pestilence visited the provinces of Northern India including Delhi and Agra and carried away a large number of people. His father who had been able to recover only a small portion of his territory during the later part of his life left an unorganised and unconsolidated empire. According to V. A. Smith, he could not be said "to possess any kingdom" at the time of his accession. Besides, there were several claimants to the throne. The two Sur princes, Ibrahim Sur and Sikandar Sur, were contesting for the throne. But the most prominent and powerful of all was Himu, the Hindu minister of Adil Shah. The latter was so powerful that he succeeded in occupying Delhi and Agra and ascended the throne under the title of Vikramaditya. Kabul under Akbar's brother Muhammad Hakim, Bengal, Malwa, Gujrat, Gondwana, Orissa, Kashmir, Sind, Baluchistan and the Deccan enjoyed independence during this time. The Rajputs had recovered from the shock inflicted on them by the first Mughal emperor and they were now powerful in their castles. The Portuguese had established themselves on the

Difficulties on his accession

Rival claimants

Independence of several provinces

western sea-coast and their supremacy in the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf caused trouble and danger to Muslims going on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Such was the situation of Indo-Pakistan when the boy king was called upon to succeed his father, Humayun. But he was fortunate enough to enjoy the support and confidence of Bairam Khan who piloted the ship of the State in those stormy days and served his master loyally and faithfully 'till he reached the age of discretion'. When Himu marched against the Mughals after the capture of Delhi and Agra, Bairam Khan met him at the historic field of Panipat in November, 1556. Himu had initial success against the Mughals, but ultimately the sun of victory rose in favour of Bairam Khan and Akbar. Himu, the hero and the hope of the Hindus, fell into the hands of the Mughals and was beheaded by Bairam Khan. Thus the most formidable enemy of Akbar was safely removed. The battle of Panipat was a decisive one in the history of Mughal India. It brought to a close the Afghan-Mughal struggle for supremacy in Indo-Pakistan and the hopes of the Hindus to establish their rule here were dashed to the ground. The Mughals soon captured Delhi and Agra and a large booty fell into their hands. It also paved the way for expansion.

Second battle of Panipat, 1556

Defeat of Himu by Bairam Khan

Importance of the battle

After the battle of Panipat Akbar turned towards the Sur claimants to the throne. Sikandar Sur had taken shelter in the stronghold of Mankot in the Punjab, but he was reduced to such straits that he was compelled to surrender the place after a siege of eight months. Akbar gave him a fief in the eastern provinces where he died in 1569. Muhammad Adil Shah met his death in a conflict with the king of Bengal in 1557. It was during the years of 1558-1560 that Akbar extended his dominion by the conquest of Gwalior, Ajmer and Jaunpur.

End of the Sur dynasty

Bairam Khan

Bairam Khan, a Turkoman by birth and a Shia by faith, was one of the most remarkable figures of his time. He stood by the side of Humayun in times of troubles and dangers and took share with him in

Services of Bairam Khan to the causes of the Mughals

all the privations of a fugitive life. Once Humayun said to Bairam Khan, "There is no lamp like thee in our family." He owed much to him and in appreciation of his merit and service he appointed him governor of Qandahar when it was conquered. He was rewarded with the *jagir* of Sirhind, made *Khan-i-Khanan*, appointed guardian (Atga) to Akbar and affectionately called *Khan-i-Baba* (Lord Father).

When Akbar came to power Bairam Khan placed all his energy and ability at his disposal and by virtue of his intelligence and dexterity the empire was saved from the dangers. It was due to him that the second battle of Panipat was won and the lost inheritance was recovered. The Emperor had no better friend and benefactor to pilot him through the difficult period ahead.

Causes of his fall

The regency of Bairam Khan lasted for four years i.e. from 1556 to 1560. He was dismissed from his office early in 1560 by Akbar and was ordered to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca. There were several factors that led to his fall. Firstly, there grew up a powerful party in the *harem* and the court which became highly jealous of the increasing power and influence of Bairam Khan. Bairam Khan was a Persian and Shia by faith, while the Emperor, his household and most of the nobles professed the Sunni faith. The old nobles could not stand the idea that a person of foreign nationality should exercise such an immense influence on the Emperor. Secondly, the absolute power exercised by Bairam Khan had turned his head. His disposition became haughty and arbitrary. Many of his actions were based upon personal considerations. This was not liked by the Emperor and the nobles. Thirdly. Bairam Khan unduly favoured his co-religionists and this proved a potent factor of his ultimate fall. The appointment of Shaikh Godai, a Shia to the important post of Sadr-us-Sudur (the head of all the law officers and controllers of the grant of land for ecclesiastical and charitable purposes) stired the orthodox Sunni nobility to its depth. Sir Wolsely Maig says, "The appointment of a Shia to this office raised a storm of protest from the orthodox and

Increasing influence of Bairam Khan on the emperor

Vanity and haughtiness of Bairam Khan

Appointment of Shaikh Godai as Sadar

contributes more than any other measure of Bairam Khan to his down fall." Fourthly, the execution of Tardi Beg, the Governor of Delhi, made him very unpopular. He had put Tardi Beg to death, simply because the latter had not offered resistance to the Afghans. The nobles regarded the execution of Tardi as an act of high-handedness and considered their position at the court highly precarious so long as Bairam Khan was in power. So they directed their efforts towards the fall of Bairam Khan by exciting the young King against him. Fifthly, Bairam Khan showed favour to his own servants and conferred upon them the titles of Sultan and Khan, while he treated the Royal Servants in a very harsh manner. For most trivial misconduct they were severely punished. He even killed the Emperor's elephant-driver in a fit of rage. This was very unjust and obliged Akbar to drop the Pilot. Sixthly, the suspicion of Akbar about Bairam Khan's loyalty put the emperor on his guard. There was rumour that his protector was trying to place Abul Qasem, son of Kamran on the throne. Though it was not true the rumour was exploited by the enemies of Bairam Khan. Seventhly, Akbar's desire to assume the power himself was an important cause that led to the fall of Bairam Khan. By 1560, he had come of age. He had grown tired of the galling yoke of Bairam Khan who even desired him a private purse. Like others he disliked Bairam's arrogance and unbridled exercise of authority and wished to put an end to it. Lastly, Akbar's foster-mother and her relations who wished to share the growing prosperity of the empire knocked upon Bairam Khan as an obstacle in their way and they poisoned Akbar's ears against him. A conspiracy was hatched in which the principal partners were his mother Hamida Banu Begum, Maham Anaga (foster-mother), Adam Khan and other foster relatives. These people who are usually referred to by Muslim historians as *Atga Khail*, "the foster father cohort" induced Akbar to throw off the regency of his guardian. The palace intrigues contributed more than anything else to bring about the fall of Bairam Khan.

Execution of Tardi Beg

Bairam's harsh attitude to Royal servants

Suspicion about Bairam Khan's loyalty

Akbar's ambition

Conspiracy of the royal household

In 1560, Akbar informed Bairam Khan that he had decided to take the charge of the government in his own hand and that he desired him to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. The protector obeyed the royal order, but later when he was treated in a manner unworthy of his position and dignity raised the standard of revolt. He was defeated and captured and at last he threw himself on the mercy of Akbar who pardoned him and permitted him to proceed to Mecca. On his way to Mecca he was murdered by an Afghan at Patan in Gujrat. Regarding the worth of this man Badauni says, "In wisdom, generosity, sincerity, goodness of disposition, submissiveness and humility he surpassed all ......The second conquest of Hindusthan and the building up of the empire were due to his strenuous efforts, his valour and his wise policy."

Murder of Bairam Khan, 1561

The Petticoat Government

The fall of Bairam Khan did not enable Akbar to take the charge of the government fully into his own hands. He was for two years more under the influence of his foster-mother Maham Anaga, her son Adam Khan and her relatives. This period (1560-62) has been described by many historians as the period of 'Petticoat Government'. The remark of Dr. Smith that Akbar shook off the tutelage of the Khan-i-Khanan only to bring himself under the 'monstrous reign of an unscrupulous woman' is not accepted by the modern historians who say that the Emperor acted according to his own judgement. The conquest of Malwa was effected by Pir Muhammad and Adam Khan ; but their conduct on this occasion left a disgrace on the fair name of Akbar. Adam Khan was put to death at the instance of the emperor. Maham Anaga died of grief at the death of her son. Thus by the end of May, 1562 Akbar was freed from the influence of the Court Party and had taken upon himself the task of administration.

Akbar under the influence of unscrupulous advisers

Rebellions

Before entering upon a career of conquest, Akbar was called upon to face a series of rebellions and revolt. Adam Khan who was sent to Malwa against

Baz Bahadur revolted, but was defeated and captured. He was subsequently put to death. Khan Zaman, an Uzbeg leader of Jaunpur raised the standard of revolt in 1565. When the Khan heard of the approach of the emperor, he submitted to him. Abdullah Khan, another Uzbeg officer rose in revolt against Akbar. The latter marched against him and compelled him to take shelter in Gujrat. From Gujrat he went to Jaunpur where he joined hands with the treacherous Khan Zaman and Araf Khan. This was something like a general rising of the Uzbeg chiefs. It was at that time that his brother Muhammad Hakim invaded the Punjab. Akbar showed wonderful courage and presence of mind during this time. He drove back his brother and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the rebellious Uzbegs. The Uzbeg rising was thus suppressed for the time being.

Rebellions of Adam Khan, Khan Zaman, Abdullah Khan and the Uzbeg chiefs suppressed

The Rajput Policy of Akbar

Akbar was a great statesman. He fully realised that his empire would be very weak if it was not broadly based upon the good-will and co-operation of all his subjects. He also knew that "of all the dynasties that had yet ruled in India, that of Timurlane was the most insecure in its foundation." This idea of insecurity and the desire of building up an Empire in India for his own people, led him to enlist the support and sympathies of the Rajputs who constituted the military class of the Hindu community. Their active co-operation and support was indispensable for the cause of the Mughals in India inasmuch as the Hindus formed about three-fourths of the man-power of the State. In view of this fact he tried to win the hearts of the Hindus in general and the Rajputs in particular by adopting a conciliatory policy towards them. Though Pratap Singh, son of Udai Singh never submitted to him and offered him stubborn resistance, Akbar by his wise and liberal policy secured the support of the Rajputs to such an extent that 'they rendered valuable services to his empire and shed their blood for it.' In order to enlist their sympathies, Akbar granted freedom of worship and liberty of cons-

Conciliatory policy towards the Rajputs

Matrimonial alliance with the Rajputs

cience to the Rajputs. He also entered into matrimonial alliances with the Rajputs. Raja Bihari Mall of Amber was the first Rajput Raja who gave his daugther in marriage to him. "This marriage," says Dr. Bani Prasad, "symbolised the dawn of the new era in Indian politics, it gave the country a line of remarkable sovereigns; it secured to four generations of Mughal emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that medieval India produced." Bihari Mall and his son, Bhagwan Das were appointed to high ranks in the army. In 1570, the Emperor married the Rajput princess of Bikanir and Jasilmir. In 1584, his eldest son, Salim (Jahangir) was married to the daugther of Raja Bhagwan Das of Jaipur. Akbar appointed the Rajputs to the high posts of power and responsibility both in the civil and military departments. Raja Todar Mall, Raja Bihari Mall, Raja Bhagwan Das and Raja Man Singh enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor and held high offices in the State. But though he followed a conciliatory policy towards the Rajputs, he did not tolerate their political independence. He did not hesitate to wage war against those of the Rajput States which refused to acknowledge his suzerainty.

Appointment of the Rajputs to the high offices in the State

Conquest and annexation

During the early period of his reign Akbar conquered Delhi, Agra, Ajmer, Gwalior and Jaunpur. Baz Bahadur was the ruler of Malwa. He was defeated by the imperial forces and Malwa was conquered in 1561. After the conquest of Malwa he turned his attention towards the Rajput State of Gondwana in the Central Provinces. It was then ruled by Rani Durgabati as the regent of her minor son, Bir Narayan. Akbar sent Asaf Khan, governor of Kara to conquer the kingdom of the minor prince. The heroic Rani offered a stubborn resistance to the Imperial army but was defeated. Preferring death to dishonour she stabbed herself to death on the battlefield. The young Raja fought against the enemy and died a heroic death.

Conquest of Gondwana

The siege of Chitor was one of the famous military enterprises of Akbar. The strategic import-

ance of the fortress demanded the immediate attention of the Mughul Emperor. The Rana had also given offence to Akbar by giving shelter to Baz Bahadur, the fugitive ruler of Malwa and by helping the rebellious Mirza. Besides, the proud Rana not only refused to enter into matrimonial alliance with the Mughul Emperor but also defied his authority. In 1567, Akbar who cherished the idea of becoming the lord of Northern India marched against Rana Udai Singh with a large army. At his approach Udai Singh fled to hills, leaving the capital in charge of Jayamal and Patta who offered a strong opposition to the imperialists for four months. Jayamal was soon shot down and Patta fell fighting. The Rajputs fought bravely till they perished to a man. Akbar then captured the fort of Chitor.

Causes of the conquest of Chitor

Fall of Chitor

With the fall of Chitor, the other Rajput chiefs submitted to him. The chiefs of Ranthambor and Kalinjar in Bundelkhand soon surrendered to Akbar. The rulers of Bikaner and Jasilmir not only submitted to him but also gave him their daughters in marriage. Thus, one by one, the Rajput chiefs acknowledged the supremacy of the Mughal Emperor; but the Rana of Mewar refused to accept his suzerainty. After the death of Udai Singh, his son Rana Pratap became the ruler of Mewar. Though he was "without a capital and without resources," he was not ready to bow down his head to the Mughals. Akbar sent a vast army under Man Singh and Asaf Khan against the Rana. In the battle of Haldighat Rana Pratap was defeated and he retired to the mountains. But he never lost heart. Later in life he was able to recover the greater part of his kingdom, except Chitor, Amjer and Mandalgarh. His son Amar Singh tried to carry on the struggle with the Mughal Emperor, but was defeated after a gallant resistance. Akbar now became the master of Rajputana except Mewar and the Rajputs became his most devoted followers because of his policy of kindness and toleration.

Conquest of Ranthambor and Kalinjar

Rana Pratap made a heroic defence against Akbar till his death

Gujrat was conquered by Humayun and it remained under the possession of the Mughals only for a short period. After the subjugation of Rajpu-

Conquest of Gujrat

tana Akbar decided to recover the lost province of the Mughal Empire. Besides, the wealth and plenty of the place, its flourishing trade and thriving maritime commerce, and lastly its anarchical condition attracted the attention of the Great Mughal. The country was passing through chaos and confusion due to the struggle between Muzaffar Shah II and the Mirzas who had established themselves in the reign of Humayun. Muzaffar Shah was a weak and incompetent ruler who could not control the warring chieftains. His minister, Itimad Khan invited Akbar to relieve the province out of this chaotic condition. In 1572, Akbar personally marched against Gujrat. When he reached Ahmadabad, Muzaffar Shah submitted to him and was pensioned off. He captured Surat in February, 1573 after a siege of one and half months and then returned to Fatehpur Sikri. But no sooner had he reached the capital than a fresh insurrection led by the Mirza broke out in the newly conquered province. He at once fitted out an expedition, met the insurgent in a battle near Ahmadabad in September, 1573 and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. Gujrat was thus conquered and annexed to the Mughal Empire.

Its wealth and chaotic condition invited Akbar's attention

Submission of Muzaffar Shah, 1527

Rebellion of the Mirzas put down

With the capture of Gujrat by Akbar, order was restored and fortune again began to smile on him. The conquest of Gujrat marks an important epoch in the history of Akbar's reign. It extended the boundary of his empire to the sea and the empire could now profit by the rich commerce passing through Surat and other western ports. The income of the State was vastly increased and the empire was for the first time brought into close contact with the Portuguese whose relations with the Mughals had important effects on the history of the sub-continent. It also prepared the way for further conquests. Henceforth, Gujrat was used as a jumping off point for the invasion of the southern kingdoms.

Results and importance of the conquest of Gujrat

Sulayman Karrani, who founded an independent kingdom in Bengal in 1564 had formally recognised the suzerainty of Akbar and maintained friendly relations with him. But on his death his youngest son, Daud defied the authority of Akbar and struck

Conquest of Bengal

coins in his name. In 1574, Akbar himself marched against the ruler of Bengal and drove him out of Patna and Hajipur. He returned to the capital, leaving the conduct of the war to Munim Khan and Todar Mall. In 1575, a decisive battle was fought at Tukarioi in Orissa in which Daud was defeated and made to do homage and pay tribute to the Emperor. But soon he broke his promise and rose in revolt. Akbar again ordered his army to march against him. Daud was defeated and killed in a battle near Rajmahal in July 1576. Bengal now became a part of the Mughal Empire.

Daud Khan revolted but was defeated and killed

In 1580, Bengal was in a state of unrest and rebellion broke out throughout the province. After the death of Khan-i-Jahan, Muzaffar Khan Turbati was appointed its governor. The new governor was described by Nizamuddin as a man harsh in his measures and offensive in his speech. He was not liked by the people, specially the *Qaqshals* for the method of assessment and the new regulations regarding the confiscation of all unauthorised holdings. Secondly owing to the bad climate of Bengal, Akbar had increased the allowances of soldiers in Bengal and Bihar. But Mansur, the imperial Dewan reduced these allowances by 50 per cent. in Bengal and by 30 per cent. in Bihar. This caused great discontent among the soldiers. Lastly, Akbar's religious policy hastened the crisis. His principle of *sulh-i-kul* (peace with all) was looked upon by the orthodox Ulema as an abandonment of Islam. They openly declared Akbar as an apostate from Islam. The nobles in Bengal and Bihar revolted as a protest against these administrative measures and religious views of Akbar. In 1584, the rebellion was suppressed by Raja Todar Mall and Mirza Aziz Koka and order was restored to the country.

Causes of rebellion in Bengal lay in the political and religious measures

Suppression of the rebellion in Bengal

Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the ruler of Kabul, encouraged by the Bengal revolt, advanced up to Lahore to attack the Punjab. Akbar himself led the expedition to Kabul in 1581. With his approach Muhammad Hakim retreated and was pursued to Kabul. He surrendered to Akbar and was allowed to retain Kabul as a dependency. After the death

Conquest of Kabul

15—

Kabul annexed to the empire after the death of Muhammad Hakim, 1585

of Muhammad Hakim, Kabul was annexed to the Mughal Empire with Man Singh as its governor. The victory of Kabul brought immense relief to the Mughal Emperor. It dealt a death blow to the orthodox rebels who wanted to make Mirza Muhammad Hakim the ruler of Hindustan. It also gave Akbar "an absolutely free hand for the rest of his life" and removed the fear of invasion from beyond the North-West Frontier.

Conquests of Sind, Baluchistan and Qandahar

It was at that time that Kashmir was passing through disorder due to the maladministration of its ruler. The chaotic condition of Kashmir induced Akbar to interfere in its internal affairs. Moreover, the excellent climate of the valley and its natural scenery might have attracted the attention of Akbar who annexed it to his empire in 1586. Henceforth Kashmir became the summer seat of the Mughal Emperors. He next decided to conquer Sind and Baluchistan. The task was entrusted to Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim who annexed it to the Mughal Empire. The conquest of Sind and Baluchistan provided Akbar with a golden chance for the conquest of Qandahar. Mirza Muzaffar Husain, the Shah of Qandahar was entangled in a conflict with the Uzbegs. Taking the advantage of the weakness of the Shah, Akbar sent an expedition to Qandahar and without straining his relations with the Shah he annexed it to the Mughal Empire in 1595.

North-West Frontier Policy

The North-West Frontier problem has always been a source of trouble to the rulers of this country. To the Mughals the Frontier problem was the pivot of their political existence. Their home was beyond the frontiers and their ambition fondly cherished an empire in which the transfrontier provinces, once their ancestral dominions, should form a part. 'Moreover the conquest of India had been achieved from a transfrontier kingdom and throughout the existence of their empire they recruited their soldiers from those regions.' Thus the love of motherland, the desire of possessing ancestral dominions and the military need had combined to

make the Frontier problem extremely consequential for the Mughals.

Geographical position of the empire

Strategic importance of Qandahar

Commercial importance of Qandahar

Danger from the Uzbegs and the Persians

The mountainous region inhabited by the wild uncivilised tribes

The Frontier problem was also determined by the geographical situation of the empire. The physical position of Central Asia necessitates the mastery of Badakshan, Balkh and Qandahar for the ruler of Kabul, in the absence of which there is no scientific frontier and Kabul in that case is exposed to the outsiders. Kabul is bounded in the north by the walls of Hindukush and in the south by Qandahar. To guard these lines the Mughals were required to maintain their hold upon Balkh and Badakshan in the north and Qandahar in the south. The latter occupies a very strategic position between Afghanistan and Persia. It was also an important centre of trade. 'In an age when Kabul was part of the Delhi Empire, Qandahar was our indispensable first line of defence.' The two river lines, the Oxus in the north and the Helmand in the south were of supreme importance to the Mughal emperors and so long as the Uzbegs were settled on the former and the Persians on the latter, they could not rest in peace at all. Besides the outer frontier, there was the inner frontier and the Mughals were equally concerned to hold it in strength. 'It lay between Kabul and the Punjab formed by a rugged stretch of mountainous country from Baluchistan to Kashmir.' This region was inhabited by wild uncivilised tribes who proved a source of constant dangers and troubles to the Mughal government. Hence the Mughal Emperors had to tackle three problems in order to maintain their defence in tact. The first was to settle themselves in Balkh and Badakshan against the Uzbegs, the second was to establish themselves in Qandahar against the Persians and the third was to keep the tribes on the north-western border of India under control.

With the conquest of Kabul by Babur, the Frontier problem began. In 1522, Babur conquered Qandahar from the Afghans to secure his possession of Kabul. When he had become the ruler of this sub-continent, he tried to recover Balkh from the Uzbegs and used Badakshan as his base. His son,

Humayun had to maintain the double line of defence—the inner and the outer frontiers. For five years, Kamran, brother of Humayun, ruled Kabul, Qandahar and Badakshan and successfully held his own against the Uzbegs and the Persians. In 1544, Humayun with the help of the Persians wrested Qandahar from Kamran. After a short time he recovered Kabul and forced Kamran to seek shelter in Sind. In 1547, Humayun led an army into Badakshan, defeated Sulayman Mirza and bestowed it upon Hindal. He was safe and secure from the side of Badakshan, but Balkh was under the Uzbegs. In 1549, he marched into Balkh and commanded Sulayman Mirza and Kamran to join him with their forces. Sulayman complied, but Kamran gave battle to his brother in which the latter was defeated. Balkh was not conquered till the time of Shahjahan.

Frontier policy of Babur and Humayun

When Akbar came to power he took up the Frontier problem in right earnest. After the death of his brother, Muhammad Hakim, Kabul was annexed to the Mughal Empire. To guard Kabul it was necessary for the Emperor to crush the power of turbulent Afghan tribes. It was at that time that the Uzbegs (whose leader was Abdullah) proved a source of menace to the Mughal Empire. Akbar was able to curb the power of the Uzbegs and also to defeat the Roshniyas. Jalal, the leader of the Roshniyas who had planned an invasion of India was killed at Ghazni and his wives and children were captured and his brother along with 14,000 men was sent to the court.

Frontier policy of Akbar

After a few days Akbar's idea took a definite shape. The whole of the Frontier line formed by Kashmir, the tribal territory and Baluchistan must be brought under his control, for Kashmir was of great strategic importance. The tribal territory was inhabited by the most fierce and fickle Yusufzai tribes and Baluchistan controlled the strategic pass. The conquest of Baluchistan was necessary either as a precaution against the Persians at Qandahar or as preliminary for the subjugation of Qandahar. Akbar moved from Rawalpindi to attack and from

Importance of Kashmir and Baluchistan

The Yusufzais

there he sent two expeditions into Yusufzai country and Kashmir. These expeditions had a salutary effect on the tribesmen and henceforth they proved less troublesome to the Mughals.

Conquest of Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan

As regards Kashmir, Akbar sent Qasim Khan and Raja Bhagwan Das to accomplish its conquest. Yusuf Khan, the ruler of Kashmir and his son Yaqub fought desperately, but were defeated and compelled to surrender. Kashmir was annexed and formed a *Sarkar* of the *Subah* of Kabul. In 1590, Akbar deputed Abdur Rahman for the conquest of Sind. The kingdom of Thatta was under Mirza Zani. The latter was defeated and forced to surrender in 1591. Four years later in 1595 Baluchistan was conquered. The Mughal Emperor had considered the conquest of Sind and Baluchistan a necessary prelude to the recovery of Qandahar. Without a battle Qandahar came into his possession. Being harassed by the Turks and the Uzbegs its Persian governor, Muzaffar Hussain Mirza handed over the fortress to Akbar's representative in 1595. The grand achievements of military strength had produced a good impression on Abdullah Uzbeg. Abdullah Uzbeg wanted to make friendship with the Emperor in order to punish his enemy, Shah Abbas. The proposal was diplomatically refused and the powerful Khakan died in 1598. With his death the greatest enemy of Akbar departed.

Capture of Qandahar, 1595

The Deccan Campaigns

Having consolidated his authority over the Northern India, Akbar turned towards the Deccan. His Deccan policy was purely imperialistic in outlook. He was led to send expeditions to the South by two considerations—one to bring the Deccan States under his control and the other to utilise his control over the Deccan as a means of pushing back the Portuguese to the Sea. His idea was facilitated by the distracted state of the Deccan. With the destruction of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, the motives of co-operation disappeared and the dynastic hostilities were renewed between Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and other States of the Deccan. The Emperor first wanted to bring the Deccan States

Internal dissensions facilitated the conquest of the Deccan

under his control by diplomatic methods and sent ambassadors to their respective courts, requesting the Sultans to acknowledge his suzerainty and to pay him regular tributes. All the Sultans of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golkunda, Bidar, except Khandesh returned a flat refusal. Thus when the diplomatic mission failed Akbar resorted to arms.

Ahmad-nagar gallantly defended by Chand Sultana

Ahmadnagar was the first to feel the weight of Akbar's arms. The throne of Ahmadnagar became a bone of contention between two rivals, each of whom sought the help of Akbar. The Mughal Emperor sent a vast army under the command of prince Murad and Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim who besieged Ahmadnagar in 1593. Chand Sultana, a princess of the royal house and daughter of Hussain Nizam Shah offered a stout and heroic defence. When the imperialists failed to storm the city and Chand Sultana was reduced to great straits, a treaty was concluded by which the Sultana agreed to cede Berar to the Mughals and the boy king, Bahadur Shah promised to acknowledge the overlordship of Akbar. But the court intrigues and the boundary dispute soon led to the violation of the treaty and war was again declared against Ahmadnagar. Prince Danyal was sent to conduct the war. Chand Sultana disliked to continue the war in violation of the treaty and so she entered into negotiations with the Mughals. She was soon murdered by her own officers and the city was annexed to the Mughal Empire in August, 1600 A.D.

With the murder of Sultana, Ahmad-nagar fell

Capture of Asirgarh

The capture of Asirgarh was the crowning victory of Akbar

The Deccan campaign was brought to a close with the capture of the famous fortress of Asirgarh in 1601. The capture of Asirgarh in Khandesh was the crowning victory of Akbar. Before the siege of Ahmadnagar, Raja Ali, the Sultan of Khandesh was a friend of the Mughal Emperor. But the new Sultan Miran Bahadur threw off the yoke and refused to submit to the imperial authority. Akbar marched to the Deccan, captured the capital of Khandesh and tried to lay siege to the mighty fortress of Asirgarh. After a siege of full seven months,

the fortress fell and with its fall fell the whole kingdom of Khandesh. Berar, Ahmadnagar and Khandesh were organised into three *Subas* with Prince Danyal as their governor.

It has been described by Dr. Smith who accepts the accounts of the Jesuits that the Emperor had recourse to treachery to capture the fortress of Asirgarh. He ignores the statement of Abul Fazl, Faizi and Sarhindi and writes that they invented the story of the epidemic in order to hide Akbar's treachery. There is no such mention in the *Akbarnama* that the Great Mughal had recourse to treachery for the capture of Asirgarh. Firishta whose sources for the Deccan history are reliable and trustworthy supports the accounts of Abul Fazl and Faizi and says that the fall of Asirgarh was brought about by the outbreak of pestilence which swept off several of the garrison. It may be accepted that the garrison was bribed for hastening the fall of the fortress as the presence of the Emperor was necessary in the North where his son Salim had revolted and as his reputation was at stake because of the prolongation of the siege. But the charge brought against him by Dr. Smith should be judged by the prevailing circumstances and the condition of the other European countries.

Criticism of the capture of Asirgarh

By the year 1602, Akbar became the master of the whole of Hindustan. When he had ascended the throne, he had no definite territory except the Punjab and the country round Delhi and Agra. But at his death, his empire extended from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal and from the Himalayas to the Narmada.

Last days of Akbar

The last days of Akbar's life were embittered by a series of misfortunes and troubles. His two sons Murad and Danyal died as a result of excessive drinking. His eldest son Salim revolted and proved a source of trouble to him. In 1601, Salim assumed the royal title and founded an independent kingdom at Allahabad. In 1602, he gave a terrible shock to his father by engaging a robber chief, Bir

Murder of Abul Fazl by Bir Singh Bundela

Singh Bundela who murdered Abul Fazl, the most trusted friend and counsellor of Akbar. Before Akbar's death, a reconciliation was made between father and son. Prince Salim was nominated as his successor, but a party of the Rajputs headed by Man Singh attempted to secure the succession in favour of prince Khusrau. Though the intrigue failed in the end, it disturbed the peace of mind of the aged Emperor. Ultimately he died of diarrhoea in the autumn of 1605, leaving behind a solid and compact Empire to his successor.

His death, 1605

Administration of Akbar

Akbar was not only a great conqueror but also a constructive and administrative genius. He soon realised that the existing system was not well-founded and it cared little for the faith and feelings, customs and traditions, ideas and aspirations of the sons of the soil. Considering the pros and cons of the old system, he evolved a quite new one in accordance with the spirit of the time and the sentiments of his subjects. He built up an empire and a nation not on the foundation of swords and military terrorism but on the co-operation and good-will of his people. He made no distinction between his subjects on grounds of religion and race.

His government based on the popular will

The Emperor himself was the head of the administration, both civil and military. He was the commander of the State forces, the fountain of justice and the chief legislator. The Government was a centralised monarchy and the power of the king was unlimited. Akbar had a number of ministers who "were usually his pupils rather than his teachers." He was, no doubt, an autocrat; but his autocracy did not imply irresponsibility. He secured the greatest happiness of the greatest numbers. Religious toleration was granted to all sections of people. Like the Abbasid *Vizir,* there was the *Vakil* whose position in the State was next to that of the Emperor. He did not hold any definite portfolio, but in important administrative matters, Akbar sought his advice. During the early years of his reign Bairam Khan, the guardian of the Emperor, held the post.

The emperor was the head of the administration

The Vakil

The main departments of the Mughal Government were: (1) Finance (under the *Diwan*) ; (2) the Military, Pay and Accounts office (under the *Mir Bakshi*) ; (3) the Imperial Household (under the *Khan-i-Saman*) ; (4) Judicial (under the Chief Qazi known as the *Qazi-ul-Quzzat*) ; (5) Religious endowments and charitable grants (under the *Sadr-i-Sudur*) ; (6) Censorship of Public Morals (under the *Muhtasib*) ; (7) Artillery (under the *Mir Atish* or *Darogha-i-Topkhana*) ; (8) Intelligence and Post (under the *Darogha-i-Dak Chowk*) and (9) Mint (under its own *Darogha*). The *Diwan* was the chief executive officer from the 9th year of Akbar's reign. He controlled the finances of the Empire, superintended the imperial treasuries and checked all accounts. He had powers of supervision over all other officials, central and provincial from the Governor to the *Amils* and *Patwaries*. He decided the assessment and collection of revenue. All revenue papers, returns and despatches from different parts of the Empire were received in his office and disposed of under his personal supervision. Every civil officer was a *Mansabdar* in the Imperial army. The *Bakshi* was the head of the military department and his duties were "the recruitment of the army, the maintenance of the troops in good order, holding of military tests, the inspection of horses, and the mustering of troops at regular intervals and equipping them for expeditions. He was also the Paymaster-General of the Imperial army and as such he examined and passed the salary bills of all civil and military officers. The *Khan-i-Saman* was the head of the Imperial household establishment and had the full control of the Royal Mess. He accompanied the Emperor during his journeys and campaigns and managed his food, tents and stores. This department came to occupy an important place under the Mughals. The *Sadr-i-Sudur* was the highest judicial officer in the realm. But generally the Emperor acted as the highest court of appeal. The Qazi was the Chief Judge in criminal cases which he decided according to the law of Islam. The *Muhtasib* was the assessor of public morals. His duties were to see that *Shariat* law was properly observed. There were

Main departments of the government

The Diwan was the chief executive officer

Duties of the Bakshi

Khan-i-Saman was in charge of the Imperial household establishment

Sadr-i-Sudur

The Qazi

two other important officers in the Central Administration who held the posts of *Darogha-i-Ghusal Khana* and *Arz-i-Mokarrar.* The former was the Emperor's personal secretary and the latter revised his Majesty's order and presented them for a second time for his sanction. Among other officers, we may mention the *Darogha-i-Dak Chowki* and the *Mir Arz.* Besides these, there were other officers who also held responsible posts.

The Muhtasib

Provincial Administration

Division of the empire into provinces

For the convenience of administration, Akbar divided the Empire into *subahs* or provinces. There were fifteen subahs, namely Agra, Delhi, Ajmer, Allahabad, Ahmadabad (Gujrat), Oudh, Lahore, Bengal, Bihar, Malwa, Berar, Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Multan and Kabul. During the time of Akbar each *subah* was placed in charge of a *Subahdar* who was officially known as the *Sipahsalar* or *Nazim.* The *Sipahsalar* enjoyed unlimited power as long as he was in office. He was the head of the civil as well as the military department. He could appoint and dismiss officers under his jurisdiction; but he could not declare war nor enter into a treaty with any country, nor interfere in religious matters.

Functions of the Sipahsalar

He had a staff of subordinate officers under him, like the *Diwan,* the *Bakshi,* the *Sadr;* the *Amil;* the *Faujdar,* the *Bitikchi,* the *Kotwal;* the *Poddar;* the *Waqa-i-Navis* and the *Qazi.*

Diwan

The *Diwan* was the head of the revenue department. Sometimes he acted as a rival of the *Subahdar* and was responsible to the Central Government. When any dispute arose between the two on certain points, it was referred to the Central Authority for decision. Besides the revenue administration, the *Diwan* was to serve as a check upon all the departments of the Provincial Government.

Bakshi

The *Bakshi* enjoyed the same position and performed similar function as in the Centre.

Sadr

The *Sadr* was appointed by the Central Government to administer justice in the Province. The *Qazis* and *Miradls* were under him.

Amil

The *Amil* was the revenue collector. But he had multifarious duties to attend. Maintenance of

general law and order by punishing highway robbery and similar other crimes, ascertaining of the quality of land actually under cultivation, reclamation of waste lands, promotion of cultivation and the submission of monthly reports regarding the rates of tenement, market prices and the economic condition of the people under his purview.

District administration

Each *subah* was sub-divided into several *sarkars* and each *sarkar* into a number of *parganas* or *mahals*. The *sarkar* corresponded to our modern district and at the head of the district administration was the *Faujdar*. He was appointed by the *Subahdar* and his duties were civil as well as military. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the district. The *Bitikchi* held the same status as the *Amil* and served as a check on him. The *Kotwal* was essentially a police officer and as such he had to detect, punish and prevent crime, to trace the whereabouts of all offenders and evil-doers and to look after the life and property of the people. He had also to patrol at night to prevent theft and robbery, to watch over the movements of strangers and to examine weight and measures. He was assisted by a number of subordinate officers in the discharge of his manifold duties. The *Poddar* was the treasury officer. His duty was to receive money from the cultivators and to keep the treasures of the State locked. He could not make any payment without a voucher signed by the *Diwan*. The *Waqa-i-Navis* was the recorder of events. When the *Sipahsalar* held his court, he took his seat by his side and recorded occurrences on the spot and then sent them to the Central Government. Besides these, there were other officers, namely the *Karkuns*, the *Qunungos*, the *Muqaddams* and the *Patwaries*.

Faujdar

Kotwal

The Qazi administered justice

It has already been shown that the Emperor was the highest court of appeal. He appointed the chief Qazi who appointed sub-ordinate Qazis with his sanction. The Qazi with the help of the *Mufti* and the *Miradl* administered justice to the people. He had to deal with the Muslim law of inheritance, marriage and divorce. In short, the machinery

of the Government was more elaborate, more efficient, more rationally organised and geared to fulfil more enlightened and beneficial purposes.

Army Organisation

The Imperial Army had four important divisions, namely, infantry, artillery; cavalry and navy. The infantry was composed of the riflemen (*Banduqchis*), swordsmen, porters, guards of the environs of the palace, wrestlers and *palki bearers* (Kahars). The artillery was known by the name of *Topkhana.* It was Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire, who introduced it in Northern India. The chief artillery officer was called the *Mir Atish* or *Darogha-i-Topkhana,* who was a *Mansabdar* of 5,000 men and was assisted by an officer named '*Mushrif*'. The cavalry formed the most important part of the army. The *Mansabdari* system was nothing but an excellent organisation of the cavalry. The Emperor paid special attention to this branch of the army and made every attempt to raise it to the highest pitch of efficiency.

Infantry

Artillery

Cavalry

Akbar's struggle with the Portuguese made him realise the importance of the naval power. He encouraged the ship-building industry and maintained a strong fleet to defend the coastal line of his empire from the attack of the Maghs and the Portuguese. As a result of his encouragement to the ship-building industry, there grew up ship-building centres in Lahore, Allahabad, Kashmir, Bengal and Thatta.

Navy

The Emperor also maintained an elephant corps. The elephants used by Akbar himself were called *Khasha* (special) and the rest organised into groups of ten, twenty or thirty were called *halqas* (circles). The *Mansabdars* were required to maintain a certain number of elephants in addition to a fixed number of horses.

Elephant corps

Revenue System

The crowning achievement of the Great Mughal was the reorganisation of the land revenue system. No government is possible without the proper management of finance which is the life-

blood of a State. The major sources of finance were land revenue, customs, mint, inheritance, plunder and indemnities, presents, and the poll-tax. Of these, land revenue formed the most important source of income to the State.

Sources of revenue

In land revenue Sher Shah must have a due share and may rightly be called the great fore-runner of Akbar. He made a systematic survey of the land under cultivation and laid the foundation on which Akbar raised the superstructure. When Akbar ascended the throne, he resumed the work of Sher Shah, and with the help of the able Diwans like Muzaffar Khan Turbati and Raja Todar Mall, improved upon this legacy. Todar Mall was the outstanding figure in revenue department who had worked under Sher Shah and acquired considerable experience in this line. The merit of the new settlement lay in its scientific and just assessment based upon systematic and accurate survey. For this purpose, a stiff pole was substituted to measure lands while Sher Shah used the loose rope. To ascertain the average produce per *bigha*, land was classified into four sorts—(1) *'Polaj'*, which was constantly cultivated and was never allowed to remain fallow ; (2) *'Parauti''*, which was left fallow for sometime during the year for recuperation ; (3) *'Chachar'*, which was lying fallow for 3 or 4 years at a stretch ; (4) *'Banjar'*, which remained uncultivated for five years or more. Of the first two kinds of land, there were three classes : good, middling and bad. The average of these three classes of land was to be the estimated produce per *bigha*, and this was to serve as the basis of the assessment. The other two classes of land were dealt with separately. Taxes were levied only on lands actually under cultivation and not on land merely occupied. The State demand was one-third of the gross produce and cultivators were given the option of paying the State share either in money or in kind. But the Emperor preferred the former. Cash rates were different for different crops. For example, the taxes for barley and wheat were different from the rates for indigo and sugarcane. This settlement was first made by

Systematic survey of land

Division of land into four classes

Taxes levied on land actually under cultivation

Raja Todar Mall in Gujrat and it served as a model for the rest of the Mughal Empire in subsequent years. This is called the *zabti* system of assessment. This system prevailed very largely in Bihar, Allahabad, Oudh, Agra, Delhi, Malwa, Multan and parts of Gujrat. Among the other systems of assessment the names of *Ghallabaksha* and *Nasaq* may be mentioned here. The former was the system of assessment by crop division and it prevailed in Lower Sind, a part of Kabul and Kashmir. In the later system there was no intermediary between the ryot and the State. The Government dealt directly with the agriculturists. At first, the settlement was annual but afterwards it was made decennial. A number of obnoxious taxes were abolished and the cultivators were assured easy access to the Emperor in case undue rents were expected from them. In many cases remissions were made to the subjects, 'specially when the land suffered from droughts and floods'. If necessary, *Taqavi* loans were granted to them for the purchase of oxen, seeds and agricultural implements and were recovered in easy instalments. The *Amil* who remitted the revenue to the Chief Diwan of the centre was assisted by the *Bitikchi*, the *Poddar*, the *Qanungo*, the *Patwary* and the *Muqaddams*. The revenue officers were instructed to deal kindly with the ryots and 'not to extend the hand of demand out of season'. Regarding the revenue administration of Akbar, Dr. Smith writes, "In short the system was an admirable one. The principles were sound and the practical instructions to officials were all that could be desired."

Various systems of revenue

Direct connection with the agriculturists

Taqavi loans to the agriculturists

The revenue settlement of Akbar produced important results. Firstly, it benefited the State as well as the peasantry. Secondly, the share of the State being fixed, fluctuation in the land revenue and fraud on the part of the revenue officers were stopped. The system enriched the Imperial treasury and enhanced the prosperity of the peasants.

Results of revenue system

Mansabdari System

When Akbar ascended the throne, the condition of the army was hopelessly bad. The soldiers were mostly inefficient and unfit for active service. The

State was generally deceived by its own officers. Under the circumstances, he introduced the *Mansabdari* system in the Empire. The word *'Mansab'* means rank, dignity of offce and the *Mansabdar* means one who holds the rank. The *Mansabdari* system implies that every rank-holder was bound to render military service to the State when he is called upon to do so. According to Abul Fazl, there were 66 grades of *Mansabdars*, but in the actual field there were 33 grades ranging from commanders of 10 to commanders of 10,000. The highest three grades, ranging from 7,000 to 10,000 were reserved for the members of the Royal family. But an exception was made in the case of certain officers like Man Singh, Todar Mall, Mirza Shah Rukh and Qulich Khan, who were admitted to the rank of 7,000. The *mansabdars* were paid a regular salary from the Imperial Treasury and out of this salary they were required to maintain a certain number of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts according to their rank. The appointment, promotion and dismissal rested with the Emperor. The *Mansab* was not hereditary and it was granted for personal ability and military merits. Every *Mansabdar* above the rank of 300 in time of Akbar and above 500 in later times had a double rank, e.g. 750 *Zat* and 500 *Sawar*. Regarding the distinction between the *Zat* and the *Sawar*, Dr. Iswari Prasad says, "The *Zat* was the personal rank of *Mansabdar*, but to this was added a number of extra horsemen for which an officer was allowed to draw extra allowance and this was called his *Sawar* rank."

Mansabdar means rank holder

There were 33 grades of Mansabdars

Every Mansabdar expected to maintain certain number of soldiers out of his own pay

Zat and Sawar

Steps were taken by Akbar for the prevention of abuses of the system and the improvement of the army. On many occasions the officers brought false muster-rolls for interview and got it passed for efficient soldiers. Allowances were drawn and thereby they defrauded the government. In order to check this evil practice, the Emperor reviewed the system of branding the horses introduced by Alauddin Khalji and muster-rolls were kept both for men and animals, and copies of such muster-rolls were deposited in the Imperial Treasury. A separate department of branding was created and

Branding of horses

placed in charge of a *Bakshi* and a *Darogah.* Akbar revived many of the *Jagirs* which Sher Shah abolished and converted them into *Khana* or Crown lands but he paid his *Mansabdars* in cash and not by grants of land. This measure curtailed the influence of the local magnates and increased the revenue of the State.

Revival of jagirs

The *Mansabdari* system helped to maintain a big army without a central administration. If a trouble broke out in any part of the Empire it could be easily put down by a big army collected on the spot without waiting for the despatches of the Centre. Besides that, every *Mansabdar* recruited his troops from his own tribe and as such the system ensured loyalty of the soldiers to their commandars and developed unity and uniformity in the regiment. As promotion depended upon merit and ability, each tribe tried heart and soul to win victory in the battles and the fighting efficiency was thus increased.

Merits of the system

Fighting efficiency increased

As the *Mansabdari* system was generally organised on tribal basis, jealousy and rivalry between the different groups of soldiers began to grow and it ultimately contributed to the fall of the Mughal Empire. Since the *Mansabdars* were posted all over the Empire and were responsible for the equipment and discipline of the forces under them, the system secured a large degree of decentralisation. With the weakness of the central authority, the powerful *Mansabdars* with their army often sided with the rival claimants to the throne.

Demerits : Jealousy between the different groups led to disintegration

Besides the *Mansabdars* there were other soldiers, generally known as the *Dakhilis* and *Ahadis.* The *Dakkhilis* formed a fixed number of troops in charge of the *Mansabdars.* They were paid by the State. The *Ahadis* constituted a class by themselves. They were recruited by the Emperor himself to serve as his bodyguards. They were better paid than the common soldiers.

The Dakhilis and Ahadis

Reforms of Akbar

Akbar's attention was not confined to a particular branch but it touched every department of

the Government. He was a great reformer. He introduced a number of reforms both administrative and social. He abolished the practice of enslaving prisoners of war and issued an order that no soldier of the victorious army should in any way molest the wives and children of the defeated soldiers. He discontinued the tax on the Hindu pilgrims and in 1564 the Emperor abolished the *Jizya* or poll-tax throughout his dominion. He followed the practice of Sher Shah in branding the horses in the service of the State and thereby checked fraudulent masters. He reformed the coinage system and issued a large number of gold, silver and copper coins. His coins were of pure metal and of exact weight. Akbar organised the record department and built a record-room at Fatehpur Sikri. Some of the social practices of the Hindus appeared to Akbar as cruel and irrational. With a mind towards reformation, he interfered with some of these. He forbade the practice of *Sati* by issuing a decree that no woman should be burnt against her will. The Emperor fully realised the importance of widow re-marriage. He prohibited child marriage and legalised the widow re-marriage.

Enslavement of prisoners abolished

Removal of pilgrim tax & Jizya

Branding of horses

Reforms of coinage

Prohibition of 'Sati' & child marriage

Religion of Akbar

Akbar was a staunch Sunni Muslim 'who sometimes spent whole nights in praising God.' He observed the dogmas of his faith and never deviated an inch from the path of the *Shariat.* He paid due respect to the Ulema and 'did homage to the pious and the holy.' He believed in *Pirs* and *Fakirs* and visited their shrines. He also encouraged his Muslim subjects to visit the holy places of Islam and helped them from the Imperial treasury. He continued his life as an orthodox Muslim till 1578, when a great change came over his mind.

Akbar was an orthodox Sunni Muslim till 1578

To trace the history of Akbar's religion, an outline of the environments and circumstances is necessary. His father and grandfather were never orthodox and his mother, the daughter of a Persian scholar, sowed the seeds of tolerance in his mind. His tutor, Abdul Latif who was a man of moderate

Influence of heredity

views and whose guiding principle of life was *Sulh-i-Kul* (universal toleration) which he must have imparted to his young pupil, also impressed upon the mind of Akbar the worth of liberal views. Thus the influence of heredity and his tutor moulded the catholicity of his temperament and ideals.

Religious revival in the 16th century

The sixteenth century was a century of religious revival in the history of the world. India experienced this revival and found in Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya great reformers who lived and taught one great cult—the cult of love and one great truth—the brotherhood of man. The teachings of these reformers made a deep impression on the mind of Akbar.

Influence of the Mahdavi and Rashni movement

The *Bhakti* and *Mahadavi* movements had taken a strong hold in the popular mind. The *Mahdavi* movement was based on the belief that at the close of a millenium a *Messiah* or redeemer of the sins of mankind would come upon the earth. In the subcontinent this movement was started by Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur who proclaimed himself to be the promised *Mahdi.* Similarly in Afghanistan, there was the *Rashni* movement. The Rashnis believed in the coming of a *Messiah*. The two movements, at the head of each which was a prophet, might have tremendous influence on the mind of Akbar and have suggested to him that neither of them was the prophet of God. But if they could pass for prophets, he also could pass for one and make a new religion and thus become the head of the State and Church. "He wanted to make a religion to suit his political needs and therefore to be acceptable to his subjects professing various creeds. In his anxiety to substitute one creed for the many, he was led to adopt an eclecticism that found expression in the *Din-i-Ilahi.*"

Influence of his Hindu wives

Akbar had married many Rajput ladies and it was natural that they brought a profound change in his life. Under their influence he went away from orthodoxy and became very liberal in religious matters. Some of the social practices were the result of his marriages with the Hindu princesses.

Akbar's association with the Sufi brothers (Faizi and Abul Fazal) and their father Shaikh Mubarak

must have made a considerable contribution to the religious development of Akbar. Thus, "intelligent to an uncommon degree, with a mind alert and inquisitive, he was best fitted by birth, upbringing and association to feel most keenly those hankerings and that spiritual unrest which distinguished the century in which he lived. He was not only the child of his century, he was its best replica."

Association with the Sufis

Akbar observed the external form of the Sunni faith until 1575, when his association with the Sufi brothers produced a change in his religious views. He then ordered to construct a building, known as *Ibadat Khana* or House for prayers at Fatehpur Sikri, with a view to discussing philosophical and theological questions. He first invited the learned divines of Islam to his *Ibadat Khana*. But they very often quarrelled among themselves on the fundamentals of Islam and their discussions took the shape of "vulgar rancour, morbid orthodoxy and personal attacks." The discussion of the Ulema who were guided by pride and prejudice could not satisfy the inquisitive soul of Akbar. He was then inclined to invite leaders and scholars of various religions to the *Ibadat Khana*. In response to the invitation of the Emperor, the Portuguese authorities sent on several occasions learned theologians to his court. In 1580, a Jesuit Mission consisting of Aquaviva and Monserrate was cordially received at his court. He admired Christianity but he did not confine his attention to Christian faith only. He wanted to learn the essentials of Zoroastrianism and Jainism. He invited Dasteur Meherje Rana, the religious head of the Parsis and the Jains to his court. The influence of the former on the Emperor was soon felt to an amazing extent. Akbar also called a learned *Pandit* to talk to him Hindu philosophy and religion.

Erection of Ibadat Khana

His contact with the leaders of various religions

Thus Akbar listened attentively to the arguments of the exponents of each faith and "went so far in relation to each religion that different people had reasonable grounds for affirming him to be a Zoroastrian, a Hindu, a Jaina, or a Christian". But Akbar was not converted to any of these faiths. His contact with different religions through discourses

Dispute between the heads of Ulema led him to curb their power

and debates eventually resulted in his eclecticism. But the dispute between Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdunnabi shocked his soul and led him to conclude that they were no good as the heads of religion. He wanted to adopt ways and means of breaking the power of the orthodox Ulema.

Reading of Khutba (June, 1579)

The Emperor took a very bold step in June, 1579. He displaced the chief Imam of Jama-i-Masjid at Fatehpur Sikri and himself read the *Khutba* from the pulpit. This was the first blow at the authority of the Ulema.

The so-called Infallibility Decree (September, 1579)

The second blow came in September, 1579 when Akbar issued a decree known as *Mehazar* or Infallibility Decree. It was meant to make the Emperor the Supreme Judge or Mujtahid or Imam-i-Adil. This decree which was drafted by Shaikh Mubarak and signed by the leaders of Muslim orthodox like Mukhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdunnabi made Akbar supreme arbiter in case there were any differences regarding the interpretation of Muslim law. Thus Akbar was given some of the functions which were performed by the Ulema and the Chief Sadar. He came to have religious authority over his Muslim subjects. Truly speaking, this authority was delegated to him by the Ulema of the country.

Criticism of the Infallibility Decree

Some of the European historians like V. Smith and W. Haig have said that Akbar became the Pope and the King in one and have, therefore, called the document as the "Infallibility Decree". This is, however, a very wrong and malicious view. According to Prof. S. R. Sharma, "This decree did not make Akbar the Pope and the King in one." He could thereafter not issue orders which could not be challenged. Anybody could challenge them, if they were contrary to the injunctions of the Holy Quran. Only when the Muslim jurists differed among themselves as to the interpretation of any religious question, the decision of the Emperor was final. But if any one in the State challenged that his decision was contrary to the injunctions of the Holy Quran, his decision had not the force of the law. By this decree, Akbar thus did not claim to define the religious

belief of his subjects and force his definition on them as the Tudor despots were claiming to do.

Din-i-Ilahi

Meaning of Din-i-Ilahi

The final stage in the evolution of Akbar's religious views came in 1582 when he promulgated the famous *Din-i-Ilahi*. The *Din-i-Ilahi* has been characterised by Badauni as *Tauhid-i-Ilahi* or Divine monotheism. According to Dr. Iswari Prasad, "It was an eclectic pantheism containing good points of all the religions." In fact, Akbar as a result of long discussion at *Ibadat Khana* had come to the conclusion that all the religions were alike in their fundamental principles. They differed only in their outer forms. So having put together the general principles of various religions he made an attempt to bring about a synthesis of various creeds and named it *Din-i-Ilahi*. It was a socio-religious order—a brotherhood designed to cement diverse communities in the land. Prof. S. R. Sharma says that it is a gross exaggeration to give *Din-i-Ilahi* "the rank of religion." It had no book, no priesthood and practically no novel religious beliefs.

Din-i-Ilahi, an order, not a religion

His motive was political rather than religious

Much misconception arose about *Din-i-Ilahi* owing to the misunderstanding of Akbar's mind and personal practices. His motive in founding the *Din-i-Ilahi* was political rather than religious. Akbar was a politician rather than a religious propagandist. He did not propagate his new order in the spirit of a missionary nor did he claim to be a prophet of a religion. He was the apostle of Indo-Pakistan unity and so his was the message of peace with all (*Sulh-i-Kul*). He wanted to unify Indo-Pakistan through the help of a religion, not in reality but in formality.

Principles and practices of Din-i-Ilahi

Abul Fazal in his Ain No. 77 has given a detailed account of the principles and practices of *Din-i-Ilahi* The following are some of the practices and principles which the members of *Din-i-Ilahi* were to follow :

1. The members of *Din-i-Ilahi* were to follow a new mode of greeting each other. One member while meeting the other was to greet him with

Allahu Akbar and the other was to respond with Jaila Jalaluhu.

2. The members were to celebrate their birthday and invite their co-religionists to a feast.

3. As far as possible the members of *Din-i-Ilahi* were to abstain from meat-eating but they were not to hate the meat-eaters. In the month of their birth, they were not to take meat at all.

4. The members were to give dinner during ther life-time instead of the dinner usually given after the death.

5. The members were to regard fire as very sacred and they were to respect all the religions.

Grades of the members of Din-i-Ilahi

There were four grades of the followers of *Din-i-Ilahi.* These grades were based on four sacrifices which each member was required to make, *viz.*, sacrifice of property, of life, of honour and of religion. Those who were willing to sacrifice their property formed one class. The second class consisted of those who were ready to sacrifice their life and property both for the sake of the Emperor. Those who were ready to sacrifice their life, property and honour belonged to the third class. The fourth class was of those who were prepared to sacrifice their all—life, property, honour and religion for the Emperor.

The promulgation of the *Din-i-Ilahi* was followed by a number of ordinances which are alleged to have been issued by the Emperor with a view to destroying Islam. Badauni, his followers and the Jesuit writers are of opinion that Akbar persecuted Islam. Dr. Smith says, "Akbar showed bitter hostility to the faith of his ancestors and his own youth and actually prepetrated a persecution of Islam." The turning of prayer rooms into stables, the prohibition of Islamic prayer, the stoppage of the pilgrimage to Mecca, the offering of *Sijdah* to the king, the discontinuation of the *Azan* and the study of the Quran and the Hadith, the shaving of beard, the expulsion of the *Mullahs* and the keeping of swine and dogs in the Imperial palace; etc. are some of the important charges laid by Badauni against Akbar in support of his view. This view of

the orthodox writer who had a personal grudge against the Emperor and whose statements are mostly based upon hearsay cannot be accepted without a pinch of salt. Mosques which were constructed in the Hindu area as a mark of victory remained useless. These useless mosques were used for other purposes at the order of the Emperor. But he never touched the mosques where regular prayers were offered. Many mosques of his time are still found standing in the capital city. The pilgrimage to Mecca was not stopped. When the Third Jesuit Mission came to Gujrat in 1595, they found many men and women going on pilgrimage to Mecca. *Sijdah* or prostration was allowed to the Emperor not as an article of faith but as an act of salution in order to please the Hindu subjects who were delighted to show respect to the Emperor by prostration. It had been the popular mode of greeting at the Persian court and the Abbasid Khalifahs had adopted it. A large number of *Mullahs* and *Shaikhs* whose activities proved detrimental to the *'Sulh-i-Kul'* were expelled from the Empire. Naturally they were enraged and fabricated all sorts of anti-Muslim practices against Akbar. In this way if the charges are examined one after another it will be clear to the readers that these are mostly false and fabricated. The religious canons and dogmas of Akbar were not at all hostile to the fundamental principles of Islam.

Did Akbar persecute Islam ?

Many were not attracted to *Din-i-Ilahi* because the Muslims thought it to be anti-Islamic and the Hindus considered it as a modified form of Islam. According to Blochman, only 18 prominent members joined this new order and out of these there was only one Hindu named Raja Birbal. The number of ordinary members did not exceed a few thousand.

Number of members

The *Din-i-Ilahi* failed due to several factors. Firstly, Akbar was the originator of *Din-i-Ilahi* but he did not propagate it in the spirit of a missionary nor did he compel any one to become its member. He was tolerant and his spirit of religious toleration would not allow any persecution even against those who differed with his religious policy.

Causes of the failure of Din-i-Ilahi

Secondly, the general people could not understand the mind of Akbar and so they failed to appreciate his new order. Lastly, Akbar's son Jahangir was quite indifferent to the religious views of his father and so after the death of Akbar it died a natural death.

Was Din-i-Ilahi a monument of Akbar's folly?

Many a historian failed to understand the true significance of *Din-i-Ilahi*. Relying on the evidence of Badauni, a hostile critic of Akbar and an orthodox Muslim, with whom the omission of a single ceremony of Islam amounted to apostasy and on the writings of the Jesuits who must have been displeased with the Emperor for their failure to convert Akbar to their faith, Dr. Smith says, "The whole system was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy.... The Divine Faith was a monument of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom." This view of the biased historian is not accepted by most of the modern historians and especially the Indian historians. Akbar had not founded this religion, a new order of brotherhood to satisfy his vanity or to play the role of the prophet and pope. If he had been guided by those motives, he would have employed the whole State machinery for propagating his faith. The very fact that his close associates like Bhagwan Das and Man Singh did not join the fold of *Din-i-Ilahi* and continued to enjoy the old favours is a clear proof that his experiment of a new order was not the outcome of ridiculous vanity for the monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy. Akbar's motive in organising the new order was political. Von Noar, a German historian says, "The *Din-i-Ilahi* was an order at once political, philosophical and religious." With a view to providing a common platform for building up a common Indo-Pakistan nation, Akbar made this novel attempt. According to Prof. S. R. Sharma, the *Din-i-Ilahi* "was the crowning expression of the Emperor's national idealism." Just as the Emperor had conquered the whole of Indo-Pakistan he also wanted to put the chief principles of various religions together and create a new religion in order to build Indo-Pakistan a nation. Thus according to Lane-

Poole and Dr. Holden, "The Din-i-Ilahi was the outcome of a political necessity." It was not the monument of Akbar's folly, it was a monument of his wisdom. As a political institution the *Din-i-Ilahi* entirely fulfilled Akbar's hopes. As long as he was alive, he enjoyed the unmixed loyalty of his subjects.

The *Din-i-Ilahi* could not satisfy the orthodox Muslims, rather it incurred their displeasure for some of its ordinances. Akbar might have ignored the sentiments of the staunch Muslims, but it must not be considered that he ceased to be a Muslim after the promulgation of the Din-i-Ilahi. Dr. Smith holds that Akbar was not a Muslim since 1582. Modern historians like Prof. S. R. Sharma, Mr. Yusuf Ali and Dr. M. Ray Choudhury have made a very analytical study of the subject and have come to the conclusion that the criticism of Dr. Smith is not justified. Dr. Smith's opinion is mainly based upon the anti-Muslim ordinances and the adoption of certain Hindu practices. The former might have been the result of the hostility of the bigoted Musalmans and the latter were the outcome of his political motives. Dr. Smith admits that on occasions he performed acts of conformity from motives of policy. If it is possible that the Emperor after 1582 conformed to the faith of his forefathers from motives of policy, then there is every reason to believe that the same motive might have influenced him to accept the practices of other religions.

Did Akbar renounce Islam ?

Anti-Muhammedan ordinance and adoption of Hindu practices were the outcome of his policy

Dr. Smith again says, "Akbar, whatever may have been the extent of his falling in practice, was sincerely a religious man, constitutionally devout." His son Jahangir says that his father 'never for one moment forgot God.' He used to perform his prayers five times a day. The *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Akbar-Nama* which were written under his orders by Abul Fazal and the *Tuzak-i-Jahangir*, written by Jahangir, fully confirm the fact that Akbar remained a Muslim throughout his life. This view was supported by many contemporary and non-contemporary historians among whom the names of Father

Akbar's seccession from Islam was not justified

Anthnoy Botelho and Sir Thomas Roe may specially be mentioned here. In 1586, Akbar wrote a letter to Abdullah Khan Uzbeg in which he described himself as a Muslim. Thus it can be concluded that Akbar was born as a Muslim, he lived as a Muslim and died as a Muslim, and was succeeded by a Muslim. So the statement of Dr. Smith that 'he passed away without the benefit of the prayers of any church or sect' is absolutely false and is a gross misrepresentation of facts.

It is, of course, true that politics based on religion loses its universal acceptability. Liberalism and toleration shown to the Hindus by Akbar in order to fulfil his political desire may be praiseworthy from the humanitarian point of view but it certainly created misunderstanding about Islam amongst the general public. Had the Emperor simultaneously tried to follow the tenets of Islam with his intentional religious toleration towards the Hindus, there would have been no scope for misunderstanding amongst the people at all.

Akbar's Policy towards the Hindus

A gifted politician and a far-sighted statesman, Akbar realised the importance of co-operation of the Hindus in the body politic of India. He also knew that unless and until the Hindus were placed on an equal footing with the Muslims, the building up of a nation would be impossible. Hence, he made a new departure from the policy of his predecessors at the beginning of his reign and proved a healer of discords and deep-rooted antagonism. He cemented the friendship of the Hindus by marrying women of their faith. He appointed the Hindus to important posts of the State. Besides, Akbar followed the policy of universal religious toleration (*Sulh-i-Kul*). Early in his reign, he issued an ordinance against the forcible conversion of the Hindus who were brought from the battlefield and asked to embrace Islam. He granted freedom of worship and liberty of conscience to all his subjects. Hindu temples were allowed to be freely erected and Hindu religious festivals

Besides matrimonial relation and appointment in high posts Akbar granted toleration to all

permitted to be held in the Empire. On many occasions, Akbar himself participated in some of the Hindu festivals. He abolished the *Jizya* on the non-Muslims, forbade the enslavement of the prisoners of war and removed the taxes from the Hindu pilgrims. The abolition of these taxes was a great financial sacrifice on the part of the Great Mughal. He was a liberal patron of Hindu culture and extended his patronage to Hindu scholars, poets, musicians and painters who flocked to his court to seek his favour. Akbar wanted the good of all his subjects and with this end in view he tried to eradicate the evils prevailing in the then Hindu society. He forbade child marriage, encouraged widow re-marriage and discouraged the compulsory immolation of Hindu widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands.

Abolition of Jizya and pilgrim taxes

Patron of Hindu learning

Social reforms

Within a short time, Akbar made the Hindus forget their past and established his position in their heart as the first national monarch of Hindusthan. As a result of his conciliatory policy, the Hindus who were once the inveterate enemies of the Muslim conquerors became his warm friends and served him loyally till the end of their life. Their help and support did immense good to the Great Mughal against the opposition of the Uzbegs and the Afghans.

Results of his tolerant policy

Akbar and the Portuguese

Akbar's boundless curiosity about religion brought him into contact with the Portuguese and he maintained friendly relations with them. On several occasions he sent invitation to their Christian missions at Goa to visit him at Agra. In 1580, the first Potuguese mission came to his court under Roudolf Aquviva and Father Monserrate. The second mission came to the Mughal court in 1590. The missionaries were accorded a hearty welcome. But they failed to achieve their object, i.e., to convert Akbar to their faith. The third mission reached Lahore where the Imperial Court then resided. It faired better than the first two as it obtained certain trading privileges in the Mughal Empire. Akbar's purpose in inviting them to his court was more

The Jesuits at Akbar's Court

political than religious. He wanted the help of the Portuguese against the Deccan States.

Literature and Arts

Akbar was not only a conqueror and an administrator, he was also a great patron of arts and literature. A vast and varied literature was produced during this period. Among the great historical works of this age are *Akbar-Nama* and *Ain-i-Akbari,* of Abul Fazl, the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad and the *Muntakab-ul-Tawarikh* of Badauni. Tulsidas, the author of the *Hindi Ramayan* and the greatest of the Hindu poets flourished in this period. The fort at Agra and the numerous buildings at Fatehpur Sikri testify to the patronage of Akbar in art and architecture. It will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter.

Historical works

Art and architecture

Estimate of the Achievements of Akbar

Akbar was the real founder of the Mughal Empire in Indo-Pakistan. As a conqueror, as a statesman, as a ruler, he stands unrivalled in the history of the Mughals. His achievements entitle him to rank as the greatest ruler of Mughal India, nay, one of the greatest rulers in the whole world. Laurence Binyon says, "His greater achievement as a ruler was to weld the collection of different States, different races, different religions, into a whole." The maintenance of perfect religious freedom and liberty of conscience, the abolition of *Jizya* and other obnoxious taxes, the prohibition of *Sati* and female infanticide, the encouragement of widow re-marriage, the extinction of the evil practice of enslaving the prisoners of war, the introduction of an elaborate system of land revenue, the widespread diffusion of education, the promotion of fine arts, and above all, the restoration of law and order and the establishment of peace and prosperity throughout the length and breadth of the whole empire are the index of genius unsurpassed in the history of the world. From whatever angle we approach him, whether as a soldier, a conqueror, a benevolent and wise ruler, a stateman, a reformer, a legislator and a peace-

Achievements of Akbar entitled him to be the greatest ruler of Mughal India

maker, Akbar occupies a unique place in the annals of Indo-Pakistan.

On his accession Akbar defeated the rival chiefs, suppressed the rebels, conquered one province after another and annexed them to the Empire of Delhi. The subjugation of the whole of Hindustan from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal and from the Himalayas to the Narmada testifies to his ability as a great general and a conqueror. He combined in himself all the good qualities of a great and successful ruler. He introduced a government which was based on an elaborate system of administration. He knew that the good ruler was he who could command simultaneously the obedience, respect, love and fear of his subjects. He was so kind to the poor and just to all men that every man injured believed that the king was on his side. Endowed with the far-sightedness of a stateman, he built the political structure of the Mughal Empire on the good-will and co-operation of all sections of people. His sole aim was to unite India under one banner and he devoted his whole life to the realisation of this grand object. "The very grandeur of his conception of National unity raised him head and shoulders above other Indian rulers," says Dr. Qanungo. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru describes him as the "Father of Indian Nationalism."

As a general and conqueror

Able ruler and far-sighted statesman

'Father of Indian Nationalism

Akbar carried out many administrative and social reforms at various stages of his reign. He forbade the enslavement of the prisoners of war, abolsihed the *Jizya* and pilgrim taxes. In order to check the fraudulent masters, he introduced the system of branding horses and put a stop to the evil of the *jagir* system by 'converting the *jagirs* into crown lands and by paying salaries to his officers'. He also re-organised the Imperial mint and coinage which was both abundant in quantity, and excellent in quality. As regards social reforms, he directed his attention to the prohibition of *Sati* and child marriage.

As a reformer he effected many reforms

Akbar's claim to greatness rests on his policy of religious toleration. In this respect he allowed the utmost freedom of worship to non-Muslims. Religi-

ous difference was a great barrier between the ruling class and other nations of Indo-Pakistan. To remove this difference he declared his adherence to the principle of *Sulh-i-kul* (universal toleration). The proclamation of this was made at a time when all the rulers of Europe showed fanaticism and intolerance towards the rival religions. Akbar was far superior to European monarchs both in genius and achievements. His reputation was built upon deeds which lived after him.

His religious policy based on toleration

Amiable, polite and intelligent to an uncommon degree, Akbar was one of the most remarkable kings of the world. He possessed many excellent qualities both of mind and body. His bodily strength was immense and this enabled him to display an untiring activity and to perform feats of marvellous endurance. He had a wonderful memory, a keen intellect and an unbounded inquisitiveness. Though illiterate, he was not uncultured. He possessed fine literary taste and enjoyed the company of the scholars, poets and philosophers who read out to him all sorts of books. He was also a liberal patron of art and literature. Painting, music and architecture made a gigantic stride under his patronage.

His physical strength

Mental gift and taste

Patron of art and literature

In consideration of all phases of his activity and achievements he is entitled to a higher place in history than many contemporary rulers of the world. Dr. Smith says, "Akbar was a born king of men with a rightful claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history. That claim rests surely on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts, his original ideas and his magnificent achievements."

CHAPTER IV

JAHANGIR
(1605—1628)

Jahangir's Accession

On the eighth day of his father's death Salim ascended the throne at Agra in 1605, under the lofty title of *Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir Padshah Gazi*. The new sovereign began his reign by several popular acts. He released the prisoners of war, promised to protect the religion of Islam, granted a general amnesty to his opponents, confirmed the tenure of all officers in their respective posts and raised the ranks of those who espoused his cause. He instituted a chain of justice connected with a cluster of bells in his chamber in order to redress the grievances of aggrieved persons and proclaimed twelve ordinances popularly called the 'rules of conduct' (*Dasturul-Amal*). These were ordered to be strictly observed in his Empire.

His reign begun by popular acts

Having established his position and popularity in the minds of his subjects, Jahangir celebrated the first *Nauroz* of his reign with unparalleled pomp and splendour in March, 1606 A.D.

Prince Khusrau's Revolt

During the closing years of Akbar's reign a party of prominent nobles had formed a conspiracy against the accession of Salim in favour of his son, Khusrau ; but the attempt ended in failure. Though the father and son were reconciled for the time being, "the one could not forgive nor the other forget the recent past." The heart of Jahangir had been rent asunder by the intrigue of his son and he, now out of fearing danger to the throne placed Khusrau 'in a sort of semi-confinement within the fort of Agra.' As a nephew of Man Singh and son-in-law of Aziz Koka, Khusrau was an important and popular figure in the Empire. The dark prospect of a life of long

Causes of Khusrau's revolt

confinement, his popularity and the support of the influential nobles of the realm led him to rise in revolt against the Emperor. Five months after the accession of Jahangir he escaped from the Court, reached the Punjab and unfurled the standard of revolt against his father. His tender age, his personal charm and, above all, his distressful situation attracted many nobles to his cause. Jahangir led the army against his rebellious son, defeated him near Jullundar and while he was attempting to escape, captured him with his principal supporters. The prince was put into custody and his followers were barbarously punished. The Sikh Guru, Arjun, who supported the cause of Khusrau, was asked to explain his conduct in the Court, and he was ultimately sentenced to death. The death of Guru Arjun was not due to religious differences but political reason. Dr. Beni Prasad says, "Guru Arjun himself would have ended his days in peace if he had not espoused the cause of a rebel."

Failure of Khusrau's revolt

Execution of Guru Arjun

Relation with Persia

Shah Abbas of Persia was one of the greatest kings of his time. He had taken a vow to recover Qandahar which was conquered by Akbar in 1595 A.D. Early in Jahangir's reign the Shah made an attempt to recover it but failed. The Shah was a shrewd politician. When force failed, he took to strategem. He used to send embassy to the Court of Jahangir with rich presents and make the Emperor feel that he was his great friend. Jahangir neglected the defence of Qandahar and the Shah took possession of it after a siege of 40 days. The Emperor ordered his son Khurram to repulse the enemy, but the prince refused to carry out the imperial order lest his absence would lead to his exclusion from the throne. He at last revolted on account of intrigues of Empress Nur Jahan and so no attempt was made to recover Qandahar. Thus Jahangir lost what Akbar had gained on the outer Frontier.

Loss of Qandahar

Towards the close of August, 1607, the Emperor started for Lahore. He had not proceeded far when he learnt that a plot had been hatched to murder

him and to place Khusrau on the throne of Hindustan. But the secret was soon out and the four ring-leaders were executed. The Prince, the centre of sedition and the pivot of political intrigues, was blinded and thrown into prison where he subsequently died in 1622 A.D.

Khusrau blinded

Nur Jahan

The marriage of Jahangir with Nur Jahan is one of the most romantic and important events in the history of the sub-continent. For fifteen years Nur Jahan stood forth as a strong and the most striking personality in the empire. Her early name was Mehr-un-Nisa which was changed to Nur Jahan after her marriage with Jahangir. Her father Mirza Ghiyas Beg left his native land Teheran for good under very indigent circumstances and tried his fortune in Indo-Pakistan with his wife and children during the reign of Akbar. When he reached Qandahar, his wife gave birth to a female child who was destined to be the Empress of Indo-Pakistan. The condition of Ghiyas Beg was so deplorable that he could not take care of the newly born baby and her mother. But soon fortune smiled on him and he was introduced to Akbar who appointed him to his service. Within a short time he made a name in the service and was raised to a high position. It was at that time that his family had full access to the Imperial *harem* and it was here that Jahangir had first seen the beautiful Mehr-un-Nisa who by her charming beauty left an indelible imprint in the heart of the young Prince. When Mehr-un-Nisa attained the age of 17, she was married to Ali Kuli Istajul surnamed Sher Afghan upon whom the Emperor settled a *jagir* in Bengal (Burdwan). In 1697, Sher Afghan lost the favour of the Emperor for his disobedience and insubordination. He was summoned to the court to explain his conduct and on his refusal to obey the imperial orders Qutbuddin, the governor of the province was sent to chastise him. In the affray that ensued both Qutbuddin and Sher Afghan were killed. After the murder of her husband Mehr-un-Nisa was brought to the Mughal Court with her little daughter Ladli Begum. The death of Sher Af-

Early history of Nur Jahan

Mehr-un-Nisa married to Sher Afghan

Murder of Sher Afghan

ghan was mainly incidental and the Emperor had nothing to do with it. Four years after the said incident Jahangir saw Mehr-un-Nisa in the Mina Bazar and was charmed by her beautiful appearance. Towards the close of May, 1611, Jahangir married her and made her his chief queen. She was given the title of Nur Jahan (light of the world).

Her marriage with Jahangir in 1611

Nur Jahan was a beautiful and accomplished lady and even at the age of 24 she retained her charms in all their freshness. She was endowed with a quick understanding, a fine taste for Persian literature, poetry and art, "a piercing intellect, a versatile temper and sound common sense." "She was a genuine lover of beauty and did much to increase the splendour and glory of the Mughal Court. She set the fashions of the age, designed new varieties of silk and cotton fabrics and suggested new models and jewellery, hitherto unknown in Hindustan," said Dr. Iswari Prasad. Nur Jahan invented the *attar* of roses for which she is remembered even to the present day. She was intensely charitable. She gave money for the marriage of orphan Muslim girls and protected the weak and the oppressed. "She was an asylum for all sufferers and helpless girls", says Muhammad Hadi.

Her accomplishments

She was an asylum for all sufferers

Nur Jahan possessed of physical courage and strength. She used to accompany her husband on his hunting excursions, and on many occasions she displayed feats of bravery and valour in shooting tigers. She was intelligent, faithful and charming.

Her valour

Nur Jahan was the most beloved wife of the Emperor. As a token of love for her Jahangir put her name on the coins along with his own name. She acquired unbounded influence over her husband who, as the years rolled on, 'leaned more and more to ease and she grew more and more experienced and insured to power'. She sat at the window and listened to the complaints of the subjects. Nur Jahan carried on the administration of the Empire so carefully that even the minutes details could not escape her notice. 'She became in all but name the undisputed sovereign of the Empire and the king himself became a tool in her hands.' But her influ-

Nur Jahan's influence on the State affairs

ence over her husband produced mixed results. It was on the one hand, good for the State, because she checked the cruelty and intemperance of Jahangir and on the other hand, it led to troubles which seriously threatened the peace of the Empire. Taking advantage of her husband's weakeness she fully made use of her power to promote the interest of her family. Her father and brother rose to high ranks and with her help succeeded in creating a strong party of their own in the court. She gave her daughter by Sher Afghan in marriage to Jahangir's youngest son, Shahryar and this connection ultimately brought her into power and the Emperor into trouble.

Her influence produced mixed blessings

Having survived her husband by 18 years, Nur Jahan died in 1645 A.D. and was buried in a mausoleum at Shahdara (Lahore) which she herslf built during her life time.

Rebellion in Bengal

Akbar annexed Bengal in 1575 to his Empire ; but the power of the Afghans was not completely crushed. So after the death of the Great Mughal they wanted to regain their lost independence and rallied round the banner of Uthman. It was at that time that the *Zamindars* of Bengal known as the 'Bara Bhuiyans' rose in revolt against the Imperial authority. Islam Khan was sent to subdue the rebellion of Bengal and in an engagement at Nek-Ujjal near Narayanganj Uthman was defeated and eventully he died. With the death of the leader, the rebellion collapsed.

Rebellion of Uthman suppressed

Submission of Mewar

The subjugation of Mewar was the next important military event of the reign of Jahangir. After the death of Rana Pratap, his son, Amar Singh became the Rana of Mewar in Rajputana. He, like his father, retained the independence of the State. But Jahangir did not want to see the existence of an independent and hostile State on the border of his Empire. He sent a series of expeditions against the Rana under the command of Prince Parvez, Mahabat Khan and Abdullah Khan, but these proved fruitless. So in 1613, the Emperor sent his third son, Khurram in

Submission of Amar Singh to the Mughals



Nur Jahan's tomb at Shahdara built by herself in c. 1645 A.D,

command of a vast army. The operations of the Prince were successful. Amar Singh was reduced to such a strait that he was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughals. The Rana, according to the terms of the treaty, agreed to supply a contingent of 1,000 horses to the Mughal army and sent his son, Prince Karan to the Imperial Court. In return for this the Emperor restored the fortress of Chitor to the Rana and appointed his son to a high military command in the Mughal army. The Rana was also exempted from personal attendence at the court. Even the Emperor caused the sized portraits of the Rana and his son to be carved and set up in the garden of his palace at Agra. In this respect Dr. Iswari Prasad says, "Jahangir's conduct in this affairs is wholly worthy of praise. Mewar had given the Mughals no small amount of trouble, but the Emperor forgot the past and adopted a conciliatory policy in dealing with the Rana."

Conciliatory policy adopted by the Emperor towards the Rajputs

The Deccan Campaigns

Jahangir followed the imperialistic policy of his father in the Deccan. He wanted to enforce his authority there and with this end in view he sent his forces to the Deccan. But all his efforts ended in failure owing partly to the strength of the Deccan Kingdom, Ahmadnagar under an able minister, Malik Ambar and partly to the quarrel amongst the generals of the Mughal army.

An Abyssinian by birth and a Deccani by adoption Malik Ambar was the most remarkable figure of Ahmadnagar. The Deccanis found in him a consummate general, a good administrator and a sagacious statesman. The activities of the imperial troops were, on the other hand, greatly hampered by constant dissensions among the commanders. In 1610, Malik Ambar defeated the Mughals and recaptured Ahmadnagar which had been conquered by Akbar in 1600. The Mughal generals were more busy in mutual quarrels than in fighting against the Deccanis. The dissensions among the commanders continued till Prince Khurram was placed in charge of the Deccan affairs in 1616. The Prince was

Sucessful resistance of Malik Ambar to the advance of the Mughals

successful in recapturing Ahmadnagar. In appreciation of his military success the Emperor rewarded him with the title of *Shah Jahan*. But soon chaos and confusion overtook the Mughals and Malik Ambar renewed his attack on the Mughals. He efficiently opposed the advance of the Mughals till his death in 1626.

Conquest of Kangra

The crowning success of Jahangir's reign was the capture of Kangra in the Punjab which had once defied the authority of Akbar. The fortress of Kangra was occupied after a long siege of 14 months. The conquest of Kangra was soon followed by rebellions which continued till his death.

Rebellion of Prince Khurram

In view of the rapidly falling health of Jahangir intrigue and conspiracy began to grow in the hearts of many in the Empire. Ambitious and dominating, Nur Jahan was the soul of these intrigues. She wanted to remain 'a power behind the throne' even after the demise of her husband and seek it through Shahryar whom she took for a good instrument to serve her purpose. She fully knew that if Prince Khurram would come to power, she would have no influence in the State. As already said, Nur Jahan gave her daughter Ladli Begum by Sher Afghan in marriage to Shahryar and pushed his claim to the throne. Shah Jahan, the ablest and the most capable son of Jahangir, understood the situation and when he was asked to undertake the Qandahar campaign he refused. His refusal was fully availed of by Nur Jahan who poisoned the ears of Jahangir and convinced him that his son was meditating treason. The Emperor was very much displeased with his son and his indignation revealed in the following words: "Shah Jahan was unworthy of all the favours and charities I bestowed on him."

Behaviour of his father and intrigues of Nur Jahan were causes of Prince Khurram's rebellion

The intrigues of Nur Jahan at last succeeded. Jahangir deprived the prince of all posts and fiefs. He even asked Prince Khurram to send back all the forces under his command in the Deccan. At first

the prince tried to allay the anger of his father; but when it failed, he raised the standard of revolt in self-defence. Being defeated in the battle of Billochpur in March, 1623 by the imperialist force under Mahabat Khan, he fled to Mandu and then to the Deccan. He sought the help of Malik Ambar; but being disappointed, he betook himself to Bengal. He soon made himself the master of Bengal and Bihar. He was again defeated by the imperialist force. Driven to despair he went to the Deccan for the second time, joined Malik Ambar and beseiged Burhanpur. But fate was against him and soon he was again overtaken by the Mughal army. Unable to stand any more against the imperial forces Shah Jahan surrendered after three years to his father, begged his forgiveness for his past conduct and sent his two sons, Dara and Aurangzeb to the court as a guarantee of his good behaviour. He was pardoned and given the government of Balaghat. As a result of Prince Khurram's rebellion, Qandahar was lost to the Mughals. In the words of Jahangir the rebellion of the prince "struck with an axe at the foot of his own dominion and became a stumbling block in the path of enterprise."

Defeat of Prince Khurram in the battle of Billochpur, 1623

Submission of Prince Khurram to his father

Rebellion of Mahabat Khan

The defeat and humiliation of Prince Khurram encouraged Nur Jahan once more to revive her claim for the succession of her son-in-law, Shahryar. On the other hand the military success of Mahabat Khan and his intimacy with Prince Parvez, who was the only rival of Shahryar, excited her jealously and increased her fear. She was now bent upon the ruin and disgrace of Mahabat Khan who had once loyally served the State and saved the Empire from impending dangers and troubles. Mahabat Khan was in the good book of the Empress as long as his services were required for the Empire. But when the moment of need was over, she renewed her intrigues in order to curb the power and influence of the general. In the first place, Mahabat Khan was asked to resign imperial command and to take the charge of Bengal as governor. Though he refused at first, he ultimately carried out the royal command.

Causes of revolt

Intrigue of Nur Jahan

Mahabat Khan's loss of power and prestige

Secondly, a charge of embezzlement and corruption was brought against him. He was ordered to send to court the elephants he had obtained in Bengal and to furnish an account of the large sums which had come into his hands from the dismissal of disloyal fief-holders. Thirdly, Mahabat Khan was accused of having betrothed his daughter to a son of a certain Khwaja Umar Nakshabadni without the permission of the Emperor. Jahangir disapproved of the betrothal and inflicted inhuman punishment on the prospective son-in-law. All these actions of the Emperor taxed the patience of Mahabat Khan who was now driven to unfurl the flag of revolt against the imperial authority. He marched towards Kabul with five thousand Rajput followers, and captured the Emperor when Jahangir and his wife were about to cross Jhelum. The Empress escaped and the Imperial Commander-in-Chief tried his best to rescue the Emperor but without success. Though Nur Jahan displayed extraordinary courage and coolness on this occasion, she could not rescue her husband from the hands of the enemy. When force failed, she took to ruse. She joined her husband in his captivity. 'By a stratagem Nur Jahan managed to throw Mahabat Khan of his guard' and effected the deliverance of her husband. Finding no other way Mahabat Khan fled to the Deccan where he joined Shah Jahan, who once more tried his luck. But all troubles and misfortunes came to an end with the death of Jahangir which occurred in October, 1927.

Unmerited treatment of the Emperor

Ascendency of Mahabat Khan

End of his supremacy

Estimate of Jahangir

Jahangir is one of the most interesting figures in the history of Indo-Pakistan. Dr. Beni Prasad describes him as "a sensible kind hearted man, with strong family affections and unstinted generosity to all, with a burning hatred of oppression and a passion for justice. On a few occasions in his career as prince and emperor, he was betrayed, not without provocation, by fits of wrath into individual acts of barbarous cruetly. But as a ruler he was remarkable for humanity, affability and open hand." From the reading of his life it can be said that he was kind and sympathetic, humane and considerate to his sub-

Jahangir's character was a mass of inconsistency

jects. He often rewarded men of merit and faithful servants. At the same time he inflicted severe and inhuman punishments on the wrong-doers. But he had not a thirst for bloodshed. His character appears to many as the "mixture of opposites" due to a strange compound of cruelty and tenderness, of brutality and refinement, of justice and caprice.

As an administrator Jahangir followed the liberal policy of Akbar the Great. He abolished many obnoxious taxes, such as transit and customs duties. He had a strong sense of justice and administered it throughout the dominion. He 'was an enthusiastic hunter' and a capable general who could plan and lead military campaigns.

As regards religious beliefs, Jahangir seemed to be indifferent. He was neither an atheist nor an eclectic. 'He was a sincere believer in God and in God's saints, living or dead, Hindu or Muslim,' says Dr. Beni Prasad. He was tolerant to all religions and followed the *Sulh-i-Kul* (Peace with all) policy of his father in the Empire. He had a warm and affectionate heart for his relations and kinsmen whom he treated with kindness. He was repentant for his acts of disobedience towards his father and on becoming king he spoke of his father in great reverence in his Memoirs. He was a forgiving father, a loving husband and a warm-hearted friend. Himself a painter and a poet, Jahangir was a patron of art and literature. For his love of painting Jahangir is called the 'Prince of Artists'. His *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir* is a brilliant proof of his literary attainments. He was a lover of nature and felt delight in Indian surroundings.

Toleration to religion

His kind treatment towards his own kith and kin

Promoter of learning and lover of nature

The noble qualities of Jahangir were marred to some extent by his too much use of liquor. "Though he regarded a little wine as a prudent friend, he discouraged its use among his subjects." Another weakness of his life was his tendency to fall under the influence of others. Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan dominated him so completely during the last years of his reign that he delegated all his powers to them and the result of this was the outbreak of two formi-

dable rebellions. But it should be remembered that he had retained his vigorous health during the later years, when the worst evils occurred and 'he might have asserted himself, and prevented the double civil war.' In spite of this, the reign of Jahangir, on the whole, was fruitful with peace and prosperity to the Empire. Under his patronage commerce and industry progressed, literature flourished and painting and architecture reached its high-water mark.

Weak points of his character

Jahangir's relation with Europeans

During the reign of Jahangir, a good number of foreigners came to Indo-Pakistan and tried to cultivate the friendship of the Emperor in order to secure commercial privileges and concessions.

Jahangir's relation with the Portuguese

At the beginning of his reign Jahangir showed no favour to the Jesuit Fathers, but with the establishment of his power and position firmly on the throne he granted them all sorts of favour and concessions in the Empire. But the high handedness of the Portuguese soon compelled him to withdraw his favour. In 1613, they incurred the displeasure and wrath of the Emperor by capturing four imperial ships and plundering their cargoes. The Emperor attacked the settlement of the Portuguese at Daman, closed their churches and stopped their ceremonies.

The English enjoyed trade facilities during the reign of Jahangir

While the Portuguese were in humiliation, the English enjoyed the favour and sympathy of the Emperor. Of the persons who visited India during that time with a view to gaining commercial interests, the names of William Hawkins, William Edward and Sir Thomas Roe deserve special mention here. Hawkins was permitted to trade with India and to build a factory at Surat. But subsequently the trade concessions were withdrawn due to the inimical influence of the Portuguese. As a shrewd politician and diplomat, Sir Thomas Roe succeeded in baffling the intrigues of the Portuguese, and secured for his countrymen a good many trade facilities.

Foreign accounts of Jahangir's reign

Hawkin's account

Hawkins has left an account of the Emperor's character and the daily routine of his court. According to him, Jahangir was cruel and unpopular and

took delight in inflicting inhuman punishments. Jahangir was a talented drunkard and invited him to join in his party. The statement of this foreigner should be studied with caution as he left the Mughal court in disgust.

Roe's account

Sir Thomas Roe's Journal deals exclusively with the court life of the Emperor and the political intrigues of the time. In the estimation of Roe, the provincial governors were tyrannical and exacting in their dealings with the subjects but they were sympathetic towards the strangers. He speak highly of the magnificence of the court and of the courtesy of the nobles. But at the same time he remarks that the nobility, as a class, were corrupt and unprincipled. The offcials were sufficiently paid but yet bribery was regularly practised.

Magnificence of the court and courtesy of the nobility

Character of the Emperor depicted by Roe

As regards the personal character of the Emperor he remarks that Jahangir was an inveterate drunkard. In spite of his intemperance of occasional acts of cruelty, 'the Emperor', says Roe, 'was not wanting either in good sense or in good feelings'. He further describes the Emperor as amiable, cheerful, full of passion but without pride and prejudice.

State of fine arts

Roe was astonished to see the workmanship of Indian artists who once copied an English portrait which was presented to the Emperor by Roe. The copy was so excellent that it was difficult for him to distinguish it from the original.

Condition of the country and its people not good

The Deccan bore a sad and neglected appearance and the general condition of the people was not good. "The people of India," remarks Roe, 'live as fishes do in the sea—the greater ones eat upon the little ; for first, the farmer robs peasant, the greater robs the lesser and the kings rob all. Roads were insecure and life of a traveller was unsafe."

CHAPTER V

SHAH JAHAN

(1628—1658)

Struggle for Succession

No sooner had the death news of Jahangir was spread than the struggle for succession ensued between his two surviving sons, Shah Jahan and Shahryar. The former was supported by his father-in-law, Asaf Khan and the latter by his mother-in-law, Nur Jahan. Shah Jahan was in the Deccan when his father died and so his father-in-law informed him about the state of things in the capital and asked him to come in haste to the capital to secure his succession. In the meantime Asaf Khan took steps to safeguard the interest of Shah Jahan by placing Dawar Baksh, the son of Khusrau, on the throne at Agra as a stop-gap emperor till his arrival. On the other hand, Shahryar, at the instigation of Nur Jahan, proclaimed himself emperor at Lahore. Asaf Khan at the head of a vast army proceeded to Lahore, defeated the troops of Shahryar, made him a prisoner and blinded him. After a short time Shah Jahan came back from the Deccan, removed all his possible rivals "out of the world" and then ascended the throne in February, 1628 under the title of *Abul Muzaffar Shahabuddin Muhammad Sahib Qiran-i-Sani Shah Jahan Padsah Ghazi*. Dawar Baksh was allowed to escape to Persia where he became a prisoner of the Shah. Nur Jahan retired from public life and was granted a handsome pension of two lakhs a year. In recognition of services rendered to him during the war of succession, Asaf Khan and Mahabat Khan were promoted to high offices.

Accession of Shah Jahan, 1628

Rebellions

Shah Jahan was not allowed to reign peacefully. In the first year of his reign, he was called upon to cope with the rebellion of Jujhar Singh, the son of

Bir Singh Bundela whom Salim had hired to murder Abul Fazl. Though the rebel chief submitted for a time, yet he created troubles till 1634 when he was defeated and ultimately driven out of his country. In the second year of his reign another formidable rebellion broke out in the person of Khan Jahan Lodi, an ex-Viceroy of the Deccan. He entered into an alliance with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar and gave considerable troubles to the Mughals. Hunted from place to place by the imperialists, he was ultimately defeated at Tal Sehouda, north of Kalinjar and killed with his sons in 1631.

Rebellions of Jujhar Singh and Khan Jahan Lodi suppressed

Empress Mumtaz Mahal

Arjumand Banu Begum, popularly known as Mumtaz Mahal was married to Shah Jahan in 1612 when he was twenty two years of age. She was the daugther of Asaf Khan, a most influential noble in the court. Like Nur Jahan, Mumtaz was a paragon of beauty. By her devotion, beauty and intellectual attainments, she enthroned hereself in the heart of her husband. She followed him through thick and thin and shared all the sufferings of his fugitive life. The Emperor took her advice in all important matters of the government. Mumtaz Mahal was entrusted with the custody of the Royal Seal. She died of a fatal delivery in 1630, and after her death Shah Jahan, in order to immortalise the memory of his beloved, built the famous Taj, a monument of conjugal love and fidelity on the bank of the Jamuna. Educated, generous and virtuous, Mumtaz Mahal was the most accompolished lady of the time.

Shah Jahan and the Portuguese

During the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir certain facilities were granted to the Portuguese who had settled themselves at Hugli and developed their power and influence by building a number of important factories. But in the reign of Shah Jahan they abused these favours so shamelessly that the Emperor was compelled to interfere with their privileges. They incurred the displeasure of

Causes of Shah Jahan's wrath on the Portuguese

Shah Jahan by (1) exacting heavy duties from the Indian traders at the cost of revenues of the State, (2) by carrying on lucrative slave trade which was accompanied by much cruelty and torture, (3) by converting the Indians to Christianity and (4) by detaining two slave girls of Mumtaz Mahal. These acts of high-handedness and audacity 'were sure to bring upon them the wrath of the Emperor who ordered Qasim Khan, the governor of Bengal to chastise the undesirable foreigners. In 1632, Qasim Khan attacked the Portuguese and after a siege of three months they were completely routed, their forts and factories were levelled to the ground and the whole garrison were either killed or drowned in the Hugli river. A large number of the Portuguese were killed and many of them were sent as captives to Agra. As a result of the war, the Portuguese tyranny came to an end and a good number of Indians who had been detained as prisoners were liberated.

Defeat of the Portuguese by Qasim Khan

End of the Portuguese tyranny

Famine of 1630-32

In the fourth and fifth years (1630-32) of Shah Jahan's reign a terrible famine visited Gujrat, Khandesh and the Deccan and carried away a large portion of the population. Mirza Amin Qazwini who was an eye-witness of the famine writes, "The dire distress prevailed everywhere, and in the bazar the shop-keepers mixed powdered bones with flour and sold dog's flesh which was mistaken for meat by the suffering classes. Pestilence followed in the wake of famine. It raged with such fury that whole villages became desolate. "The Emperor tried his utmost to alleviate the sufferings of the people but his help was inadequate in relation to the dire calamity.

Deccan Policy of Shah Jahan

In the conquest of the Deccan Shah Jahan was prompted by political and religious motives. He could not tolerate the existence of the independent kingdom on the border of his Empire and felt it his duty at the same time to exterminate the Shia heresy in the Deccan. In this object circumstances

Causes that led to wage wars against the Deccan

favoured him and he was more successful than his predecessors. The death of Malik Ambar, who was the very soul of the defence of Ahmadnagar, the terrible famine which made havoc in the land, his personal acquaintance with the Deccan politics, and the treachery of Fateh Khan, son of Malik Ambar, facilitated the conquest.

Treachery of Fateh Khan, son of Malik Ambar precipitated the fall of Ahmadnagar

Shah Jahan was seeking for an opportunity to attack Ahmadnagar and the help which the ruler of Nizam Shahi kingdom rendered to the rebellious chief, Khan Jahan Lodi gave him a pretext to fulfil his object. In 1630, the Imperial forces besieged the fortress of Parvenda but failed to take it. Soon a chance came to the Mughals from certain quarter Fateh Khan, the Minister of Ahmadnagar entered into negotiation with the Mughal Emperor out of personal grudge against the Sultan, Murtaza Nizam. He had the Sultan murdered, placed a young Prince named Husain Shah on the throne and went over to the Mughals. But here too he proved perfidious to Shah Jahan. He defended the fortress of Daulatabad when Mahabat Khan besieged it in 1631. The presence of the Imperial forces and the tempting offer of a huge bribe soon induced him to surrender the fortress in 1632. Ahmadnagar was annexed to the Mughal Empire and the boy king was sent to the fort of Gwalior as life-long prisoner. Fateh Khan joined the Mughal army and was rewarded with the Imperial service at a liberal salary. The Nizam Shahi Dynasty of Ahmadnagar was thus brought to an end.

Annexation of Ahmadnagar, 1632

Shahaji Bhonsla, father of Shivaji made an unsuccessful attempt to revive the Nizam Shahi monarchy by placing a boy of the royal family on the throne. In 1636, territories of Ahmadnagar were divided between Shah Jahan and Adil Shah of Bijapur.

After the subjugation of Ahmadnagar, Shah Jahan turned his attention towards Golkonda and Bijapur. He could not forget the hostilities of these two neighbouring kingdoms. When he was making war with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, they incurred the wrath of the Emperor by helping the cause of Shahaji who made an attempt to place a boy king

of the royal family on the throne of Ahmadnagar. Shah Jahan first issued written commands to the rulers of these kingdoms, ordering them to recognise overlordship, to pay tributes to the Mughal Government regularly and to abstain from helping Shahaji Bhonsla. The ruler of Golkonda at once complied with the royal commands but Adil Shah of Bijapur refused to submit to the Mughal Emperor and made a bold stand against the Imperialists. War was, therefore, inevitable. The Mughal forces attacked the territory of Adil Shah on all sides and reduced the Sultan to such a strait that he was compelled to sue for peace. He acknowledged the suzerainty of Shah Jahan, agreed to pay tributes to him and to abstain from succouring Shahaji Bhonsla. In return for these, the Sultan was given a portion of the territory of Ahmadnagar in addition to his ancestral kingdom. "Thus after forty years of strife (1595-1635) the affairs of the Deccan were at last settled. The position of the Emperor was asserted beyond challenge, his boundaries clearly defined, and his suzerainty over the southern kingdoms formally established." *

The Sultan of Golkonda submitted without resistance

Adil Shah of Bijapur made a bold stand against the Mughals but was defeated

Shah Jahan left the Deccan in charge of his third son, Aurangzeb on the 11th July, 1636.

North-West Froniter Policy

During the later part of Jahangir's reign Qandahar was lost to the Mughals. Shah Jahan wanted to recover it when he came to power. He achieved it by skilful negotiation with Ali Mardan Khan, the Governor of Qandahar. The latter was not satisfied with the ruler of Persia for his treatment towards him and so he surrendered the province to the Mughals in 1638 A. D. He was rewarded by Shah Jahan with one lakh of rupees and enrolled as a grandee of the Mughal Empire.

Recovery of Qandahar by Shah Jahan in 1638

Emboldened by the success of the recovery of Qandahar, Shah Jahan thought of reconquering the old territories of his ancestors in Central Asia. "Ever since the beginning of his reign," says Abul Hamid Lahori, "the Emperor's heart had been set upon

His Central Asian policy

*Sir J. N. Sarkar.

the conquest of his house, and the key to the acquition of Samarkand, the home and capital of his great ancestor Timur". In 1646, Shah Jahan sent a huge army under the comand of Murad and Ali Mardan Khan. Balkh was occupied without any registance in July, 1646. But a new danger soon arose. Prince Murad who did not like the hilly country came back to the capital. After his departure the Uzbegs got the upper hand and made the life of the people miserabe. This state of things continued till Aurangzeb came, defeated the Uzbegs and occupied the city of Balkh in May, 1647. But the period of trouble did not come to an end for the Mughals. Hardly had Balkh been captured when a huge army under the command of Abdul Aziz advanced from Bokhara to oppose the onward march of the Mughal army. Aurangzeb with wonderful coolness and courage repulsed the attack and proceeded upto Timurabad. The king of Bokhara, impressed by the bravery and skill of Aurangzeb, opened negotiation for peace. The Mughal army now clamoured to return home and without making further delay Aurangzeb left for Hindusthan and reached Kabul in October, 1647 with great difficulty. The frontier line formed by Balkh and Badakshan was not recovered. Thus ended the dream of Shah Jahan's recovery of his ancesral possessions.

Failure of Central Asian campaigns

The failure of the Mughals in Central Asia encouraged Shah Abbas II of Persia to recapture Qandahar. He attacked Qandahar about the middle of December, 1648 and took it on the 11th February, 1649. Shah Jahan issued immediate orders to Aurangzeb and the Chief Minister, Sadullah Khan to proceed to Qandahar. The Prince attacked it on May 16, 1649 but failed to win success due to the superior military preparations of the Persians. Displeased at the failure of Aurangzeb, the Emperor ordered him to return and thus the first Mughal attempt to recover Qandahar ended in cloud and smoke. Shah Jahan thrice attempted to recover it but thrice he failed. So the outer frontier of the Mughal Empire could not be recovered in the reign of Shah Jahan.

Recapture of Qandahar by Shah Abbas II in 1649

Shah Jahan's failure to recover Qandahar

The campaigns of Shah Jahan against Qandahar caused the Mughal Empire heavy loss of men and money. Its failure not only affected the prestige of the Mughal Empire but also stirred the ambition of the Persians whose fear of attack on India would henceforth haunt the minds of the Indian rulers throughout the 17th century. "Such was the price," says Sir J. N. Sarkar, "which aggressive imperialism made India pay for wars across the North-Western Frontier."

Effects of Qandahar campaign

Aurangzeb in the Deccan

On the subjugation of Ahmadnagar, Golkonda and Bijapur, Shah Jahan appointed Aurangzeb, his third son, Viceroy of the Deccan and himself proceeded to the North. During his first Viceroyalty (1636—44) Aurangzeb showed his ability, intelligence and dexterity in suppressing the enemies of the Empire, capturing the district of Baglana lying between Khandesh and the Surat coast and compelling Shahaji to surrender to him. But he was much disturbed in his administration of the Deccan by the machinations of his eldest brother, Dara who poisoned the ears of Shah Jahan against him. Being disgusted with the undue interference of his brother and the partiality of his father towards his brother, he tendered his resignation in May, 1644. Dr. J. N. Sarkar says, "In 1644, the prince gave up his duties and took a life of retirement as a protest against Dara Shikoh's jealous interference with his works and Shah Jahan's partiality to his eldest son. At this the Emperor deprived him of governorship, estate and allowance."

Resignation of Aurangzeb from the Viceroyalty

The filial relationship was soon restored between father and son through the efforts of Jahan Ara Begum, the eldest daugther of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb was appointed in February, 1645 the Viceroy of Gujrat. He continued in this post till 1647 when he was sent to Central Asia to consolidate the Mughal position there. After the failure of the Mughal armies in Central Asia Aurangzeb was appointed for the second time the Viceroy of the Deccan in 1653 A. D.

Aurangzeb as Viceroy of different Provinces

Aurangzeb's second Viceroyalty of the Deccan forms one of the important chapters of Mughal India. He found the Deccan in a state of deplorable condition. The whole administration of the land had fallen into utter confusion due to the constant changes of incompetent Viceroys. Its financial position had become a source of trouble rather than of income to the Empire. "In short, the Province was in a state of decay ; the land was sucked dry, and the deficit continued to increase from year to year so that the new Viceroy found himself confronted with a serious financial situation." Aurangzeb fully realised the situation and assiduously devoted himself to the improvement of the State and the amelioration of the economic condition of the peasantry. In this he secured the services of Murshid Kuli Khan, a revenue offcer of extraordinary genius and with his help he extended to the Deccan Todar Mall's system of survey and revenue assessment. In order to improve the economic condition of the agriculturists loans were liberally advanced to them to purchase seeds, cattle and agricultural implements. As a result of these reforms, agriculture improved, necessaries of life became cheap and the peasantry felt satisfied. In short, the Deccan provinces attained a high level of prosperity.

Aurangzeb's second Viceroyalty of the Deccan (1653-58)

Administrative achievements of Aurangzeb as Viceroy of the Deccan

Having thus re-organised the internal administration, Aurangzeb gave his attention towards Golkanda and Bijapur. These two kingdoms of the south had already accepted the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor by agreeing to pay regular tributes to him. But when Aurangzeb took over the charge of the Provinces in 1653, they were as independent as ever. Besides the non-payment of tributes in arear, the Sultan of Golkonda had incurred the wrath of the Mughal Emperor by his ill-treatment towards his powerful minister, Mir Jumla. Muhammad Sayyid, better known in history as Mir Jumla was a powerful and ambitious minister of Abdullah Qutb Shah of Golkonda. The Sultan got alarmed at the power and eminence of his minister and so wanted to bring him into submission by arresting

Causes of attack on Golkonda and Bijapur

Golkonda's non-payment of tributes in arrear and the alleged grievances of Mir Jumla

his son, Muhammad Amin. At this, Mir Jumla left his master and joined the Mughals. Aurangzeb found in the alleged grievances of his ally a better pretext to attack Golkonda. Over and above, the allegiance of the Sultans of the Deccan to the the Shah of Persia, their subsidy to the Mughal enemies, their intimacy with Shahjada Dara and their religion (Shia) and wealth induced Aurangzeb to wage wars against the Deccan Sultans.

Attack on Golkonda

In 1656, Aurangzeb along with Mir Jumla advanced towards Golkonda, besieged the city and would have captured it but failed owing to the interference of his father who ordered a cessation of hostilities. He complied with the order of his father and concluded a treaty with the Sultan of Golkonda by which the latter agreed to pay a large indemnity, to cede a district, to give his daughter in marriage to Aurangzeb's son Muhammad Shah and to make him his heir.

Invasion of Bijapur

Next, Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla attacked Bijapur with the permission of the Emperor and made a considerable headway. Again the Emperor intervened at the instance of Dara and Aurangzeb was campelled to put an end to the war. A peace treaty was concluded in which the ruler of Bijapur promised to pay a large indemnity and to surrender Bidar, Kalyni and Parenda to the Mughals. After this event Aurangzeb's attention was directed against Shivaji, son of Shahji in the south but he had to suspend the operation as the illness of his father invited his attention to the capital and atracted him there to make a bid for the throne.

War of Succession

With Shah Jahan's illness in 1657, fratricidal war began

The Indo-Pak sub-continent has been the scene of numerous political events of profound significance and far-reaching consequences. Aurangzeb's dramatic accession to the throne of Indo-Pakistan can also be rightly regarded as one of such political events. With the news of Shah Jahan's illness in September, 1657, a rumour spread to the distant parts of the Empire that the Emperor was no longer alive

and Prince Dara, a favourite son of Shah Jahan, was concealing the fact of his usurpation of sovereign power. The four sons of Shah Jahan soon entered into fratricidal war and embittered the life of the Emperor. Let us analyse the circumstances that led to the war of succession and see how far the stand of Aurangzeb can be justified.

Question of fitness for the throne

Shah Jahan had four sons and two daughters, all from Mumtaz Begum. Of the two daughters, Jahanara was the supporter of Dara, while Roshanara of Aurangzeb. Dara, the eldest was loved and favoured by his father and though heir-designate, he had very little chance of succession. He was violent in temper and arrogant in manners. His vicious nature, frivolous habits and haughty behaviour had created a lot of enemies at the court. His liberal views were opposed and hated by many and his intimacy with the Hindus and his inclination towards the Shia faih went much against the interest of his succession. Shuja, the second son and the governor of Bengal, was an intelligent and skilful administrator. But he was extremely fond of pleasure and his addiction to wine had impaired many of his good qualities. Murad, the youngest, was the governor of Gujrat. He was a brave soldier but an abject slave of his passions. He was dissolute and a reckless drunkard. He lacked the qualities of leadership and was almost brainless.

Dara's haughty temper and liberal views went against his interest

Shuja suffered from love of pleasure

Murad was dissolute and brainless

Aurangzeb, the third, was the ablest and most intelligent of all the brothers. Simple, pious, cool and sagacious, he combined in himself all the good qualities of a great administrator. He was endowed with imperturbable self-possession and indomitable resolve. Obliging and modest in bearing, he had scores of admirers at the Imperial Court. But if we take into consideration the question of fitness for the throne, it is an undisputable fact that Aurangzeb was the fittest of all. In the absence of any definite law of succession it was but natural for the sons of Shah Jahan to make a bid for the throne, and it is all the more probable for the fittest son to make an earnest effort o show his ability and to outwit the inefficient rivals.

Aurangzeb was the fittest of all his brothers

Although the Chaghtai Turks recognised the claim of the eldest son to the throne, yet there was no adherence to any hard and fast rule of succession. "The survival of the fittest" was the general principle of succession. Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan—all had to fight for their throne against their rival relatives. So it was a common characteristic of the Mughals to fight out the question of succession to the throne. Thus in the absence of a fixed law of succession to the throne the illness of Shah Jahan served as a signal for the terrible war of succession. Secondly, the measures adopted by Dara during the time of his father's illness contributed largely to the war of succession. He took assurances from the *vakils* of his brothers to the effect that they would not submit any report to the princes, who were in the distant provinces, about the Emperor and his court. He stopped all communications from the Centre and closed the roads to Bengal, Gujrat and the Deccan, so that the travellers might not carry any news to those provinces. He even confiscated the properties of his brothers, vakils and recalled the officers of Aurangzeb, who were then engaged in the operations against Bijapur, to the capital. Besides, he ordered his troops to march against the princes before they reached the capital. All these actions of Dara Shikoh directly led to the hostilities of his brothers. Thirdly, the questionable treatment of Aurangzeb at the hands of Shah Jahan from 1636 to 1657 was no less an important factor for the war of succession. The Emperor knew that Aurangzeb was the ablest and most capable of all his sons but blind love for Dara had made him inconsiderate and unsympathetic towards the former. Aurangzeb's removal from the Deccan in 1644, the disapproval of the Qandahar campaign for the second time, rejection of financial aid from the Imperial treasury in order to meet the expenses of the army while the prince was in charge of Multan and the objection of Shah Jahan to the proposed marriage of Aurangzeb's son with the daughter of Shuja speak much of the strained relations between the father and the son. The treatment to Aurangzeb by Shah Jahan from 1636 till 1657 can

Absence of the definite law of succession

Dara's behaviour towards his brothers during the illness of his father

Ill-treatment to Aurangzeb by Shah Jahan constitutes a cause of war

hardly be justified. Shah Jahan can be held responsible for an unjustifiable severity of tone and behaviour. But in the treatment to Aurangzeb by Shah Jahan there was the hidden hand of Dara who was jealous of Aurangzeb's power and position. He tried on the one hand to create dissension among the rest of the brothers and to disgrace and dishonour Aurangzeb in the eyes of the Emperor on the other. A letter from Aurangzeb to his sister Jahanara would clear up the point. He writes, 'If His Majesty wishes that of all his servants I alone should spend my life in dishonour and die in obscurity, I cannot but obey. But it is impossible to live such a life and die as such. I do not enjoy his favours, I cannot, for transient and mundane things, live in pain and sorrow. It is better that by order of His Majesty, I should be relieved from the disgust of such a life, so that no harm may reach the State and other people's hearts (referring to Dara) may be set at rest. Ten years before this, I had realised this fact, and knowing my life to be threatened, had resigned my post, so that I might cause no worry to other people." (Adab-i-Alamgiri). Thus the ill-feelings between Dara and Aurangzeb and the ill-treatment of Aurangzeb by Shah Jahan constituted one of the causes of the event in question. Fourthly, Aurangzeb who was in touch with the events occurring at the capital had formed an alliance with Shuja and Murad in November, 1652 A.D. Their growing intimacy was looked upon by both Dara and Shah Jahan with great alarm. Shah Jahan, in order to frustrate their plans, sent secret letters to them through the Khwaja Saras (eunuchs) assuring help to each of them against the other. This act of setting one brother against the other by issuing 'inflammatory letters' also hastened the crisis. Fifthly, the most powerful factor which led to the outbreak of the war of succession was the religious question which had been agitating the minds of many Muslims of the sub-continent since the time of Akbar.

Tripple alliance and the inflammatory letters of Shah Jahan to each of his sons

Religious factor

It was believed that if Dara who was incorrigibly inclined towards Vedantism and adoption of Hindu culture would come to power, Islam would have either suffered a temporary set back or its fate

would have been sealed for ever in this sub-continent. The Muslims of Hindusthan (including Aurangzeb) at that critical period of its history apprehended the accession of Dara to the throne and they were not prepared under any circumstances to allow Dara to have the chance. So the war of succession which started even before the death of Shah Jahan was not a war only for the throne. It was something else.

Chief events of the War of Succession

Battle of Bahadurgarh

Shuja, the governor of Bengal, was the first who made a determined bid for the throne and proclaimed himself Emperor in September, 1657. He marched towards Benares but was defeated at Bahadurgarh in February, 1658 by the forces of Dara under the command of his eldest son, Sulayman Shikoh. He retreated to his own province. Murad, the then governor of Gujrat, was the next to proclaim his sovereignty at Ahmadabad in December, 1657. Aurangzeb realised the gravity of the situation and made no delay in conciliating the rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda, the old enemies of the Empire. Murad entered into an agreement with Aurangzeb. The combined forces of the two brothers met the Imperial forces under the command of Qasim Khan and Raja Jaswant Singh in 1658. A battle was fought at Dharmat near Ujjain in April, 1658 in which the Imperialists were defeated. Mortified at the successive failure of his army, Dara decided to take the field in person. He marched out from Agra to deal with the combined troops of his brothers and the rival forces met at Samugarh in May, 1658. In the hotly-contested battle the heir-designate to the throne and best beloved son of Shah Jahan was crushingly defeated by Aurangzeb. Dara fled to Agra *en route* to Delhi. Instead of pursuing Dara, Aurangzeb hurriedly occupied Agra in 1658 and placed his father under confinement. In the meantime the movements of Murad became suspicious and so he was arrested under the orders of Aurangzeb and sent to Gwalior as a prisoner. Thereafter Aurangzeb ascended the throne of Indo-Pakistan in July, 1658.

Battle of Dharmat

Battle of Samugarh decided the fates of the Princes

Dara had, by this time, gathered some strength and stood up in arms again. He advanced from Delhi towards the Punjab and then towards Ajmer where he was again defeated by the *de facto* sovereign. Driven from pillar to post and post to pillar, he at last fell into the hands of the imperialists and was ultimately executed in August, 1659, on a charge of apostasy. Shuja, after the defeat of Dara at Samugarh made once more a bid for the throne but was defeated by the Imperial forces at Khajwa near Allahabad in 1659. He fled to the Arakan hills where he was ultimately assassinated by the Arakanese. In 1661, Murad was also put to death on a charge of murder. Sulayman Shikoh who after the defeat of his father took shelter with a Hindu Chief of the Garhwal hills was pursued, captured and then sent to Gwalior as prisoner where he died in 1662. Thus getting rid of all the rivals, Aurangzeb established his position secure on the throne.

Fate of Dara

Shuja assassinated

Execution of Murad

Death of Sulayman Shikoh

Stand of Aurangzeb in the War of Succession

The main events of the War of Succession clearly show that of all the brothers Aurangzeb was the last to participate in the war. But once it was started by his brothers, it was but natural for him to take part in it and to pursue it to its logical end. At the outset Aurangzeb had not the intention to enter into war. On the eve of the battle of Dharmat, he sent a Brahmin orator to Maharaj Jaswant Singh (Commander of the Imperial Army) with a message to the effect: "I desire to visit my ailing father and I don't wish anything for me. Either come with me, or keep out of my way that no blood be shed." In a letter he further made his position quite clear to his father. He writes, "What is my fault if I bring to my mind all the enmity which I had to face from certain people. I have repeatedly made it clear that in marching to Agra, I had no intention of ousting the king of Islam and God is my witness that such a sinful and unholy thought never entered my mind." (Adab-i-Alamgiri). When Shuja and Murad declared independence in their respective province, Aurangzeb was coolly thinking over the situation. But Dara's actions during the illness of his father

Aurangzeb joined the war when it was thrusted upon him

Action of Dara during the illness of his father dragged him into the war

were highly condemnable and was a potent factor in dragging him into the war. Before the battle of Samugarh he wrote a letter to his father in which he accused Dara of usurping authority and taking hosile action against all the three brothers. He even charged Shah Jahan of becoming a tool in the hands of Dara, of considering the rest of the three sons as his enemies and issuing *Farmans* against them according to the wishes of the first son.

Dara's hostility to Islam actuated Aurangzeb to interfere in the matter

Aurangzeb was out and out a pious Muslim and almost all the Muslim nobles, courtiers and the Ulema in the Empire looked upon him as the saviour of Islam in the sub-continent and found in him a true champion of a noble and sublime cause. About the unfitness of Dara to occupy the throne, the author of the *Alamgirnama* writes, "If Dara Shikoh obtained the throne and established his position, the foundation of the faith would be in danger and precepts of Islam would be changed for the rant of infidelity and Judaism." In a letter to his father Aurangzeb further explained his motives by writing, "In the beginning of your illness when the eldest prince who had no distinguishing features of a Muslim, took up reins of government and raised the standard of heresy and infidelity I took upon myself the religious duty of ousting him." (Adab-i-Alamgiri). Thus the intentions of Aurangzeb were quite clear from the beginning and hence he cannot be regarded either as a usurper or as a hypocrite.

Confinement of Shah Jahan was necessary for the safety of Aurangzeb's life

After the victory of Aurangzeb, resumption of royal power by Shah Jahan was out of the question in view of its dreadful consequences---both for Aurangzeb and for the State. Hence the passing of power into Shah Jahan's hands again was undesirable and impolitic. His confinement in the royal palace was also justified by the fact that Shah Jahan wanted to crush Aurangzeb and re-instate Dara. His letters to Murad and Prince Muhammad (Aurangzeb's son) in which he induced them to rise against Aurangzeb are clear proofs of it. So Aurangzeb was painfully compelled to take this drastic step of imprisoning his old ailing father for the safety of his own life and position.

Dara was the centre of all troubles and intrigues. In Dara's widely known heretic tendency and anti-Islamic professions and preachings, Aurangzeb clearly perceived a potent source of danger to Islam. Apostasy is seriously condemned by the law of Islam and the punishment for it is always severe in Islam. Apart from this main cause, Aurangzeb had to take into consideration the peace and security of the State in the context of prevailing political conditions. In *Alamgirnama* Aurangzeb fully supports his point of view in the following words: "The Pillars of the Faith apprehended disturbances from his (Dara's) life. The Emperor, therefore, out of necessity to protect the holy land and also for reasons of the State, considered it unlawful to allow him to remain alive." Thus Dara was justifiably executed.

Execution of Dara justified by the religious cause and the prevailng political condition

The case of Shuja is altogeher different and the Emperor cannot be held responsible for his death. Being defeated in the battle of Khajwa, Shuja escaped to the Arakan hills where he met his death at the hands of the Arakanese. As regards Murad's death there is a good deal of discussion. From the very beginning Aurangzeb and Murad were on good terms and made a common cause against Dara. Before the battle of Dharmat, they entered into an agreement in which "Murad had agreed, on his faith that after the extirpation of the enemy of religion and State (Dara) and the restoration of peace and the settlement of affairs, he would at all times and places and in all works, be my supporter and partner, the friend of my friends, the foe of my foes and in no way should he go against my wishes, and out of all the hereditary dominions whatever was left to him at his request he would remain content." (Adab-i-Alamgiri). But Murad was the first who broke the agreement. While he was marching towards Agra with Aurangzeb he sent a secret letter to Shah Jahan confessing his misdeeds, craving his forgiveness and showing his readiness to obey the command issued by the Emperor. He even entered into conspiracy with his father to take away the life of Aurangzeb who viewed his movement with great alarm. He tactfully removed Murad by throwing him into prison. He invited him to a feast and

Shuja's death caused by others

Breach of agreement and hostility against Aurangeb deserved the treatment of imprisonment

arrested him and then sent him to Gwalior. Thus Murad received his due punishment. He had given an undertaking not to do anything against common interest. But in contravention of the undertaking he not only submitted his written apologies to Shah Jahan but even entertained the hope of becoming the ruler of Hindustan.

As for his execution, Aurangzeb cannot be held responsible. While at Ahmadabad Murad killed his *Diwan* named Ali Naqi and when the former was in prison the son of the latter brought a charge of murder against him to the court. The price of blood is blood according to the law of *Shariat* in Islam and therefore, Murad was executed in accordance with the decree of the Qazi. Aurangzeb had no hand in persuading the son of Ali Naqi to demand justice. The execution of Murad was in no way political in character. It was a pure case of blood for blood and tooth for tooth. In the light of the above facts, Aurangzeb's stand in the War of Succession is justifiable from every point of view.

Execution of Dara was purely a cause of blood for blood

Causes of the Success of Aurangzeb

Contemporary historians of the Mughal period have ascribed the success of Aurangzeb in the war of succession to his luck. But this view has not been accepted by the modern historians. According to them, the weakness of Shah Jahan was one of the causes of Aurangzeb's success. Had Shah Jahan exerted his authority just after the recovery of his illness and stopped the attempts of his sons by openly contradicting the news of his death he would have averted the crisis of the events in his favour. By diplomatic and prudential policy he could have helped Dara to the throne. When he came to know the gravity of the situations after the battle of Dharmat, he could summon a council of war and appeal to the generals, nobles, and officers of the Empire to help him to regain his throne. It is believed, as he was still a popular king, that he could have gained their supports and if once he could resume the power, it would have been difficult for the princes to deprive him of his throne. But he

Weakness and unwise policy of Shah Jahan

thoroughly misunderstood the situation and most unwisely instigated Dara against Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb was a great diplomat, general and statesman. His presence of mind and his capacity for strategic combination and dexterity in arranging the positions of the army were far superior to those of his rival brothers. Dara, Shuja and Murad were no match for him in respect of diplomacy, statecraft and generalship. Dara's army was not well-organised and so there was no unity and discipline in his rank while the forces of Aurangzeb were well-organised, well-equipped and well-disciplined. "His (Aurangzeb) victory in the war of succession," says Dr. Iswari Prasad, "was the victory of action over supineness, of interpidity over inerita and of organisation and discipline over confusion and incoherence." Aurangzeb's character and the strong support of *Sunni* Muslims contributed largely to his success in the war of succession. Himself a pious Muslim, Aurangzeb championed the cause of Islam and played upon the alleged apostasy of Dara. A large number of Muslims in the State were in search of a leader since the time of Akbar, who could restore Islam to its former glory. They found in Aurangzeb a true saviour of Islam and so they rallied unitedly round his banner and gave him full co-operation and support. By amiable disposition and nobleness of character Aurangzeb won many to his side, while Dara's hot temper and liberal views drove many to leave his cause. The sentiment of the Muslims who joined the party of Aurangzeb was further heightened by Dara's sole dependence on the Rajputs who were trying to restore the rule of the Hindus by playing upon the whims of the semi-Hindu Dara. To the pious Muslims, a pleasure-seeker like Shuja and a wine-bibber like Murad appeared to be unfit to win their sympathy and support.

In diplomacy, generalship and statecraft Aurangzeb was far superior to other princes

Character of Aurangzeb and his support of Islam contributed largely to his success

After capturing the throne, Aurangzeb lay prostrate at the feet of his father and begged apology for his unexpected but circumstantial conduct. He treated his father with proper respect and indulgence. Shah Jahan passed his time as a captive of his son for long eight years and breathed his last in 1666 A.D.

Death of Shah Jahan, 1666

Character of Shah Jahan

A most munificent ruler of the Mughal Empire

Shah Jahan was the most munificent member of a magnificent house. Though he waded through blood to the throne, he was a kind and generous monarch. Indian chroniclers describe him 'as the very ideal of a Muslim monarch, and style him as the pillar of the *"Shara,* the defender of religion and the restorer of waning fortunes of Islam in India." They also admire his piety, his religiousness and his deep concern for the well-being of his subjects. His anti-Hindu policy and religious intolerance are still matters of controversy and hence it requires further researches. Shah Jahan was endowed with marvellous energy, keen insight, intrepidity, courage and, above all, an unrivalled driving force. Like his ancestors, he had an inordinate thirst for territorial extension. As a son, he was a source of trouble to his father, as a prince he was devoted to his duty, as a husband he was deeply attached to his wife, Mumtaz Mahal and as a father, he was lacking in discipline. The most remarkable trait of his character was his love of splendour and magnificence.

His love of grandeur and magnificence

Regarding the private life of Shah Jahan, European travellers like Bernier and Manucci depict him as a sensual pleasure-seeking monarch. According to them, the fancy bazars in the palace, the maintenance of a large number of dancing girls by the State and the presence of hundreds of maid servants in the *Harem* were so many objects for the satisfaction of the Emperor's lust. These sweeping statements of European travellers are far from the truth and their foul charge against a pious ruler, who did not fail for a moment to do his religious duties, is unthinkable and wholly unjustifiable. Shah Jahan was not cruel by nature. But circumstances compelled him to be cruel in respect of his relations and his brothers. "We lose", says Dow, "half our rage in the pressure of circumstances which move him to such a ghastly step." One must not forget that the intrigues of Empress Nur Jahan were greatly responsible for the disobedience and early crimes of Shah Jahan.

Remarks of European travellers on Shah Jahan's private life

His cruelty justified by the circumstances

Estimate of Shah Jahan's Reign

The reign of Shah Jahan marks an epoch in the history of the Mughal Empire. On his accession to the throne he suppressed the Portuguese pirates and captured Hugli. He extended his territories to the distant Deccan. In the South he annexed Ahmadnagar and brought Bijapur and Golkanda under his subjugation. The Imperial army also came into conflict with the Ahoms of Assam and as a result the boundary of the Mughal Empire was extended as far as Kamrupa.

Territorial expansion

In the field of administration Shah Jahan followed the enlightened policy of Akbar and enjoyed a reputation for justice and clemency. Peace was maintained, the revenue was on the increase and the people were happy and prosperous in the realm.

Administration of justice and clemency

With the exception of one or two rebellions, the reign of Shah Jahan enjoyed an uninterrupted peace and order. 'In Shah Jahan's reign the Mughal Empire attained to the zenith of prosperity and affluence," says B. P. Saksena. The fabulous wealth of India attracted a stream of foreign visitors from across the seas who were dazzled by the magnificence and grandeur of the Emperor. Bernier, Tavernier and Manucci who visited the court of Shah Jahan have left charming accounts of their impressions. They spoke eloquently of the efficiency of his administration. Tavernier, the French traveller says that Shah Jahan governed "not so much as a king over his subjects but rather as a father over his family and children." Kafi Khan, a contemporary historian also praises the good administration of Shah Jahan. Manucci, the Italian traveller supports the view of Kafi Khan and describes Shah Jahan's government as "the most perfect". In view of the opinions of these travellers and historians the remarks of Dr. Smith who speaks of Shah Jahan's justice as "the unfeeling ferocity of the ordinary Asiatic despot, exercised without respect of persons and without the slightest tincture of compassion, are unsympathetic and betray a lack of fairness and justice.

Accounts of foreign travellers

Smith's remarks betray a lack of truth

It was in the cultural sphere that Shah Jahan's reign witnessed a unique glory. His reign is specially known for the unique development in the art of architecture. Numerous buildings were built at Delhi and Agra and other places. The *Taj Mahal* which he erected over the grave of his dearly loved wife Mumtaz on the banks of the Jamuna is perhaps one of the finest structures in the world. It is called "queen of architecture", "dream in marble." The *Diwan-i-A'm,* the *Diwan-i-Khas* in the fort of Delhi, the *Jam-i-Masjid* and the *Moti Masjid* (Pearl Mosque) at Agra were famous throughout the world for their artistic excellence and beauty. The Peacock Throne was another conspicuous example of Shah Jahan's love for splendour and magnificence.

Archi-tecture

In literature, arts of painting and drawing, the reign of Shah Jahan made a marked progress. Himself a cultured king and a refined scholar, Shah Jahan was a liberal patron of letters and learning. Many distinguished scholars enjoyed the patronage of the Emperor. Of the celebrated historians and poets who flourished in his reign, the names of Abdul Hamid Lahori, author of the *Padshanama,* Inayat Khan, author of *Shah Jahannama* Muhammad Salih, author of the *Amal Salih,* Abul Qasim Irani, and Mirza Ziauddin may be mentioned here. Some Sanskrit works were caused to be translated into Persian by Dara who took keen interest in literary pursuits.

Literature and literary jems of Shah Jahan's Court

Trade and commerce received a great impetus in the hands of the Emperor. The reign of Shah Jahan 'saw the development of the export trade between India and Western Asia and the beginning of the export trade with Europe.' The finances of the State were in a flourishing condition. His reign of 30 years was marked by peace and all round prosperity. Taking all these points together it can be said that "Shah Jahan's reign marks the climax of the Mughal dynasty and Empire."

Trade and commerce flourished

But in spite of a remarkable display of grandeur and greatness we find in the reign of Shah Jahan the germs of decay which eventually led to the disintegration of the Empire. His prolonged wars in

Qandahar and Central Asia caused a heavy drain of men and money without adding an inch of territory to the Empire. The failure of three attempts to recover Qandahar exposed the military inefficiency and weakness of the Mughals to the outside world. This reign also witnessed the rise of the Marathas and the beginning of the British territorial acquisiion in India. According to Bernier, the misrule of the provincial governors "often deprived the peasants and artisans of the necessaries of life.' Lastly, the maintenance of an elaborate bureaucracy and the huge expenditure incurred for the splendid architectural monument, imposed a heavy burden upon the agriculturists and the manufacturers on whose prosperity depended the very existence of the Empire. As a result of the huge expenses on monumental work a process of national insolvency began to work steadily and it proved to be one of the important causes of the subsequent fall of the Mughal Empire.

Signs of decay

CHAPTER VI

AURANGZEB ALAMGIR

(1658-1707)

Accession of Aurangzeb

His early measures

After the battle of Samugarh, Aurangzeb captured Agra and proclaimed himself the Emperor of Delhi in 1658 A.D. The formal coronation was deferred to a future date as he had yet to deal with the rivals. He ascended the throne with great splendour, for the second time, on the 5th June, 1659 under the title of *Abul Muzaffar Mohiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Alamgir Padshah Ghazi.* The coronation festivals continued for full two months and was meant to make the occasion a source of happiness to all sections of the populace in the Empire. Like many Asiatic rulers he started his reign by taking some measures to heal the wounds caused by civil wars. He abolished many illegal taxes in order to alleviate the sufferings of the people, restored the Muslim lunar calendar and discontinued the *Ilahi Era* of Akbar to satisfy the Sunni Muslims. New appointments were made, transfers of the provincial governors effected to stop corruptions and steps were taken to please his supporters and to conciliate the officers and nobles who had supported the cause of his rival brothers and thus converted his enemies into friends.

Division of Aurangzeb's reign into two parts

The long reign of Aurangzeb may be divided into two almost equal parts—the first (1658—1681) which was passed in Northern India and the second (1682-1707) in the Deccan. During the first part the centre of interest was in the north where Aurangzeb had to deal with the problems of the North-Western Frontier, and the North-Eastern Frontier and the affairs in Rajputana. In the second part the centre of activities was in the south, which is one of the most important epoches in the history of Indo-Pakistan.

Here he had to deal with the Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkanda and the rising tide of Maratha nationalism.

The North-Eastern Frontier

In the early part of the 13th century A.D. the Ahoms, a people of Mongolian origin, had migrated from their original home in Upper Burma and captured a part of the Brahmaputra valley (India). They gradually extended their territories to the West and by the end of the 17th century their dominions were pushed 'up to the Bar Nadi river in the north-west and the Kalang river in the south-west.' Here they came under the direct influence of the Hindus and adopted the Hindu religion and customs. The exension of the Mughal Frontier up to the Bar Nadi river by the conquest of Kuch Hajo during the reign of Jahangir made the conflict with the Ahoms inevitable. In the reign of Shah Jahan the Ahoms invaded the eastern frontier of the Empire but a peace was ultimately concluded early in 1639.

Appearance of the Ahoms on the stage of India

Invasion of the Ahoms during the reign of Shah Jahan

But taking the advantage of the war of succession the Ahoms violated the treaty and occupied Gauhati in 1658. Aurangzeb appointed Mir Jumla governor of Bengal and instructed him to punish the Ahoms. In November, 1661, Mir Jumla started with a well-equipped army from Dacca to punish the aggressors. He annexed Cooch Bihar and entered Assam. In March, 1662, his army reached Garhgaon, the capital of the Ahoms. The Ahoms offered resistance but ultimately they gave way to the imperialists. But nature soon proved inimical to them. With the coming of the rainy season the Ahoms got the upper hand, the imperialists 'suffered terribly from unhealthy climate and lack of provisions and medicine.' Famine and pestilence also visited the camp of Mir Jumla's army. Taking these advantages the Ahoms began to harass the Mughal army. But Mir Jumla was not a man to be faltered in the face of these difficulties. He continued the war with fresh energy and boldness after the rains and compelled the Ahoms to conclude treaty with

Aurangzeb's struggle with the Ahoms

Submission of the Ahoms to terms

the imperialists. Thus "judged as a miiltary exploit," says Sir J. N. Sarkar, "Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam was a success." The Ahom King, Jayadhraj agreed to pay an annual tribute and a heavy war indemnity as well as to cede a considerable portion of the province of Darrang. But this success of the Mughals proved short-lived. Mir Jumla soon fell ill and died in March, 1633 on his way back to Dacca. After his death the Ahoms recaptured Kamrupa from the Mughals in 1667.

Loss of Assam after Mir Jumla's death

Estimate of Mir Jumla's Achievements

As a good administrator and a strict disciplinarian Mir Jumla who hailed from Persia was one of the outstanding personalities in the history of Mughal India. By dint of his character and ability he rose to the position of the prime minister of the kingdom of Golkonda. Emboldened by his position and fortune, he wanted to carve out for himself an independent kingdom in the Karnatic. The Sultan of Golkonda was alarmed at the rising power of his minister. As a check to his power the Sultan arrested his son and this action of Sultan ultimately compelled him to join Aurangzeb who was then the Viceroy of the Deccan. Mir Jumla helped the prince against his master when the former invaded Golkonda. In the war of succession he supported the cause of Aurangzeb with men, money and artillery. In appreciation of these services Aurangzeb appointed him governor of Bengal and entrusted him with the charge of punishing the Ahoms of Assam. He captured the capital of the Ahoms and forced them to come to terms. Regarding his character Sir J. N. Sarkar says, "No other general of that age conducted war with so much humanity and justice nor kept his soldiers, privates and captains alike, under such discipline. He issued strict orders forbidding plunder, rape and oppression of the people and saw to it that his orders were obeyed."

Services of Mir Jumla to Aurangzeb

Conquest of Assam

After Mir Jumla, Shaista Khan, son of Ashaf Khan was appointed governor of Bengal to punish the Portuguese pirates of Chittagong. He followed the forward policy of his predecessor. He suppressed

the pirates by capturing the island of Sandwip in the Bay of Bengal. Chittagong was conquered from the king of Arakan in 1666 and was renamed Islamabad. Chittagong was henceforth made the seat of a Mughal *Faujdar*. Shaista Khan's regime in Bengal forms a bright and prosperous chapter in the history of the province. It was under him that the English traders who were extorting numerous customs duties from the country were driven out of Bengal and it was under him that the cost of living was very cheap. It is said that during his time rice was sold at eight maunds per rupee.

Shaista Khan as governor of Bengal

Conquest of Chittagong

The North-West Frontier Policy

The North-West Frontier has always been a thorny problem for the Mughals. The Afghan tribesmen who lived in the North-West Frontier were a source of constant trouble to the Mughal Emperor. Akbar the Great had to tackle them and though he made a salutary effect on them by his policy, he could not pacify them. They remained silent for a time but when the central authority became weak during the war of succession they raised their heads and carried their raids again into the Mughal territory. The trouble took a serious turn at the accession of Aurangzeb who tried to win over these hill-men by payments of money. But "even political pensions were not always effective in securing obedience. In 1667, the Yusufzais started to trouble under their leader Bhagu. They crossed the Indus and captured several Mughal outposts. Aurangzeb, therefore, planned a grand campaign and ordered three divisions to attack the enemy—one from Attock, another from Kabul and the third from the court. A battle was fought on the south bank of the Indus in which the rebels were defeated and they evacuated the imperial territory. Strong Mughal garrisons were stationed at different points and they kept the country under control. Raja Jaswant Singh was posted at Jamrud to see the movement of the Afghans.

Rising of the Afghan tribes

Suppression of the Yusufzais

Peace was again broken in the Frontier. In 1672, the Afridis rose in revolt under their chieftain

Ajmal Khan who had assumed the title of King and called all the Pathans to organise themselves in a sort of national war. To suppress them Muhammad Amin Khan was sent but suffered a heavy loss in men and money at Ali Masjid in May, 1672. A few thousand Mughal soldiers were cut to pieces, many of them were captured and sent to Central Asia for sale as slaves. This victory increased the prestige of Ajmal Khan. It was a national rising and the whole Pathan land from Qandahar to Attock was seething in rebellion. The situation was further aggravated by another tribal rising. Khushal Khan, the Khatak chief joined Ajmal Khan and made the the Mughal position in the frontier worse than ever. At first the Emperor sent Mahabbat Khan but he proved a failure. Then Sujat Khan was ordered to punish the Afghans in co-operation with Jaswant Singh. But he too shared the same fate.

Risings of the Afridis under Ajmal Khan and of the Khataks under Khushal Khan

The successive disaster compelled Aurangzeb to come to the spot and direct the operations in person. In July, 1674 he arrived at Hasan Abdal, near Peshawar and remained there for a year and a half. With his arrival many clans were won over by grants of presents, pension, *jagirs* and posts in the Mughal army. He had to subdue the more refractory Afghan clans by arms. Thus Aurangzeb had to suppress the Afghan rising and restore the prestige and position of the Mughals in the North-West "by following the policy of paying subsidies or by setting up one clan against another." Towards the end of the year, 1675, the situation had considerably improved and the Emperor returned to Delhi in 1675 with an easy heart. Amin Khan was appointed the governor of Kabul and retained office till 1698. He followed a tactful conciliatory policy there and under his management the Afghans ceased to trouble to Imperial Government.

Successful conclusion of the Afghan wars by a policy of diplomacy and arms

On the whole, the frontier wars of the Mughals were brought to a successful conclusion. But the wars had cost much to the Emperor. Apart from the financial loss, the political effect was grievous. Sir J. N. Sarkar says, "It made the employment of the Afghans in the ensuing Rajput war impossible,

though the Afghans were just the class of soldiers who could have won victory in that rugged and barren country. Moreover, it relieved the pressure on Shivaji by draining from the Deccan of the best Mughal troops for service in the North-West Frontier." The frontier troubles indirectly helped the success of the Rajputs and the Marathas and thus adversely acted upon the stability of the Mughal Empire.

Effects of Aurangzeb's North-Western Frontier policy

Aurangzeb's religious policy and the Hindus

If any ruler of Mughal India is misunderstood on religious grounds, it is Aurangzeb. A charge has been brought that the Emperor deliberately pursued the policy of converting *Dar-ul-Harb* (non-Muslim country) into *Dar-ul-Islam* (land of Islam) by (a) the destruction of Hindu temples and schools, (b) the dismissal of Hindu officers and (c) the re-imposition of *Jizya* on the Hindus. Let us now discuss the charges one after another.

Aurangzeb was a staunch Muslim who could not go against the law of Islam which enjoins, "Let there be no violence in religion" (Quran). The *farman* addressed by Aurangzeb to Abul Hassan, the Governor of Benares clearly shows that the Emperor was tolerant to the Hindus. It runs, "Since ....all our upright intentions are engaged in promoting the public welfare and bettering the conditions of all classes, high and low ; therefore, in accordance with our Holy Law, we have decided that ancient temples shall not be overthrown, but that new ones shall not be built..............No person shall in an unlawful way interfere with or disturb the Brahmins and the other Hindu residents in these places, so that they may as before, remain in their occupation and continue with peace of mind to offer prayer for the continuance of our God-given Empire." (J.A.S.B. and Waqi-i-Alamgiri)

Farman of Alamgir regarding the abolition of temples

There are other *farmans* which speak eloquently of the tolerant spirit of Aurangzeb. When Alexander Hamilton visited India during the later part of Aurangzeb's reign, he marked the tolerant policy

of the Emperor. He remarks, "Every one is free to serve and worship God in his own way." "The real fact is that Aurangzeb ordered the demolition of those temples which had been erected on the destruction of the mosques and which had become centres of sedition and political intrigues". (Badshanama and Muntakhib-ul-Lahab). So it is clear that the Emperor never initiated destruction of temples from motives of religious persecution.

Destruction of temples not initiated from motive of religious policy

A similar charge has been recorded in the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* that the Emperor ordered all the Governors of the provinces to destroy schools and to prohibit the teaching and infidel practices of the unbelievers. This statement of Mustamid Khan, the author of *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* has not been supported by any other contemporary Persian chronicler. No surh *farman* was ever sent to the Governors for the destruction of schools.

The charge of the dismissal of Hindu officers has also no foundation. It is a fact that some corrupt Hindu clerks, *diwans* and collectors of land revenue were dismissed in the interest of administration and Muslims appointed instead. But after a few days another *farman* was issued to the effect that there should be one Hindu and one Muslim in each of the Civil and Military department of the State, so that one should serve as a check on the other. There were a good number of Hindus who occupied key posts in the Civil and Military departments of the State during his reign. Jaswant Singh who caused untold trouble and sufferings to the Mughals and who went against the Emperor in the war of succession and in the battle of Khajwa is a clear proof of his conciliatory policy towards the Rajputs. He not only pardoned him for his treacherous conduct and treasonable designs but also honoured him with position of power and trust. Besides, many Rajput princes fought the battles for Aurangzeb against the Hindus as his soldiers and generals. In the face of these facts it is unthinkable that Aurangzeb was intolerant and dismissed Hindu officers from the State.

Appointments of many Hindu princes in the high posts speak contrary of the dismissal of Hindu

The *Jizya* was imposed on the non-Muslim subjects in lieu of military service and for protection of life and property under Muslim rule. But it was not a tax "on the free exercise of religion," as is generally believed. Akbar abolished this tax and he simultaneously made his subjects irrespective of caste and creed eligible for military service. Aurangzeb thought it unlawful to force the non-Muslims to render military service against their will and hence he re-imposed the *Jizya*. But he had not imposed it for the first 17 years of his reign. The abolition of as many as eighty taxes, excluding many on the Hindus, had seriously affected the finance of the State. Moreover, the Hindus proved hostile rather than friendly to the Mughals. The Emperor wanted to bring them into obedience by weakening their economic position. It was after 17 years that the acute political anad economic consideration led him to re-impose the *Jizya*. But those who joined the army were exempted from this tax. Thus it is seen that the Emperor was not inspired by religious motives but by political and economic causes to re-impose the *Jizya*.

Re-imposition of the Jizya was due to political and economic factors

Causes of Hindu opposition

Aurangzeb was tolerant to other faiths but not so tolerant as Akbar and Dara who, in order to achieve their ulterior political aims, concealed their religious identities and even subscribed to the religion of the ruled. Since the days of Akbar the tie of Islam had been slackened to a large extent by their too liberal policy. Aurangzeb was a devout Muslim who for his simplicity and piety, was regarded as a *"Zinda Peer"* by the Muslims in India. He wanted to bring back the waning glory of Islam without disturbing the fundamental rights of others and hence he was opposed for obvious reasons by many to whom he appeared as the persecutor of Hinduism.'

Aurangzeb was not liked by many for his piety

In the beginning of the 16th century, Hindus, under the leadership of Rajputs, felt strong enough to overthrow the Muslims, if not by themselves then with the help of another Muslim invader in the per-

son of Babur. But their attempt was ultimately frustrated in the battle of Khanua. The Mughal rulers could not rely on the old Muslim inhabitants of India for political reasons and so they took the Rajputs to their services. The policy of the Mughals especially of Akbar rekindled in the heart of the Hindus the natural desire and ambition to become master of the land once again by overthrowing the Muslims. The defeat of Dara in whom they found a patron of reviving the Hindu culture had greatly disappointed them. Matters came to a head during the reign of Aurangzeb. It is said that Aurangzeb's bigotry was responsible for the Hindu Revivalist Movement. There is little doubt that even if there had been no Aurangzeb the Hindu Revivalist Movement would have come. "Aurangzeb's rule was only that of a captain of a ship caught in a storm. It is wrong to say that he had caused the storm. He had only braved it. Had he tried to run away from it perhaps the storm might have struck the ship on the wrong side and caused it to founder at once."

Attempt of reviving Hinduism in India failed with the defeat of Dara

Rising of the Jats

In 1669, the Jats of Mathura broke into open rebellion against the Emperor. The cause of their rising has been ascribed by many historians to Aurangzeb's religious intolerant policy towards the Hindus. But this is not a fact. The defeat and death of Dara, a staunch supporter and pattern of Hindu religion and cause, frustrated their hopes to revive the Hindu culture. Since the war of succession the Hindus were seething with discontent and when Sayyid Abdun Nabi, the *Faujdar* of Aurangzeb built a *Juma Masjid* and not a temple in the heart of the Hindu city they rose in revolt, under the leadership of a *Zamindar* named Golka and killed the Imperial *Faujdar*. The rebellion was suppressed and Gokla was put to death. But the trouble was again renewed in 1686 under the leadership of Raja Ram. The tomb of Akbar at Sikandarabad was desecrated and plundered. The leader was however, defeated and killed. The Jats continued to give trouble under the leadership of Churaman till the end of Aurangzeb's career.

Revolt of the Jats under Gokla

Jats' rebellion continued till the end of his reign

Hindu Rising

Another serious rebellion soon threatened the Mughal Empire. Chapat Rai, a Bundela Chief, rose against Aurangzeb in the early part of his reign. He eventually committed suicide for fear of capture in the hands of the Mughals. His son, Chatrasal Rai entered the Emperor's service and served him loyally in the Deccan. He soon betrayed his master, joined the discontended Hindu party and raised the standard of rebellion against the Mughals. He defeated the Imperialists in several engagements. Before his death in 1731 he was able to form an independent principality for himself in Malwa.

Revolt of the Bundelas under Chatrasal

Revolt of the Satnamis

The Satnamis, who lived in the modern Patiala and Alwar States rose in revolt in 1672. They were mostly agriculturists and traders. The immediate cause of this rebellion was the murder of a Satnami cultivator by a Mughal foot-soldier. The Imperialists easily crushed the Satnamis, and restored peace in the land.

The Sikh Revolt

Execution of Teg Bahadur

During the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan the Sikhs rose in revolt and gave undue trouble to the Mughals. In the reign of Aurangzeb the ninth Guru Teg Bahadur raised the standard of revolt against the Imperial authority. This rising has been assigned to the supposed religious intolerance of the Emperor. The Guru was executed in 1675. The Sikhs next found in Guru Govinda Singh, the son and successor of Teg Bahadur, a prominent leader. He was the last Guru of the Sikhs. He gave them a new rule of life which separated them from the rest of the population. Guru Govinda fought against the Mughals but was defeated and his two sons were put to death. As long as Aurangzeb was alive his efforts were not successful.

Guru Govinda organised the Sikhs into a military fraternity

The Policy of Aurangzeb towards the Rajputs

The policy of Aurangzeb towards the Rajputs has been a subject of severe criticism and has already

irritated the brains of many scholars—both Muslim and non-Muslim. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has mentioned three main factors which determined the Rajput policy of the Emperor. Firstly, the commercial importance of Marwar demanded its annexation to the Mughal Empire as the shortest and easiest trade route from Delhi to the rich manufacturing city of Ahmadabad and the busy port of Cambay lay across it. Secondly, the Emperor wanted to divide Rajputana into two unequal halves and to take Udaipur in the flank. This was only possible by the annexation of Marwar. Thirdly, Aurangzeb wanted to carry out his plan of forcible conversion of the Hindus which required that the State of Marwar should become a regular province of the Empire.

Three factors assigned by Sir Jadunath Sarkar to the Rajput policy of Aurangzeb

Let us now analyse the factors mentioned by Sir Sarkar and see how far Aurangzeb was responsible for the Rajput war. It would not be proper to think that Aurangzeb was inspired by commercial importance to subjugate Marwar. When the commercial importance was great during the reign of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, they never thought it necessary to annex Marwar in order to guard the trade route. During a period of 20 years Aurangzeb did not experience any difficulty in keeping the trade route open. It is, therefore, strange that only after the death of Raja Jaswant Singh in 1678, he should have found it absolutely necessary to annex Marwar in order to guard the trade route. If the Emperor desired so, he could have done it when Jaswant Singh proved treacherous. But the case was otherwise and the first motive ascribed to the Emperor must be ruled out as a cause of the Rajput war.

Commercial importance never led him to annex Marwar

The second motive, according to Sir Sarkar, was to divide Rajputana by the annexation of Marwar into two unequal halves. There is not the slightest foundation for the belief that Aurangzeb ever entertained the idea of annexing the State of Rajputana which already 'owned the sway of the Mughals and its princes were peers of the Empire and servants of State.' Under Akbar the Rajput princes had accepted the Mughal suzerainty and were given positions of power and trust. Aurangzeb fully realised

Annexation of Marwar for the division of Rajputana cannot be taken as a cause of the Rajput war

the necessity of continuing this tried and proved policy. There is ample evidence to prove that Aurangzeb continued this policy and took pains to follow it. His forbearing treatment to Raja Jaswant Singh, who had proved himself a traitor not only once or twice but throughout his career, is in point, and the fact that the Rajput princes continued to serve the State upto the last as soldiers and statesmen and fought the battles for Aurangzeb in all parts of the Empire, is a convincing proof of his having followed the traditional conciliatory policy of his ancestors, initiated by Akbar. The motive of annexing Marwar in order to divide Rajputana cannot be held to be a cause of the Rajput war. The second motive, on analysis, thus falls to the ground.

The third cause, according to Sir Sarkar was "that the success of Aurangzeb's plan of forcible coversion of the Hindus required that Jaswant Singh's State should sink into a quiescent dependency or a regular Province of the Empire. Hindu resistance to the policy of religious persecution must be deprived of a possible efficient head." Leaving aside the debatable question of the alleged plan of forcible conversion of the Hindus, there are some signal discrepancy in his account. Jaswant Singh's State was not and had never been anything more than a quiescent dependency of the Empire (even under the powerful Jaswant Singh) and it was now highly improbable that it would have become anything more under a minor Rajah. It seems very odd indeed that Aurangzeb considered the minor son of Jaswant Singh a more powerful weapon of resistance to his alleged policy of religious persecution than Jaswant Singh himself. Why did then Aurangzeb leave Jaswant Singh undisturbed in his possession when he was not only the acknowledged leader of the Hindu nobility but had also, as has been suggested by Sarkar himself, inclination towards assuming the role of the hero of persecuted Hinduism ? Jaswant Singh had proved his hostility to the cause of the Emperor not only once or twice but throughout his career. Yet he was entrusted with positions of trust and power and given important

Forcible conversion of the Hindus by reducing Marwar to a dependency of the Mughal Empire is absoultely false

commands on the outlying posts of the Empire, where he could do great harm to the imperial cause. It would be strange to say that Aurangzeb was afraid of him but stranger still is the suggestion given by the medieval and modern historians that Aurangzeb should have been afraid of the untried and unproved son of the powerful Jaswant Singh and should have spied in him a "possible efficient head to resist his policy and sought to remove him. After the death of Jaswant Singh there were other powerful Rajput princes left in the field who might have assumed the role of leadership of persecuted Hinduism." So the removing of the "possible efficient head" could not be a motive and must be left out of consideration.

Events

Events tell a different tale. Jaswant Singh died on December, 1678 without any issue. But on 26th February, 1679 Aurangzeb was informed that two of the widows of Jaswant Singh had given birth to two posthumous sons at Lahore. When the Emperor made an enquiry about the question of succession, there was no opposition to it from any quarter. But now the question of heir had to be settled. Aurangzeb ordered the Ranis to bring their sons to the Imperial court so that their claim and legitimacy might be investigated and proved. The delay of their attending the court made the Emperor very anxious on account of the vacant throne. After three months' waiting he, in the interest of Marwar and in the discharge of his Imperial responsibility, invested Indar Singh as the Raja of Marwar on the 26th May, 1679. This gives the greatest lie to the suggestion that Aurangzeb wanted the annexation of Marwar.

Delay of ascertaining the legality of the sons of Jaswant Singh

Indar Singh as the Raja of Marwar

The family of Raja Jaswant Singh reached Delhi at the end of June, 1679 and the claims of the princes were again placed before the Emperor who ordered that the two princes should be brought to the court. If the case of the princes was proved right, they would be raised to the throne. None could doubt the honest motive of Aurangzeb and only a

Claims of the princes put up before the Emperor after four months

biased mind can read anything sinister in his actions. Sir J. N. Sarkar asserts that Aurangzeb 'ordered that the children be brought up in his *harem*.' This is a misreading of the statement in *Ma'asir-e-Alamgir*. He simply ordered the two princes to be brought to the court.

The self-styled guardian of the princes, Durgadas thought otherwise. He knowing the cautious policy of Aurangzeb decided to defy the Imperial authority and to escape to Marwar and place Prince Ajit on the throne. The Emperor got wind of this and in order to avoid the risk of trouble ordered the interested persons and the Rani to be lodged in the fortress of Nurgarh. But Durgadas cutting down the Imperial guards made good his escape. This was the first action of the Rajput war. It was thus Durgadas who let loose the horrors of the Rajput war, which brought untold sufferings to millions of Rajputs.

Durgadas escaped with the Rani from Imperial court

Thus the Rajputs forced the war upon Aurangzeb. So it was the duty of the Mughal Emperor to fight with all his might against the forces of disruption in the Empire. It was a matter of execution rather than of policy. He tried more than once to avoid the war but Durgadas did not pay heed to it. Aurangzeb was at last compelled to send a vast army against Marwar under his three sons and himself moved down to Ajmer, in order to direct the operation from there. The Rathors were defeated and Marwar was occupied. The Emperor, convinced by the rallying of the Rathors on the legitimacy of Prince Ajit at once took the just and conciliatory step of removing Indar Singh from the throne of Marwar. This step of the Emperor received no response and the war went on. The Rani appealed for help to her relative, the Rana Raj Singh of Mewar. Raj Singh took up the cause of Ajit Singh and the war broke out with great fury in November, 1679 and lasted till 1681. The Mughals overran Udaipur, and captured Chitor. Aurangzeb now started for Ajmer leaving his son Akbar in charge of Chitor. It was at that time that the Rajput inflicted a

The Rajput war forced on Aurangzeb

Capture of Udaipur and Chitor

Rebellion of prince Akbar suppressed

severe defeat on the prince. The Emperor being dissatisfied with Akbar for his failure transferred him to Marwar. At this Akbar rose in revolt against his father and joined the Rajputs. The rebellion of Akbar was, however, suppressed.

The Rajput war was not over when Aurangzeb died

The war with Marwar went on. At last the Rathor leaders saw reason and in 1688 prince Ajit asked for the Emperor's pardon. Aurangzeb readily granted it and conferred *mansabs* and *jagirs* on Ajit. Durgadas who had given so much trouble to him was appointed *Faujdar* of Patan in Gujrat. But they abused the trust placed in them and rose in revolt again in 1701. The Emperor had to take the field again. They submitted in 1705 and were again pardoned and honoured. The war was not over when the Emperor died in 1707.

Conclusion

From the above statement it is clear that for the Rajput war and the incalculable misery it wrought and the unimaginable harm it did, Durgadas, prince Ajit and Rana Raj Singh were to be blamed and not Aurangzeb. But the Emperor has been the victim of some of the greatest misrepresentations in history.

Rise of the Marathas

Shivaji's father was an officer of Bijapur State

The rising power of the Marathas in the south was a great factor to be reckoned with during the reign of Aurangzeb. It proved more than anything else the cause of the dismemberment of the Mughal Empire. Shivaji, the arch enemy of the Mughals was the second son of Shahji Bhonsla. Shahji Bhonsla was a distinguished officer in the army of Ahmadnagar State. He, like Malik Ambar, tried to stem the tide of Mughal advance in the Deccan. But on the fall of Ahmadnagar to the Mughals he transferred his services to Bijapur State in 1636. Here he was given an extensive *Jagir* in the Karnatak by his new master in appreciation of his services.

Early life of Shivaji

Shivaji with his mother Jijibi was placed under the charge of an able Brahmin named Dadaji Konddev who brought him up as an orthodox Hindu. The thrilling tale of the Hindu heroes told by his mother and the influence of his teacher and other saints like Guru Ram Das made a profound influence

on the mind of Shivaji. Since then he was fired with the ambition of carving out for himself an independent kingdom. He organised a band of the hillmen called the Mawalis for his ambitious object and began to raid into the territory of Bijapur State. He took the hill-fort of Tarana and the fort of Raigarh also fell into his hands. He occupied Kondana from a Bijapur agent. His activities enranged the Sultan of Bijapur who arrested his father, Shahji Bhonsla for his son's insubordination. But Shivaji was not a man to be faltered. Through the help of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan he got his father released. He remained quiet for a time (1650-55). He resumed his offensive operations in 1656 and annexed Jawli by treachery. The conquest of Jawli opened the door to the south. When Aurangzeb was busy in waging war against Bijapur he gathered his strength and raided the south-western territory of the Mughals. The Imperialists defeated him but could not make much headway as Aurangzeb had to go to the north on hearing of the illness of his father. This gave Shivaji a golden chance to strengthen his power. Shivaji next turned his attention to the conquest of Northern Konkan which was occupied in 1659.

Raids into Bijapur State

Operations against the Mughals

Freed from the fear of immediate attack from the Mughals, the Sultan of Bijapur determined to crush the power of Shivaji. In 1659, a vast army was sent against Shivaji under the command of Afzal Khan. To carry on negotiations Shivaji went to see the Bijapur general and in an interview had him murdered in November, 1650. Almost all the Maratha authorities have blamed Afzal Khan for the incident while Muslim as well as European historians inform us that 'Afzal was unarmed when he went to meet Shivaji.' A careful and impartial study of the subject shows that it was Shivaji and not Afzal Khan who was responsible for the murder.

Attempt of the Bijapur Sultan to crush Shivaji

Murder of Afzal Khan by Shivaji

Shivaji had by this time enhanced his power and position by the capture of a number of forts. He occupied the fort of Panala which he had to evacuate in 1660. Hostilities soon came to an end and a treaty was concluded between Shivaji and the Sul-

Shivaji was acknowledged as an independent ruler

tan of Bijapur in which the former was acknowledged as an independent ruler.

Aurangzeb and Shivaji

Shivaji had so lnog been engaged in aggrandizing his territory out of the kingdom of Bijapur. He now turned his attention towards the dominions of the Mughals. On his accession to the throne Aurangzeb appointed Shaista Khan Viceroy of the Deccan and ordered him to punish the refractory chief. Shivaji was defeated and the port of Chakan was captured. Next the Mughal Viceroy occupied Pooda and the Kalyan district of the Konkan. But one night in April, 1663 Shivaji suddenly entered into the bed-chamber of Shaista Khan's camp and slew one of his sons. Shaista Khan narrowly escaped with the loss of his thumb. Shaista Khan was recalled from the Deccan for his negligence and he was transferred to Bengal as Governor. In 1664, Shivaji sacked the fort of Surat and even plundered the pilgrim ships. The Emperor was, therefore, compelled to send an efficient army under the command of Dilir Khan and Jai Singh against him. Finding no hope of success Shivaji opened negotiations and a treaty was concluded at Purandar by which the Maratha chief ceded 20 forts to the Mughals. Then Jai Singh invited him to see the Emperor at Agra. Being assured of his safety Shivaji with his son Shambhuji started for Agra. He was properly honoured at the Mughal court but for his insolent conduct Aurangzeb kept him under surveillance. Shivaji soon hit upon a plan for his escape and 'by a clever stratagem he made a dramatic escape. He directly went to the Deccan but was compelled to submit to the Mughals. At the request of Muazzem Shah and Jai Singh the Emperor conferred on him the title of *Raja*. But he soon renewed his hostilities and recovered most of his territory which he surrendered according to the treaty of Purandar. As Aurangzeb was then called upon to deal with the Yusufzais' rising on the North-West Frontier, he could not pay much attention to it. Shivaji made successful campaigns during the years, 1673 and

Shivaji's attack on Shaista Khan

Sack of Surat by Shivaji

Treaty of Purandar, 1665

Dramatic escape of Shivaji from Agra where he was under royal custody

Shivaji styled himself king

1674. He was crowned as a king at Raigarh on 16th June, 1674.

On seeing the Mughals heavily engaged on the North-West Frontier, Shivaji made use of his power. He entered into alliance with the Sultan of Golkonda and captured Jinji, Vallore and many other important places and annexed those to his kingdom. Before putting all his plans into execution, he was carried away by the unseen hand of death at the premature age of 53 in 1680.

His further conquests

His death, 1680

Administration of Shivaji

Shivaji was a great administrator. He introduced a better system of Government for his people. He was assisted by a Council of eight ministers. For the purpose of efficient administration Shivaji divided his kingdom into three provinces, each of which was under an able Viceroy. Each province was subdivided into districts. The village was the lowest unit. Justice was administered by *Nayaadish* or the Chief Justice. Shivaji organised the system of land revenue basing upon the principles laid down by Todar Mall and Malik Ambar. The assessment was made after a proper survey of land and the rent of the State was fixed at two-fifths of the gross produce. He realised military contributions termed 'Chauth' and 'Sardesmukhi' from regions not owing his sovereignty. He also organised an efficient military system. At the outset the Maratha army was in the nature of a militia, but Shivaji created a standing army and improved its discipline. His army mostly consisted of infantry and cavalry. In order to check corruption he abolished the system of *jagir* and introduced cash payment for his soldiers. He strengthened his military position by building considerably big fleet. In short, Shivaji's administration was efficient and enlightened.

Division of the kingdom

Revenue system

Army organisation

Shivaji occupies a distinguished place in the history of India. From the position of a petty Jagirdar he rose to the rank of a ruler by dint of merit and ability. He gave a new life to the Marathas and welded them into a nation. Himself an orthodox Hindu, Shivaji was tolerant to other faiths and showed proper respect to women. He fought for the

Character of Shivaji

glory of Hinduism and whatever may be his faults, he was bold, active and intelligent. He was indeed one of the best constructive geniuses that Hindu-India has ever produced.

The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb

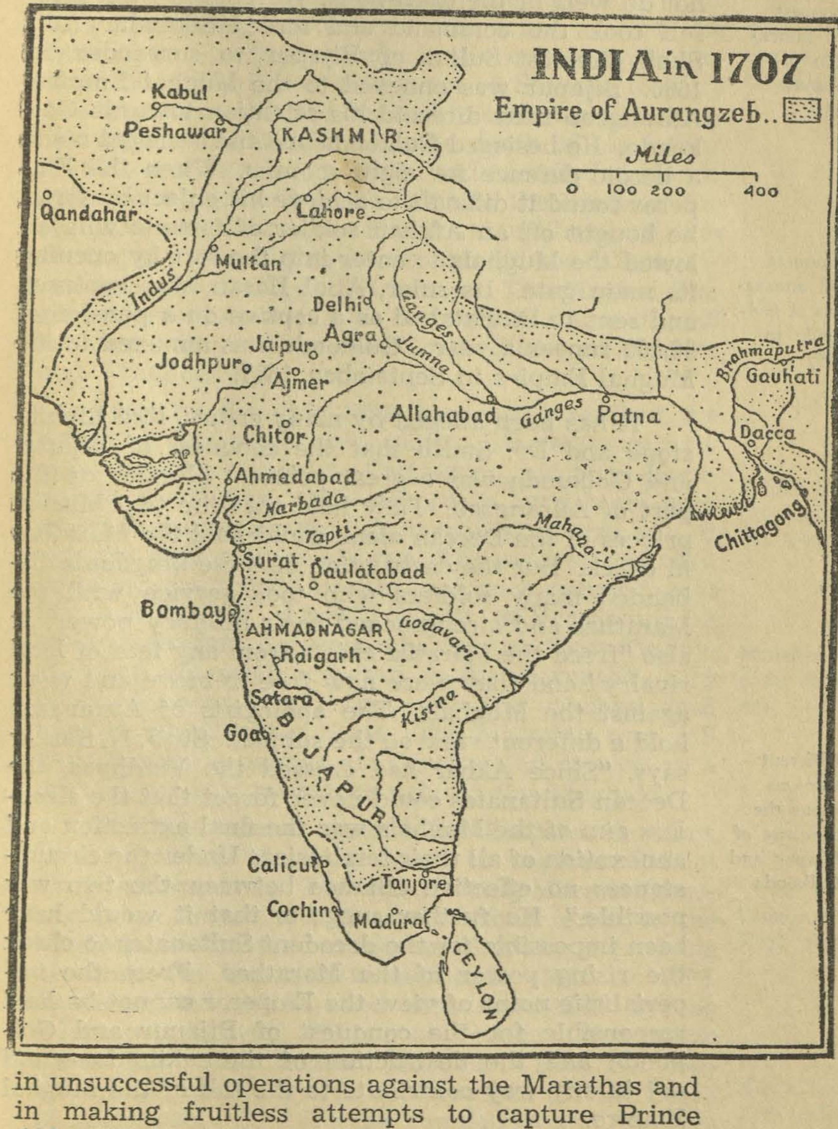
Aurangzeb followed the traditional policy of his forefathers in the Deccan

Aurangzeb's Deccan policy was the continuation of the traditional policy of his forefathers. Like them, he wanted to extend his territory to the south. His very policy has been clarified in the remarks of Edwards and Garret when they say "He (Aurangzeb) was following the policy of aggressive imperialism, initiated by Akbar in the 16th century and encouraged by his successors, Jahangir and Shah Jahan." On his accession to the throne, he was mostly occupied with the affairs of the North and so he could not pay attention to the Deccan. But the decayed power of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda and the rise of the Maratha power at their cost created a new political problem in the Deccan. This situation was further aggravated by the rebel Prince Akbar who fled to the court of Shambhuji, son and successor of Shivaji. It was under these circumstances that Aurangzeb was compelled to go to the Deccan in person. Thus the Deccan policy of Aurangzeb was determined by three factors, namely (a) the extinction and annexation of the decadent Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda, (b) the removal of the danger caused by the presence of his rebel son, Prince Akbar in the court of Shambhuji and (c) the suppression of the Maratha power held by the son of Shivaji. The non-payment of tributes in arrear by the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda, their supply of resources to the Maratha in the form of black-mail and the internal dissensions of Deccan Sultans stimulated Aurangzeb to carry out his imperialistic designs.

It has been alleged by the hostile critics that the Shia faith of the Deccan Sultans inspired Aurangzeb to wage war against the two Muslim Kingdoms in the south. Existence of a good number of Shia Muslims in the State and the appointment of Mir Jumla who was a Shia Muslim to the responsible post speak to the contrary.

Campaigns of Aurangzeb in the Deccan

Aurangzeb left Ajmer for the Deccan and reached Ahmadnagar in 1682. He wasted about four years in unsuccessful operations against the Marathas and in making fruitless attempts to capture Prince Akbar. Early operations



Conquest and annexation of Bijapur, 1686

Aurangzeb then turned his attention to the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda. At first the Emperor sent Prince Azam against Bijapur, but he could not do well in the operations. Aurangzeb then himself took the command and forced Sikandar Adil Shah, the last Sultan of Bijapur to surrender in 1686. Bijapur was annexed to the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb next direcetd his attention towards Golkonda. He besieged Golkonda and the besieged made a heroic defence for eight months. When the Emperor found it difficult to achieve his object by force, he bought off an Afghan soldier of fortune who allowed the Mughals to enter into the fort by opening its main gate. Its ruler, Abul Hasan, was captured and sent to Daulatabad as a captive on a pension of 50,000 rupees a year. Golkonda was annexed to the Mughal Empire in September, 1687.

Conquest and annexation of Golkonda in 1687

It has been alleged by many critics, like Elphinstone and Dr. Smith that the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda was a great political blunder on the part of Aurangzeb. They hold that the two Muslim princes of the Deccan alone could hold the Marathas in check. But the destruction of these kingdoms disbanded many soldiers who took service with the Marathas and strengthened their military power. It also "freed the Maratha chiefs from any fear of local rivalry" and they were now free to move and work against the Mughals. The apologists of Aurangzeb hold a different view on the subject. Sir J. N. Sarkar says, "Since Akbar had crossed the Vindhyas, the Deccan Sultanates could never forget that the sleepless aim of the Mughals was the final extinction and annexation of all their territories. Under the circumstances no effective alliance between the two was possible." He further suggests that it would have been impossible for the decadent Sultanates to check the rising power of the Marathas. From the imperialistic point of view the Emperor cannot be held responsible for the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda and the destruction of these kingdoms did not in any way contribute to the fall of the Mughal Empire.

Different opinions about the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda

Aurangzeb and Shivaji's Succesors

It has already been discussed that the Mughal Emperor had failed to crush Shivaji and to destroy the power of the Marathas. On the fall of Bijapur and Golkonda, he directed his arms against the Marathas. His first attempt was crowned with success. Shambhuji, the eldest son of Shivaji, took up the Maratha cause and decided to continue the struggle against the Mughals on the death of his father. But he was defeated, captured and executed in March, 1639. His capital Raigarh fell into the hands of the Mughals and Shahu, the infant son of Shambuji, was captured. Aurangzeb kindly treated the infant boy and brought him up in his *harem*. The Mughal Emperor further extended his territory to the south and realised tributes from the Hindu States of Tanjore and Trichinapoly.

The success of the Mughals

Thus by the year 1696, Aurangzeb reached the height of his power and glory. His territory now extended from Kabul to Chittagong and from Kashmir to the Kaveri. "All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzeb now ; but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of his end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life was now opened", says Sir J. N. Sarkar. After the death of Shambhuji his younger brother Rajaram who escaped from the royal court and safely reached in the Karnatak (now in the Madras Presidency) was the acknowledged head of the Maratha State. The Marathas now rallied round the banner of Rajaram and carried on a war of national resistance against the Mughals.

Results of the Maratha wars

Marathas under Rajaram

The tide turned against the Emperor in May, 1690 when the Mughals failed to capture Panhal from the Marathas. Two enterprising Maratha generals made incessant raids and became terror to the Mughals. After the murder of Santaji, one of the generals, the Imperialists captured Jingi in 1698. Rajaram died in 1700 and was succeeded by his minor son, Shivaji III whose regency was taken up by Rajaram's widow, Tara Bai. Tara Bai continued the hostility with the Mughals till the death of Aurangzeb. The Deccan campaigns and the Maratha wars told heavily upon the health of the old

Capture of Jingi, 1698

Death of Aurangzeb, 1707 A.D.

Emperor who died in February, 1707 at Ahmadnagar.

Effects of Aurangzeb's Deccan policy

The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb ultimately ended in failure. Though he conquered the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, it did not strengthen his power and position. On the other hand, his prolonged warfare with the Marathas caused a heavy drainage of money on the royal exchequer and his long absence in the distant Deccan threw the administration of Northern and Central India into disorder. In his continued absence, the officers became uncontrolled and the administration grew slack and corrupt. Agriculture and trade suffered as a result of prolonged Deccan wars. The Deccan campaigns brought great changes to the Imperial policy and it told upon the reputation of one of the greatest Mughal Emperors. In this connection Dr. Smith remarks, "The Deccan was the grave of his reputation as well as of his body", while J. N. Sarkar says, "If Spanish ulcer ruined Napoleon, the Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzeb." As the opposition of the Spaniards caused great harm to Napoleon, similarly the Marathas played an important part in frustrating the attempts of Aurangzeb in the Deccan.

Causes of Aurangzeb's failure

National spirit of the Maratha soldiers

The failure of Aurangzeb against the Marathas may be ascribed to the following factors. In the first place, the rising tide of Maratha nationalism was an important cause of the failure of the Mughals. Shivaji died but the spirit with which he built up the Maratha power did not die. Aurangzeb defeated the Marathas on several occasions but he could not crush their spirit of nationalism. The revived spirit of nationalism cannot be crushed. That was why the Marathas even after the defeat and death of Shambuhji rallied round the banner of Rajaram, took up his cause and fought to the last against the Mughals. Besides, the Mughal army was unwieldly and inefficient. They could not move quickly, while the Maratha soldiers were mobile and could move with quickness in the field of action. The morality of Mughal soldiers had been degenerated to a large

Inefficiency of the Mughal army

degree by pomp and luxury. They were now more a show than capable of active service in the field. The mutual jealousy and rivalry among the Mughal generals also stood in the way of any effective action. But the guerilla tactics of the Marathas contributed more than anything else to the failure of the Mughals. The isolated attacks of the Maratha soldiers baffled all attempts of the Imperial armies. In the face of the guerilla tactics of the Maratha soldiers the Mughal soldiers could not do well and hence all their efforts ended in cloud and smoke. To these causes of failure must be added the natural calamities which came in the shape of flood, famine and pestilence and made a havoc in the Mughal camp.

Guerilla tactics of the Marathas

Natural calamities

Estimate of the Character of Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb was undoubtedly one of the greatest rulers of Indo-Pakistan. As a general, as an ideal ruler, as a simple and pious man, as an impartial judge and a well-wisher of his subjects, Aurangzeb deserves a high place among the greatest rulers of the world. Simplicity and dutifulness, impartiality and honesty of purpose were the part and parcel of his character. Possessed of undaunted bravery, grim tenacity of purpose and ceaseless activity, he was the ideal monarch of his line.

One of the greatest rulers of Indo-Pakistan

Though during the early period of his reign, Aurangzeb had to take severe measure for securing the throne, he must be excused for doing so in consideration of the almost traditional practice of his forefathers and the political condition of the time. But once he was on the throne, he never indulged in unnecessary bloodshed. On the contrary, he was prone more to mildness than severity. His ideal of kingship was very noble. "I was sent into the world by Providence," said Aurangzeb, "to live and labour, not for myself but for others ; that it is my duty not to think of my own happiness except so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of my people." He was true to his lofty ideal. On his accession he abolished as many as eighty kinds of taxes of which many were imposed on the traders and the Hindus. He could not tolerate religion to

Early measures justified by the then circumstances

His deal of kingship

be overridden by politics. And so he raised his voice against 'the danger that was ahead'. There is no doubt that he tried to restore Islam to its purity and perfection. It is also true that he lived and ruled India as a Muslim ruler and that was why he was opposed and hated by the non-Muslims who had enjoyed much indulgence under Akbar.

As a general he had few equals

Aurangzeb was gifted with courage, keen intellect and physical power. The war of succession, the suppression of the rebellions and the Deccan campaigns proved his ability and capacity as a soldier and general. In diplomacy, generalship and statescraft he had few equals. If he could not achieve success with the Marathas, it was due to the unfavourable circumstances in which he had been placed.

Benevolent ruler

Impartial judge

As a ruler, Aurangzeb attended in person to every detail of the State administration. His vigilant eyes fell on many illegal taxes, malpractices and anti-Islamic institutions. He encouraged agriculture and systematically constructed roads and bridges. He was an impartial judge and made no distinction between 'the rich and the poor, the noble and the commoner.' Though simple in life, he maintained the dignity of the court.

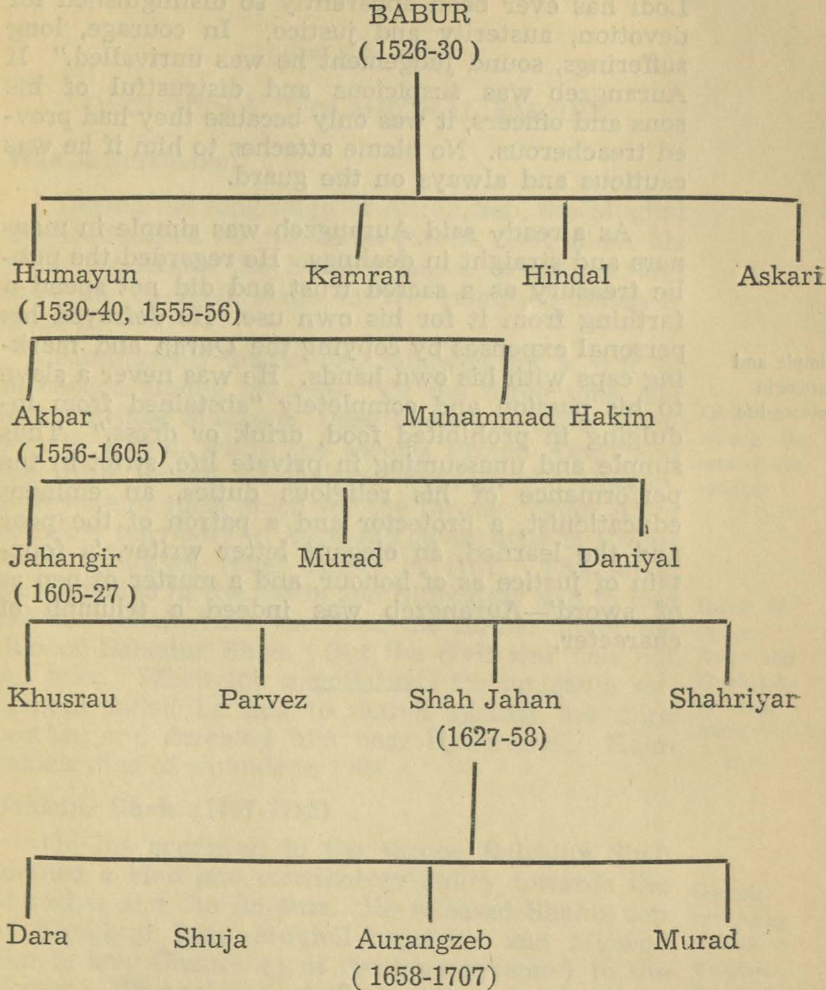
Eminent educationist and patron of learning

Himself an eminent educationist, Aurangzeb was a liberal patron of education. He established many educational institutions in the different cities of his far-flung Empire. He knew the *Quran* and a good number of *Hadiths* by heart. He was well-versed in Muslim theology and jurisprudence. He had also good knowledge of Arabic and Persian literature. The *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri* was compiled under his direction.

Himself a pious Muslim, he was tolerant to other other religions

Aurangzeb was a pious Muslim but at the same time he was tolerant to other religions. During his reign many Hindus like Jaswant Singh and Jai Singh were appointed to the highest posts of the State and the number of Hindu higher officers was greater than that in the time of Akbar. But he was very particular about his religious duties enjoined by the *Shariat*. Kafi Khan remarks, "Of all the sovereigns of the House of Timur—nay, of all the

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE GREAT MUGHALS



sovereigns of Delhi..........no one since Sikdar Lodi has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity and justice. In courage, long sufferings, sound judgement he was unrivalled." If Aurangzeb was suspicious and distrustful of his sons and officers, it was only because they had proved treacherous. No blame attaches to him if he was cautious and always on the guard.

Simple and austere in private life

As already said Aurangzeb was simple in manners and straight in dealings. He regarded the public treasury as a sacred trust and did not spend a farthing from it for his own use. He defrayed his personal expenses by copying the *Quran* and marking caps with his own hands. He was never a slave to his passion and completely "abstained from indulging in prohibited food, drink or dress." Thus simple and unassuming in private life, strict in the performance of his religious duties, an eminent educationist, a protector and a patron of the poor and the learned, an elegant letter writer, 'a fountain of justice as of honour, and a master of pen as of sword'—Aurangzeb was indeed a triumph of character.

CHAPTER VII

DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

War of Succession

During the long reign of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire reached its maximum extent. But under his weak successors the Empire began to decline and came to its final stage in the reign of Bahadur Shah II.

Aurangzeb's death was followed by a war of succession among his sons. Of the three sons, the eldest Prince Muazzam (also known as Shah Alam) was in Kabul, while the second Prince Azam and the third Prince Kambaksha were in the Deccan. Everyone of them stood for the throne. Shah Alam marched hurriedly to Agra and gave battle to Prince Azam at Jajan (near Agra) in 1707. The latter was defeated in the battle and ultimately had to lose his life. Shah Alam ascended the throne under the title of Bahadur Shah. But the civil war was not yet over. When the negotiations for amicable settlement failed he had to march against the third brother and defeated him near Hyderabad. Kambaksha died of wounds in 1709.

Civil war among the sons of Aurangzeb

Defeat of Prince Azam and Kambaksha by Shah Alam

Bahadur Shah (1707-1712)

On his accession to the throne Bahadur Shah adopted a kind and conciliatory policy towards the Marathas and the Rajputs. He released Shahu, son of Sambhuji from Mughal captivity and allowed him to levy Chauth ($\frac{1}{4}$ of the land revenue) in the Deccan. The release of Shahu gave great advantage to the Mughals. His arrival at the Maratha court led to a civil war between the partisans of Shahu and those of Tara Bai. The civil war kept the Marathas engaged and thus prevented them for the time being from giving trouble to the Mughals. Bahadur Shah also concluded a peace treaty with the Rajputs by which the independence of the latter was acknowledged.

Conciliatory policy towards the Marathas & the Rajputs

Revolts of the Sikhs

Bahadur Shah had to face a serious revolt in the Punjab where the Sikhs under the leadership of Banda were carrying on a war of revenge against the Mughals. Banda had sacked the town of Sirhind and became a danger to the Mughals. The Emperor marched against him in person and defeated him in the battle. Though his stronghold, Lohgarh, was captured, Banda managed to escape to the hills.

Ravages of Sikh leader checked

Bahadur Shah died in 1712. He was "a man of mild and equable temper, learned, dignified and generous to a fault". But his negligence to duty earned for him the title, "Headless King."

His death

Jahandar Shah (1712-1713)

The death of Bahadur Shah was followed by a war of succession for the throne among his four sons. Three sons were killed in the course of war and the eldest but the worst, Jahandar Shah secured the throne with the help of Zulfiqur Khan who became the chief minister of the Emperor. Jahandar Shah was no good as a ruler. Regarding him Kafi Khan remarks, "In the brief reign of Jahandar violance had full sway. It was a fine time for minis-trels and singers and all the tribes of dancers and actors." His authority was soon challenged by his nephew, Farrukhsiyar, son of Azim-us-Shan. Farrukhsiyar, with the help of two Sayyid brothers, Hussain Ali and Abdullah defeated him and ascended the throne. Jahandar Shah was subsequently murdered at the order of the new Emperor.

Struggle for the throne

Farrukhsiyar (1713-19)

Farrukhsiyar was a weak king and so he left the entire charge of administration in the hands of two Sayyid brothers of Barha who had supported his claim to the throne. Sayyid Abdullah became the Prime Minister and Sayyid Hussain Ali the Commander-in-Chief of the army. They became so powerful in the empire that during the period of 1713-1720, they actually played the part of king-makers. Farrukhsiyar was trying to overthrow the Sayyid

brothers from power but they proved too strong for him.

Farrukhsiyar's reign was disturbed by the Rajputs, the Jats and the Sikhs who created trouble for the empire. The Emperor sent Hussain Ali against Ajit Singh of Marwar who defied imperial authority, and even captured Ajmer. Sayyid Hussain Ali compelled Ajit Singh to make an abject submission. The Jats under Churaman renewed their plundering activities near Agra. Churaman was ultimately brought to submission through the medium of the Sayyid brothers but the former was allowed to retain the fort of Thun. The most important event of Farrukhsiyar's reign was the Sikh rising under the leadership of Banda. Lohagarh which the Mughals had captured in 1713 was recovered by Banda. He even made inroads into the Mughal territory. The Mughals besieged Lohagarh and inflicted a defeat on him. He was subsequently taken prisoner and put to death along with a large number of his followers. This had a salutary effect upon the Sikhs who dared not to rise up against the Mughals for a time.

Troubles created by the Rajputs, the Jats and the Sikhs

Execution of Banda and suppression of the Sikh rising

The Emperor did not like any more the supremacy of the Sayyid brothers and so in order to take away the authority from their hands he continued to plot against them. But when Sayyid Abdullah was harassed by the Emperor the matter came to a head. Hussain Ali who was the viceroy of the Deccan entered into a treaty with the Marathas to remove the Emperor. He secured the help of the Marathas on condition that Shahu, the Maratha leader, would levy the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi (additional levy of 10 p.c.) over the whole of the Deccan. He then proceeded towards Delhi with the Maratha army, entered the capital and deposed the Emperor. Farrukhsiyar was imprisoned, blinded and finally put to death in 1719.

The Emperor deposed by the Sayyid brothers

On the death of Farrukhsiyar the king-makers placed in succession two nominal emperors, Rafi-ud-Darjat and Rafi-ud-Dawla on the throne. But they did not reign for a long time. They died in the course of a few months. Another prince named

Nominal rulers on the throne of Delhi

Raushan Akhtar was next placed on the throne. He assumed the title of Muhammad Shah.

Muhammad Shah (1719-48)

Muhammad Shah was a weak, pleasure-loving and an inexperienced young man. He ran the administration of the State through the help of the Sayyid brothers whose supremacy in the court became intolerable to the other nobles. The emperor also tried to be free from the yoke of the Sayyids. He was secretly helping the cause of the rival party. Nizamul-Mulk, the leader of the rival party, established himself in the Government of Deccan in opposition to the Sayyid brothers. He rose in open revolt against the Sayyids and when Hussain Ali was going to chastise the rebel leader he was assassinated. His brother, Abdullah made an attempt to retain his power by placing a mere puppet, Muhammad Ibrahim on the throne of Delhi. But he was defeated and imprisoned. Thus the power of the Sayyids came to an end.

Fall of the Sayyid brothers

Maratha demands granted

Rise and growth of the Sikhs

A brief history of the Sikhs who played an important part in the history of the Mughals should be given here. Guru Nanak was the founder of *Sikhism* and his followers came to be called Sikhs. There were other Gurus (leaders) of whom Sri Guru Gobinda was the last. The Sikhs are strong and hardy people, and they are mostly found in East Punjab.

Guru Nanak, the founder of this sect was born in 1459 at Talevandi, (now called Nankana of today) about thirty five miles from Lahore. From his childhood he had no desire for wordly pleasures. He was married and had two sons, but this did not stand in his way. At the age of 30 he got enlightened on the bank of the river Baen. He then became a *Sadhu* or Saint. For about thirty years Guru Nanak visited the whole of the sub-continent and various parts of the world in order to preach his mission. During the closing year of his life he settled down at Kartarpur (now in Pakistan) on the Ravi and died there in 1538.

Guru Nanak (1469-1538)

Tours of Nanak

Guru Nanak preached the unity of God, laid emphasis on the worship of the True Name, and believed in the necessity of a Guru for the worship of the True Name. He condemned the caste system, idol worship, claims of the Brahmins, blind superstition, and meaningless religious rites. He laid stress on noble deeds and sincere devotion to God.

His teachings

Guru Nanak was followed by Guru Angad Dev. Guru Angad Dev wrote the history of Guru Nanak and strengthened the system of dining together. The third Guru was Guru Amar Das who organised regular preachers to preach his religion. He preached against *Sati*. After him the guruship became hereditary. Guru Ram Das was the fourth Guru. He founded the city of Amritsar and built the sacred tank there. The city and specially the tank became later a place of pilgrimage for the Sikhs.

Guru Angad Dev (1538-52)

Guru Amar Das (1552-74)

Guru Ram Das (1574-81)

With the fifth Guru Arjun, there came a change in the history of the Sikhs. He built the *Har Mandir* (Golden Temple) at Amritsar and compiled the *Granth Sahib* (Scripture). Now the Sikhs were an organised community. They had their own script (*Gurmukhi*), a separate place of pilgrimage and a scripture. Up to his time, Sikhism remained a peaceful sect but after the execution of Guru Arjun at the hands of Jahangir for his political support to Prince Khusrau who revolted against his father, it became a military sect. Thenceforth, the Sikh leaders, besides their spiritual and religious functions, had also to act as military leaders and take arms against the Mughals.

The sixth Guru Har Gobinda was the first Guru who found it necessary to train the Sikhs in the art of fighting and in course of time he organised a regular army. The Emperor Jahangir kept him a prisoner for some years in the fort of Gwalior. After his release he fought several wars with the Mughals during the reign of Shah Jahan. In the battles of Amritsar (1628), Lahira (1631) and Kartarpur (1634) he won victories over the Mughals.

Guru Har Gobinda (1606-45)

Wars with the Mughals

The seventh Guru was Guru Rai and the eighth Guru was Guru Har Krishna. The ninth Guru was

Guru Har Rai and Guru Har Krishna (1645-64)

Guru Tegh Bahadur (1664-75)

Guru Tegh Bahadur. During the reign of Aurangzeb he raised the standard of rebellion against the imperial authority. The rebellion was suppresed and the Guru was executed in 1675. The execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur, revolutionized the life of his son, Guru Gobinda Singh who resolved to avenge the death of his father and put an end to the Mughal rule.

Guru Gobinda Singh (1675-1708)

Guru Gobinda Singha was the tenth and the last Guru of the Sikhs. It was under him that the Sikhs rose to power and prominence. He may be regarded as the real founder of the Sikh power. He gave his followers training in the art of warfare and built several forts in Anandpur Sahib.

Foundation of Khalsa

In 1699, Guru Gobinda Singha took a momentous step by laying the foundation of *Khalsa.* In order to fight against the Mughals and to defend Hinduism, on the *Baisakhi* day, in 1699 he laid the foundation of an organisation called *Khalsa.* It now became incumbent on all Sikhs to undergo the ceremony of Amrit and adopt five K's as their distinguishing marks. These were (i) *Kesh* (long hairs), (ii) *Kachha* (Short breeches), (iii) *Kara* (an iron bangle), (iv) *Kirpan* (a small dagger and (v) *Khangha* (comb). Now they came to be called *Singhs* or Lions instead of Sikhs or disciples and the community came to be called the *Khalsa.* Thus Guru Gobinda Singha transformed the religious sect of the Sikhs into an army of warrior-saints.

Guru Gobinda's wars against the Mughals

Guru Gobinda Singh passed the remaining part of his life fighting against the Mughals. Wazir Khan, the Governor of Sirhind, sent his army against Guru Gobinda who fought the battles first at Anandpur, and then at Chamkaur Sahib and Muktsar. All his four sons and many loyal Sikhs were killed but Guru Sahib did not bow down his head to the Mughal Emperor. At last Aurangzeb invited him to the Deccan, but before his arrival there the Mughal Emperor had died. In 1708, Guru Gobinda was stabbed by a Pathan at Nander on his way to the Deccan. Before his death Guru Gobinda Singh appointed one Banda Bairagi the leader of the Sikhs.

Banda Bairagi (also called Banda Bahadur) whose original name was Lachhman Das became a Bairagi in his youth and used to live in an *ashram* at Nander on the banks of the Godavari. When Guru Gobinda Singh went to the Deccan, he met him there and appointed him the military leader of the Sikhs. Banda Bairagi came to the Punjab and after collecting a large number of Sikhs began to plunder the Mughal territories. He devastated the territory of Sirhind (between the Jamuna and the Sutlej) and shed much blood. The battle of Sirhind was a bloody one. Wazir Khan, the Governor Sirhind, was killed and thousands of Muslims were put to the sword. He made Mukhlisgarh (near Sirhind) his capital and renamed it Lohgarh. The Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah sent his forces against him, but they did not meet with much success. At last, during the reign of Farrukhsiyar, Banda, was captured along with 800 companions, and was put to death.

Banda Bahadur

Sack of Sirhind

Mughal expedition against Banda

After the execution of Banda, the Sikhs had no leader, and the Muslim Governor of the Punjab took strong measures against them. For a time the Sikhs had to take refuge in the Himalayan hills and forests. But even then they were on the look out for an opportunity, and when the invasion of Nadir Shah (1739) and Ahmad Shah Abdali (1748-1767) caused anarchy in the Punjab, the Sikhs came out of their fastness and settled in the plains. Here they organised themselves into bands and carried on warfare with the rulers. These bands were called *Misls.* Every *misl* was under a leader. There were twelve misls.

Organisation of 'Misls'

These *misls* captured a large territory in the Punjab and established several independent States. They sometimes fought with each other but when occasion arose they all combined against the Muslims. The leader of one of those *misls* was Charat Singh. His grandson, Rajat Singh established a Sikh empire in the Punjab which will be discussed later on.

Party Politics of the Nobles

With the exception of a very few, all the later Mughals were weak, inefficient and corrupt. Their weakness and inefficiency gave rise to different parties in the court for self-aggrandizement. The nobles were mainly divided into two parties, namely Hindustani and Turani. Those who were born in Indo-Pakistan or had settled in the sub-continent formed the Hindustani party. The Indian born Muslims, the Rajputs and most of the Afghans belonged to this party and they were led by the Sayyid brothers. The Turani party was composed of the foreigners who came from beyond the Oxus and other parts of Central Asia. Chin Qulich Khan better known as Nizam-ul-Mulk was the leader of this party. Besides, there was another party known as the Irani party. The Iranians came from Persia and belonged to the Shia sect. Mir Jumla, the Turani confidenial adviser of Farrukhsiyar tried his best to undo the influences of the Sayyid brothers in the court. The latter were overthrown from power by the combined efforts of the Turanis and the Iranis headed by Nizam-ul-Mulk.

Party feelings among the nobles

The Hindustani party

The Turani party

Break-up of the Empire

During the reign of Muhammad Shah, the dissolution of the Mughal Empire began to work rapidly. Taking the advantage of the weakness at the Centre, a number of provincial Governors threw off their allegiance to the Emperor of Delhi and became virtually independent. The power of the Marathas began to increase and they succeeded in occupying Malwa, Bundelkhand, Gujrat, Berar and Orissa. Of the independent States that arose during this time Oudh, Hyderabad and Bengal were the prominent.

Independence of provinces

The dynasty of the Nizam of Hyderabad in the Deccan was founded in 1724 by Mir Qamar-ud-din whose father Ghazi-ud-din Firuz Jang had migrated to this country from Samarkand during the reign of Aurangzeb. It was under Aurangzeb that he had risen to great eminence. He made his name and fame in the Deccan, and his son Quamar-ud-din was

Nizam of Hyderabad

appointed to a small command in 1684. His promotion was so rapid that in seven years time he received the title of *Chin Qulich Khan*. When Aurangzeb died, he was at Bijapur. He remained neutral during the war of succession and was removed from the Deccan by Bahadur Shah, who appointed him governor of Oudh. For a time he retired from public life, but in the closing years of Bahadur Shah's reign he accepted the office again. When Farrukhsiyar marched towards Delhi, *Chin Qulich Khan* was placed in charge of the defence of that city ; but he was secretly won over by the Sayyids. His neutrality was rewarded with the Viceroyalty of the Deccan and the titles of *Khan Khannan* and *Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahadur Fath Jang*. But this good understanding did not last long and he was transferred to Muradabad. On Farrukhsiyar's death (1719) he was made the governor of Malwa. The foundation of his future greatness was laid in Malwa. Here his proceeding gave cause for suspicion and the Sayyids in disregard to their promise again ordered his transfer. But the Nizam refused to leave Malwa and openly prepared for war. Dilwar Husain Khan and Alim Ali Khan were defeated and slain by him. When Sayyid Husain Ali was going to punish the Nizam in person, he was stabbed to death.

Mir Qumar-ud-din (Chin Qulich Khan)

Viceroy of the Deccan

Transfer to Malwa

After the fall of the Sayyids, Nizam-ul-Mulk was called upon to accept the office of Wazir in the gift of his sovereign. He reached Agra in January, 1722, but the atmosphere of the court was not to his liking. He found himself absolutely out of his element at the gay court of Muhammad Shah. In 1724, he returned to the Deccan and founded an independent State. The Mughal Emperor was soon reconciled to the Nizam and he confirmed him in the viceroyalty of the Deccan with the title of *Asaf Jah*.

Appointment of Nizam-ul-Mulk as Wazir

Another independent dynasty was founded in Oudh by Mir Muhammad Amin, better known in history as Sa'adat Khan. He originally belonged to a Persian family of Khurasan and came to this sub-continent during the reign of Farrukhsiyar. When the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah was in

trobule with the Sayyids, he helped him much. In appreciation of his services Muhammad Shah made him the governor of Agra in 1720 and two years later appointed him the governor of Oudh. In 1724, Sa'adat Khan set up a quasi-independent kingdom. He died in 1739 and was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Safdar Jang. Safdar Jang was held in high esteem by the Mughal Emperor who four years later invested him with the *wizarat* of the Mughal Empire. The *wizarat* became hereditary in his dynasty. He died in 1754 and was succeeded by his son, Shuja-ud-Daulah.

Sa'adat Khan of Oudh founded an independent Kingdom

Bengal became independent for all practical purposes under Alivardi Khan. The history of Bengal will be discussed in detail later on.

Alivardi Khan of Bengal

The Rohilla Afghans settled in the tract to the north of the Ganges that now bears their name (Rohilkhand), and the Marathas extended their power far and wide. Thus within two decades of the death of Aurangzeb, his vast empire began to break up.

The Rohillas

Invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali

The weakness of the Imperial authority invited attacks from different quarters. The Marathas under the leadership of Peshwa Baji Rao advanced to Delhi; Nadir Shah, the Persian king invaded Indo-Pakistan and sacked Delhi ruthlessly and after him Ahmed Shah Abdali made his apperance on the stage of the sub-continent and dealt a death blow to the declining Mughal Empire.

Nadir's invasion

Nadir Shah was assassinated in Teheran in 1747. He was succeeded by one of his officers named Ahmed Shah, an Afghan cheif of the Abdali or Durrani clan. Ahmed Shah Abdali proclaimed himself king of Qandahar and tried to conquer Indo-Pakistan. He invaded the Pubjab in 1748, but was badly defeated by the Imperial army. The Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah died in the same year.

Invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdali

Ahmed Shah (1748-1754)

Muhammad Shah was succeeded by his son, Ahmed Shah. His short reign of six years was full of

troubles and disturbances. Ahmed Shah Durrani invaded Indo-Pakistan for the second time and compelled the Mughal Emperor to cede to him the Punjab and Multan. The Rohillas also raised the standard of rebellion. But the main trobule arose out of a civil war that broke out between the Iranian party led by Safdar and the Turani party led by Ghaziuddin, grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk. The former solicited the help of Ahmed Shah Abdali and the latter of the Marathas. Ghaziuddin defeated his rival and compelled him to retire to Oudh. He then assumed the office of the *Wazir*. In 1754 he dethroned and blinded the Mughal Emperor.

Second invasion of Abdali

Civil war between two parties

Alamgir II (1754-1759)

Ghaziuddin next placed a son of Jahandar Shah on the throne of Delhi who took the title of Alamgir II. Ghaziuddin became all in all in the State. This time Ahmed Shah Abdali marched on Delhi and captured it. This was the 4th invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdali. In 1759, the powerful Ghaziuddin murdered his royal master, Alamgir II, who was succeeded by his son, Shah Alam.

Fourth invasion of Abdali

Shah Alam II (1759-1806)

Shah Alam II was nothing more than a figurehead. The power of the State was actually in the hands of Ghaziuddin whose unscrupulous behaviour made many enemies in the Court. He invited the Marathas to help him against his rivals. In response to his invitation the Maratha army under the leadership of Raghunath Rao, brother of Peshwa Balaji Rao, entered the capital and occupied the whole of the Punjab. This action of the Maratahas alarmed the Muslim powers who stood up against them under the leadership of Ahmed Shah Abdali. They met the Marathas on the historic field of Panipat in 1761 and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. Most of the prominent Hindu leaders died on the battle-field. The number of the Marathas slain in the war was enormous. The Peshwa died of a broken heart in 1761.

Third Battle of Panipat, 1761

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE LATER MUGHALS

AURANGZEB (1658-1707)

- Muhammad Sultan (died 1676)
- Bahadur Shah (1707-12)
  - Jahandar Shah (1712-13)
    - Alamgir II (1754-59)
      - Shah Alam II (1759-1806)
        - Akbar II (1806-37)
          - Bahadur Shah II (1837-58)
  - Azim-us-Shan
    - Farrukhsiyar (1713-19)
  - Rafi-us-Shan
    - Muhammad Ibrahim (1720)
    - Rafi-ud-Daulah (1719)
    - Rafi-ud-Darjat (1719)
  - Jahan Shah
    - Muhammad Shah (1719-48)
      - Ahmad Shah (1748-54)
        - Bidar Bakht
- Azam
- Akbar
  - Nekusiyar (1719)
- Kam Bakhsh
  - Muhi-us-Sunnat
    - Shah Jahan III

The Third Battle of Panipat may be regarded as one of the most decisive events in the history of Indo-Pakistan. The Marathas' hope of founding an empire was shattered and the prestige of the Peshwas was rudely shaken. With the loss of the prestige of the Peshwas the solidarity of the Marathas was gone. Dissensions broke out among the Maratha chiefs and they led to jeopadise the interest of the Marathas. The defeat of the Marathas also gave the English an opportunity to increase their power in the sub-continent. "If Plassey had sown the seeds of British supremacy in India, Panipat afforded time for their maturing and striking roots." Haider Ali, taking the advantage of the Marathas' disaster at Panipat consolidated his power in Mysore and thereby weakened the Maratha hold on the Deccan.

Importance of the battle

Ahmed Shah Abdali left Indo-Pakistan towards the close of 1762. He ordered his Indian chiefs to recognise Shah Alam II as Emperor. In 1765, Shah Alam granted the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company in return for a yearly pension.

Expansion of the Marathas under the Peshwa

The history of the Mughal empire in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent cannot be complete without reference to the rise of the Marathas under the leadership of the Peshwas. The rise of the Marathas in the South is one of the most significant developments in the political history of the Mughal period. The Marathas are short in stature, well-built and hardy. The physical features and the bracing climate of their country, Maharastra have played a great part in making the Marathas active, warlike and simple in their habits. But before the rise of Shivaji, the Marathas were scattered in South India. Under the leadership of Shivaji whose activities, have been discussed in Chapter VI they carved out most of the territories of the South in the third and early fourth quarters of the 17th century. Aurangzeb, the then Mughal emperor, had to fight against the Marathas. In spite of his best efforts and prolonged warfare, the Mughal Emperor failed to crush the power of the Marathas.

Rise of the Marathas under Shivaji

After the death of Aurangzeb, the Marathas carried their raids across Vindhaya in an ever-widening circle. Shahu, the grandson of Shivaji who had been brought up at the Imperial Court was released by Bahadur Shah in 1708. He established himself within five years as the head of the Marathas.

The Marathas under Shahu

He was a devout Hindu but a weak ruler. He appointed Balaji Viswanath, a Konkan Brahmin as his Peshwa in 1713. The Prime Minister of the Maratha State was called the *Peshwa.* Shahu, on account of his long captivity and luxurious upbringing, had become ease-loving and had no capacity to carry on the work of government. So he entrusted the reins of government to his Prime Minister or Peshwa. From this reign the Peshwa became the virtual rulers of the Kingdom. The rule of the Peshwa began in 1713 and lasted up to 1818. There were altogether seven Peshwas.

The rule of the Peshwa began

Balaji Vishwanath (1713-1729)

Balaji Vishwanath, the founder of the Peshwa dynasty was a clever and resourceful leader. He organised the Maratha State by introducing many reforms. He made the office of the Peshwa hereditary. Poona was made his headquarters.

The greatest feat of Balaji Vishwanath was his journey to Delhi (1718) as an ally of Sayyid Brothers to depose the Mughal Emperor, Farrukhsiyar. He marched at the head of 15,000 troops and succeeded in his mission. A treaty was signed with the new Emperor.

Treaty with the Mughals

According to the treaty, the Mughals were to give back all the forts of Shivaji to Shahu and give him the right of collecting *Chauth* (i.e. $\frac{1}{4}$th of the land revenue) and *Sardeshmukhi* (or additional 1/10th) from the six provinces of the Deccan. The Maratha king agreed to pay a tribute of ten lakhs a year to the Mughal Court.

This treaty and the march of the Marathas to Delhi raised the Maratha prestige to great heights and from here started the rise of the Marathas. For the first time the Marathas felt that they could defeat the Mughals and they saw with their own eyes the decayed condition of the Mughal army and organisation.

Balaji Viswanath was succeeded by his son Baji Rao I. He possessed all the qualities of a soldier and a statesman. He was gifted with plenty of common sense. On account of his bravery and statemanship, he is regarded as the a best of the Peshwa. While his father had tried to consolidate the Maratha power in the Deccan, Baji Rao wanted to establish in Northern India. His policy was to strike at the very heart of the Mughal power. During his rule the Marathas conquered Gujrat, Malwa and Bundelkhand, and advanced as far as Delhi. The Nizam of Hyderabad came from the Deccan at the head of a large army to help the Mughal Emperor, but the Marathas defeated him near Bhopal in 1737. The Marathas even captured Salsette and Bassein from the Portuguese. Thus the Maratha power extended far and wide during the time of Baji Rao.

Baji Rao (1720-40)

Extension of Maratha power

During the time of Baji Rao I, some Maratha chiefs who collected *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi*, became very powerful and were virtually independent in their own territories. Baji Rao I realised the importance of national unity and organised these chiefs into a group. This group is called the Maratha Confederacy. The Gaekwar of Baroda, the Sindhia of Gwalior and the Holkar of Indore were among the chief confederates. The Peshwa was the head of the Confederacy.

The Maratha Confederacy

Baji Rao died in 1740 and was succeeded by his eighteen-year old son, Balaji Baji Rao. He was not as able as his father, but he always sought the help and advice of his cousin, Sadashib Rao Bhao who was a man of great ability. During the rule of Balaji Baji Rao, the Maratha power reached the zenith of its glory. The Maratha chiefs were conquering new territories on all sides. Raghuji Bhonsla overran Central Indo-Pak sub-continent and led several expeditions against Bengal. At this, Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal gave him the province of Orissa, and agreed to pay *Chauth* for the provinces of Bengal and Bihar. In 1758, Raghunath, the brother of the Peshwa, captured the Punjab and drove out Zimur, the son and viceroy of Ahmad Shah Abdali at Delhi. But just at that time, when

Balaji Baji Rao (1740-61)

Extension of Maratha power

Defeat of the Maratha at Panipat, 1761

the Marathas were masters of nearly the whole of the sub-continent, Ahmad Shah Abdali inflicted a crushing defeat on them in the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761. This was a severe blow to the Maratha power and the Peshwa died of the shock.

Madhav Rao (1761-72)

After the death of Balaji Baji Rao his son Madhav Rao became the Peshwa. He was a notable figure in Maratha history. He carried out the aims and objects of the Maratha policy as laid down by first Peshwa. But the Marathas could not return to the position they had acquired before 1761. It must be remembered that their power was not totally shattered in the battle of Panipat. Within ten years, the Marathas were again the masters of Delhi and they could boast of having the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II under their authority. The fourth Peshwa Madhav Rao died in 1772.

Narayan Rao (1772-74)

Madhav Rao II (1774-96)

Baji Rao II (1796-1818)

Madhav Rao was succeeded by his younger brother, Narayan Rao. He was soon murdered by his uncle Raghobha who himself wanted to get the Peshwaship. But this was very much resented by Nana Farnavis, who declared a posthumous son of Narayan Rao as the Peshwa and himself became the regent of the new Peshwa. Nana Farnavis conducted the affairs of the State, while the new Peshwa Madhav Rao II was a minor. But the difference between the Maratha chiefs proved disastrous to the Maratha power. Baji Rao II was the seventh and the last Peshwa. During his time the unity among the Marathas disappeared and there was constant fighting among the Maratha chiefs and with the English. As a result, the Marathas after great many ups and downs during one century and a half (1675-1818) went into insignificance.

Akbar Shah II (1806-37)

Shah Alam II was succeeded by his son, Akbar Shah II in 1806. His reign lasted for 31 years. But his rule was practically confined to the precints of the fort of Delhi only. His reign witnessed the growing influence of the English in this sub-continent.

Bahadur Shah II (1837-58)

Bahadur Shah II succeeded his father, Akbar Shah in 1837. He was the last Mughal Emperor in Indo-Pakistan. He was a very kind and charitable king. He never refused help to the poor and for this his treasury became empty. The annual pension granted to him by the British East India Company was the only source of his income.

Kind and charitable king

In 1857, Bahadur Shah joined the War of Independence misnamed the Mutiny. The Indians made a desperate struggle to liberate the country from the yoke of British imperialism. They proclaimed Bahadur Shah as their ruler. But the movement failed for want of proper organisation, discpline and unity. The wrath and vengeance of the English knew no bounds. Many innocent men, women and children were murdered in cold blood. The sons of the Emperor were captured and killed before his very eyes. The Indian Muslims suffered a heavy loss at the hands of the English. Bahadur Shah was arrested and deported to Rangoon where he died in 1862. With him the Mughal rule in Ido-Pakistan came to an end.

War of Independence

End of the Mughal rule

Causes of the fall of the Mughal Empire

The fall of the Mughal Empire was not so sudden as that of Napoleon's or Hitler's regime. The process of distintegration began to work long before and it reached its final stage during Bahadur Shah II, the last ruler of the Mughal dynsty. But the real causes of this fall have been suppressed and the prejudiced historians have emphasised false factors. Aurangzeb has become the victim of their attack in this respect. They have suggested that the religious policy of Aurangzeb had alienated the sympathies and supports of the Hindus from Mughal rule. As a result the Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Jats and the Marathas rose in revolt against the Mughals and hastened the fall of the Empire. It should be remembered here that the Hindus rushed to raise the standard of revolts even in the days of Akbar and the might of Sikhs and Marathas were strongly felt even

Aurangzeb was not responsible for the fall of the Empire so far the religious and the Deccan policies were concerned

during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. So the blame for the Hindu uprisings cannot be laid at the door of Aurangzeb. The seventeenth century was an age of Hindu Revivalism and Aurangzeb had to face it. He was successful to a great extent to frustrate the hopes of the Hindu revivalists. Had there been one more Aurangzeb, India would have had a different history. But his successors were too weak to cope with the situation. During their rule the Marathas became so powerful that they even advanced upto the gate of Delhi. It is further alleged that the Deccan policy of Aurangzeb was another factor for the disintegration of the Mughal Empire. The question has already been discussed elsewhere that the Emperor had simply followed the forward policy of his predecessors and he was in no way responsible for the fall of the Empire. The reasons of the downfall of the Mughal Empire are to be sought elsewhere.

Weak successors of Aurangzeb

Firstly, the incapacity of the later Mughals and the degeneracy of their character contributed largely to the fall of the Mughal Empire. From Babur to Aurangzeb, the Mughals were efficient and competent rulers. But after the demise of Aurangzeb, there were no (except Bahadur Shah) able administrators who could stem the tide of dissolution. Instead of being active, strong and industrious, they became lazy, weak, luxurious and corrupt. Most of them passed their days by indulging in wines and women and left the charge of the administration in the hands of the ministers. They looked on beauty and turned away from duty. The ministers whom the Emperors believed and relied on, sacrificed their loyalty at the altar of their self-interest and ambition.

Absence of a definite law of succession

Secondly, the rule of the Mughals was weakened by the absence of a recognised law of succession. Among the Mughals, Akbar was the only ruler who ascended the throne unopposed after the death of his father. When the question of succession depended on the ability of the candidates and the support they could get, there was sure to follow war at the end of every reign, a fratricidal struggle for the

throne. Thus the absence of a definite law of succession greatly affected the stablity of the Empire.

Thirdly, the deterioration in the character of the nobility in the 18th century proved an important factor of the downfall of the Mughal Empire. In the 16th and 17th centuries under the Great Mughals, the nobles had distinguished themselves both in war and peace. But they were divided into factions,—Irani, Turani and Hindustani—during the later Mughals. They now quarrelled with each other for personal ascendency and self-aggrandizement. About the degradation of the nobility Sir. J. N. Sarkar remarks, "To the thoughtful students of Mughal history, nothing is more striking than the decline of the peerage. The heroes adorn the stage for one generation only and leave no worthy heirs, sprung from their lines. 'Abdur Rahim and Mahabat Khan, Sa'dullah and Mir Jumla, Ibrahim and Islam Khan Rumi, who had made the history of India in the seventeenth century, were succeeded by no son, certainly by no grandson, even half as capable as themselves." So the nobles who once proved men of ability, integrity and loyalty, were now mostly selfish, parasitic or treacherous under the later Mughals.

Degradation of the nobility

Fourthly, military inefficiency was a very potent factor in hastening the decline of the Mughal Empire. The army with which the earlier Mughals had carried out their conquests and extended their dominion far and wide had now become demoralised and inefficient. Irvine writes, "In short, excepting want of personal courage, every other fault in the list of military vices may be attributed to the degenerate Mughals in discipline, want of cohesion, cumbrous luxurious habits, inactivity, bad commissariat and cumbrous equipments." Besides, there was no patriotism in the army which was composed of different elements—Presian, Central Asian and Afghan soldiers.

Military inefficiency

Fifthly, the financial position of the Mughal Empire had been much weakened and the process of national insolvency had started to work long

ago. Due to the maladministration under the later Mughals, the revenue collectors had realised taxes by force from the cultivators, for which many of them were compelled to give up cultivation. Moreover, the expenditure was much greater than the income during the period of the later Mughals. The economic difficulties had thus undermined the stability of the Empire and led it to the brink of ruin.

Decline of the economic condition

Sixthly, the Mughal Empire reached the climax during the time of Aurangzeb. It had extended from Afghanistan to Assam and from Kashmir to Mysore. The vastness of the Empire rendered it impossible for one man to do justice to the administration under the inconvenient conditions of transport and communications of those days. In case of rebellion breaking out in the north, it was not possible for the Emperor to come hurriedly from the south to suppress the rebels. Thus the hold of the Central Government over the Provinces became weak under the later Mughals and this absence of central control over the provinces often induced the ambitious governors to take up arms against the Emperor. During the later Mughals the Deccan, Oudh, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa declared independence.

Vastness of the Empire rendered it impossible to control the provinces

Lastly, when the reign of anarchy and disorder had begun, Nadir Shah of Persia and Ahmed Shah Durrani of Afghanistan invaded Indo-Pakistan. The Irani and Durrani invasion, on the one hand, and the European encroachment, on the other, gave a final blow to the tottering Mughal Empire.

Invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Durrani

CHAPTER VIII

THE MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION

Nature of the Government

The administration of the Mughals was mainly the work of Akbar. In this respect Edwards and Garret remark, "Modern India owes much more than is superficially apparent to the administrative genius of the Great Mughal." His predecessors, Babur and Humayun, could not pay much attention to the administrative side, as they were occupied with the various problems of the newly established empire.

The Mughal rule was mainly foreign and partly Indian. The foreign Arabic and Persian elements had a great share in it and, therefore, the Mughal administration had been called "the Perso-Arabic system in Indian setting." As Sir Jadunath Sarkar observes, "The principles of their Governments, their church policy, their rules of taxation, their departmental arrangement, and the very titles of their officials were imported ready-made from outside India. But a compromise was effected with the older native system already in possession of the field and familiar to the people governed. The details of the imported system was modified to suit local needs."

The Mughal administration is called the Perso-Arabic system in Indian setting

The Mughal Government was essentially military in nature and every officer in the State had to be enrolled in the army list. The Mughal emperors realised the necessity of regulating their lives in accordance with public needs. In order to redress the grievances of the subjects, they gave frequent public audiences. Akbar appeared at *Jharoka* and gave *darshan* to his people. Aurangzeb discontinued this practice and held a full *Darbar* in the *Diwan-i-Khas-o'-Am* where appointments and grants were made. This practice was continued into the reigns of the later Mughals.

The Mughal Emperor enjoyed immense power. He was the head of administration both civil and military. He was the commander of the State forces, the fountain of justice and the chief legislator. He was assisted by a council of ministers, who could only advise but their advice was not binding on the emperor. Though a perfect autocrat the Mughal Emperor cared for the welfare of the people and tried to secure the greatest happiness of the greatest number. As the welfare of the subjects was his main object, he can rightly be called a benevolent despot. It is evident from the contemporary records that the Mughal Emperors paid personal attention to the requirement of the subjects. The empire decayed only when they failed to pay personal attention to State business.

Benevolent despot

Central Administration

It has already been stated that the Emperor was assisted by a number of ministers who formed the main structure of the Central Secretariate. The *Vakil* was the deputy of the Emperor. "He was intermediary between the king and the rest of the official world." His authority depended on the position of the monarch. 'If the Emperor was a minor, he wielded great authority and if the monarch exercised authority, his office was purely ornamental.' In the case of Akbar's minority, Bairam Khan exercised unlimited power as regent and *Vakil.* But when Akbar assumed the charge of the administration, he 'ceased to be an administrative officer and his office was retained just as a title.'

The Dewan was the main minister who was responsible for the Department of Finance. He also exercised general supervision over the administration. He was assisted by several officers of ministerial rank. The *Diwan-i-Khalsha* looked after the Imperial income from lands and the *Diwan-i-Tan* was responsible for the payment of salaries and the assignment of *Jagir.* The *Mushrif-i-Mumalik* and the *Mustafi-i-Mumalik* were the Accountant-General and the Auditor-General respectively.

The Mughal emperor had a number of ministers of whom the following four were the main at the Centre :

(1) Dewan, (2) Mir Bakshi, (3) Mir Saman and (4) Sadr.

The Dewan was in charge of the revenue and financial matters. The Mir Bakshi was the minister in charge of the military establishment. All orders of appointments to *Mansabs* passed through this office. He had to enforce the royal regulations in the army, supervise branding of horses and inspect the stipulated number of soldiers under *Mansabdars*. He was called Pay-master General as he passed the pay bills of the *Mansabdars*. The Mir Saman, later called *Khan-i-Saman*, was minister for supplies and industries. He was responsible for the supply of the requirements of the Imperial establishment. This department became very important and influential under the later Mughals. The *Sadr-us-Sudur* was in charge of religious affairs and dealt with the grants for religious purposes. He also acted as the Chief Qazi, as the emperor had no time to hear all appeals.

The Mir Bakshi

Judicial System

The *Quazi-ul-Quzat* was the chief judicial functionary in the State. He was assisted by two officials, the *Mufti* and the *Mir 'Adl*. The *Mufti* expounded the law and the Qazi delivered the verdict. The *Mir 'Adl* was responsible for bringing the parties to the Court and enforcing decrees. The Chief Qazi was well-versed in Muslim law.

The Provincial Administration

For the convenience of administration, the Mughal emp!ire was divided into several *Subas* (provinces). The number of Subas was 15 in the time of Akbar and it rose upto 20 in that of Aurangzeb. At the head of every province there was a Governor whose title in the time of Akbar was *Sipah-Salar* but under his successors it was changed into *Subedar or Nizam*. His main duties were to maintain law and order in the province, to enforce im-

perial decrees and help the collection of revenue. He was responsible to the emperor for his actions and could be dismissed only by the emperor. He 'had a number of ministers to assist him in controlling the various departments which corresponded to the departments at the centre.'

The *Subas* were subdivided into *Sarkars,* each of which had a number of Parganas. The Amir or *Shiqdar* was the head of the Pargana. There were other units at the Provincial Government which have been discussed in Chapter III.

Revenue Administration

The Mughal emperors organised the administration of the revenue in accordance with the indigenous needs. The Dewan was the head of the revenue administration. A detailed discussion of the Revenue system has been made before.

Sources of revenue

The fiscal services of the empire were divided into two main divisions—central and local. The central revenue was derived from commerce, mint, presents, inheritance, salt, customs and land. Of these, land revenue was the most important.

The army

The history of the Mughal army is mainly the history of the Mansabdari system, the main features of which have been discussed in Chapter III. The Mughal forces consisted of five branches—infantry, cavalry, fire armsmen, elephants and war boats.

Achievements of the Mughal Rule

Political unity

There were notable achievements of Mughal Rule in the sub-continent. Firstly, the Mughal empire gave political unity to the whole of Indo-Pakistan for several generations. All the twenty Mughal provinces had the same system of administration, the same official language and the same administrative rules and regulations. Secondly, the Mughal rule put an end to the isolation of Indo-Pakistan. For want of contact with the rest of the world, 'the outlook had become narrow and the spirit of progress was taken out of the people. The restoration of touch with most parts of Asia again

Commercial relations with many countries

enabled the country to enter the world-current of life and thought and to participate in the international trade.' Indo- Pakistan once again began to have commercial relations with Bokhara, Samarkand, Balkh, Khorasan, Khwarizm, Persia and the countries of Malay Peninsula. Thirdly, the Mughal rule brought about an era of economic prosperity. The revenue system established by Akbar made the lives of two generations of our peasantry happier than under the Sultanate of Delhi. Fourthly, there was a better understanding between the Hindus and the Muslims during the Mughal period. Fifthly, the Mughals made a remarkable contribution to the development of fine arts, such as architecture, painting and music. They were great builders and under their liberal patronage architecture made a great advance. Painting also made a great stride during the Mughal period. Sixthly, Mughal rule caused an unprecedented growth of modern languages and literatures. Sanskrit, Hindi and Persian literatures began to receive great impetus at the hands of the Mughal rulers. Seventhly, the Mughal system of administration was so well-organised and efficient that it gave stablity to the empire and promoted the welfare of the people. The British Government adopted many of the features of the Mughal institutions.

Economic prosperity

Better understanding between Hindus and Muslims

Contribution to culture

Growth of modern languages

Efficient system of administration

CHAPTER XI

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Social Condition

Gradation in the society

The social condition of Indo-Pakistan during the Mughal period is very interesting and important in many respects. Society was something in the nature of fedual organisation. The king was the head of the society. Below the king were the official nobles who enjoyed special favours and privileges. They lived in a gorgeous style and spent their days in luxury. The common people occupied a very low position in the society. 'The shop-keepers, the traders, the merchants, the bankers as well as the physicians constituted the middle class.' The living standard of the lower orders was comparatively low.

Lot of the lower class people in the society

According to the European writers, the merchants of the western coast lived in a rich style. But the lower orders had to live from hand to mouth. In times of floods, famine and pestilence their miseries knew no bounds. Palsaet observes. "Their houses were built of mud, and thatched roofs." During the later part of Shah Jahan's reign the lot of the peasants became miserable in the hands of the Provincial Governors.

Relation between Hindus and Muslims

The relation between the Muslims and the non-Muslims was cordial. The Hindus were allowed to practise their religious rites and ceremonies in the State. Inter-marriages were encouraged and the Purda system was prevalent both among the Hindus and the Muslims.

Social customs

Akbar attempted to abolish some of the evil practices of the Hindus such as *Sati*, child-marriage, *kulinism* and high dowries but could not give effect to it.

Dress in Mughal India varied according to rank and position. Wool was preferred to cotton and silk 'to the flimsy ganzelike stuffs in fashion with the native aristocracy.' Male members of the society

generally used close-fitting *Pajama* and the so-called *Jamah*. The Mughals made aa contribution to Indian dress by introducing the popular head-wear called *Pagri*. The female used to wear 'close-fitting trousers and bodice coming down to the end of the *Izar*' and sometimes a slight *Sari* for setting. Both the males and females used profuse jewellery for extra personal ornamentation.

Dress of male and female

Among the amusements, *chauser* (chees) and *chanpur* (a gome played with dice on a piece of cloth) seemed to be favourite with the commoners as well as the aristocracy. Besides music, painting, hunting, chariot-racing, elephant-fights, swimming and *chaugan* (Polo) were some of the indoor amusements and outdoor sports in Mughal Empire.

Amusements

Women were honoured in the society and many of them evinced a keen interest in literary pursuits. Slavery was in vogue in Mughal India but the practice of manumissions was encouraged by the State.

Status of women

Economic Condition

The foreign travellers have paid glowing tribute to the economic progress of India during the Mughal period. Hawkins, who visited India during the time of Jahangir says, "India is rich in silver and gold, for all nations bring coins and carry away commodities for the same; this coin is buried in India and goeth not forth." Fitch remarks, "Agra and Fatehpur are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous." Monserrate says that Lahore was "not second to any city in Europe and Asia." Burhanpur in Khandesh was also very great, rich and full of people. According to Abul Fazl, Ahmadabad in Gujrat was "a noble city in a high state of prosperity." In Eastern India there were cities like Benares, Patna, Rajmahal, Burdwan, Hugli, Dacca and Chittagong which were famous for wealth and affluence. The cities under the Mughals were also only rich and prosperous but the Emperors also patronised trade and commerce. They carried on

Prosperous cities of India under the Mughals

Agriculture encouraged by the State

business transaction with other countries of the world.

The Emperors encouraged agriculture, the most important industry of India. The land-revenue formed the chief source of income of the State. The land-revenue system was one of the crowning achievements of Mughal rule in India. Sugar, indigo, cotton and silk were cultivated in many parts of India. Tobacco began to be cultivated in later days. During the time of famine State assistance was given to the famine-stricken and grain was supplied free from the Imperial granaries to alleviate the sufferings of the people.

Industries and crafts

The State also encouraged other industries in the country. The most important industry in India during this period was the manufacture of cotton cloth. The main centres of this industry were Gujrat, Burhanpur, Jaunpur, Patna and many cities and villages in Bengal. Dacca was noted for its *muslin* fabrics "the best and finest cloth made of cotton." Cottage industries were patronised by the Emperors and nobles. About the cotton and silk industries Bernier says, "There is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silk that the kingdom may be called the common storehouse for those two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindustan or the Empire of the Great Mughal only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms and even of Europe." Silk-weaving was also another important industry of Bengal. Shawl and carpet-weaving industries flourished at Lahore and Kashmir. Ship-building was an important industry in India in those days. Saltpetre was manufactured in many places of India and it was in high demand among the European merchants.

Silk industry in Bengal

Defective economic system

Though the State encouraged manufactures, the lot of the producer was not improved as they had to depend on the middlemen for materials. Taking advantage of weavers' helplessness the middlemen must have exploited them in different ways. Both Bernier and Palsaet say that "they (weavers) suffered from harsh treatment at the hands of the nobles and officers, who forced them to work at

miserable wages and to sell their goods at the price dictated by themselves."

During the Great Mughals India had a considerable foreign trade with different countries of Asia and Europe. The principal imports of the country were bullion, raw silk, horses, precious stones, amber, metals, ivory, coral, velvets, Chinese porcelain and African slaves and the exports of India were various textiles, pepper, indigo, opium and miscellaneous goods. The principal ports of India during the period were Surat, Broach, Cambay, Colicut, Cochin, Nagapatam, Masulipatam, Chittagong and Sonargaon in Bengal. In short, India reached a high level of prosperity in industry during the Mughal period. "It was this trade and prosperity that attracted the European traders to India. Their rivalry to secure a footing in India at that time was occasioned not by the new materials of the country but by the value and variety of her manufactures and crafts."

Foreign trade

Exports and imports

Religious Movements

The influence of Islam brought about certain changes in the religious thought of the Hindus. It led to the rise of Hindu thinkers and reformers who tried to reform Hinduism in the light of Islam. They preached the unity of Godhead and the equality of all religions. They emphasised upon *Bhakti* i e., true devotion to God. To them, there was no difference between Hinduism and Islam. The movement led by these reformers is known as Bhakti Movement. This movement liberalised the outlook of the Hindus and conversion of the local people to Islam was greatly arrested. It also paved the way for the liberal policy of Akbar who in order to bring about a synthesis of various creeds introduced *Din-i-Ilahi*. Another important result of the Bhakti Movement was a laxity in the observance of the code of Islam among the Muslims. Many Hindu ideas and practices permeated into the Muslim society.

Bhakti movement and its results

The laxity and un-Islamic practices among the Muslims created a great concern among many

Muslim thinkers in the Sub-continent. Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur who claimed to be the *Mahdi* (one who would restore Islam to its original position) came forward and stated that his aim was to insist upon the performance of religious duties and avoidance of what has been forbidden in Islam. The movement led by him was known as the Mahdavi Movement. The orthodox Muslims did not recognise his claim to be the *Mahdi* and 'condemned his teachings as heresy.' This movement acquired much strength through Shaikh 'Alai, one of the followers of Sayyid Muhammad. Due to his efforts a large number of people came under the fold of the Mahdi doctrine. But he was put to the sword at the *fatwa* of Shaikh Makhdum-ul-Mulk and his death stood as a bar to the growth and development of the Mahdavi creed. Some of the Mahdavis joined Akbar in his attempts to weaken the power of the orthodox Ulema as the latter were hostile to them.

The Mahdavi Movement

It has been mentioned that Akbar was greatly influenced by the Bhakti movement. His new creed "should be taken to be an offshoot of this movement, because many of its features were to be founded in the *Din-i-Ilahi* which reflected a good many creeds of the day, namely, Hinduism, *Tasawwuf* (mysticism) and local faith." With the death of Akbar *Din-i-Ilahi* died a natural death. The man who first raised his voice against Akbar's *Din-i-Ilahi* was Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind commonly known as *Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani* (the reformer of second millennium). He belonged to the *Naqshbandiah* School of Sufism. He laid great emphasis on the difference between Islam and Hinduism and was not ready to make any compromise on this point. He emphatically denounced Akbar's new creed and created a great movement against it. During the reign of Jahangir the *Mujaddid* was arrested but later he was set free.

Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani

Shah Waliullah was the first religio-political thinker who took the lead in re-awakening the Muslims of the sub-continent. His was an age of despair and despondency for the Muslims of Indo-

Pakistan. The decaying condition of the Mughal Empire and the rise of the Marathas and Sikhs were a constant anxiety to him. In order to prevent the decay of the Mughal empire and the Muslim society he invited Ahmed Shah Abdali to invade Indo-Pakistan on the one hand and asked the Muslims to establish true Islam in the land on the other. He wanted to inculcate in the minds of the Muslims a proper understanding of true Islam and thereby to prepare them for political make-up.

Shah Waliullah (1703-62)

Shah Waliullah was born at Delhi in 1703. He received his early education under the loving care of his father Abdur Rahim who was noted for his learning and piety. At the age of 17 Shah Waliullah started teaching at the Madrashah-i-Rahimiya established by his father. In 1730, he went on pilgrimage to Makkah and had the fortune of studing there under the celebrated teachers of the period. After two years Shah Waliullah returned to his country and devoted himself to writing. He wrote a number of books on different subjects for the spread of Islamic ideas. He tried to inspire the Muslims with new consciousness through the spread of Islamic culture. To him, Muslims should go back to the teachings of the Quran and the Hadith. Shah Waliullah was the first man to translate the Holy Quran into Persian, the literary language of the Muslims in Indo-Pakistan and thus paved the way for the understanding of the Quran by every Muslim who knew Persian.

His early career

His religious reforms

Shah Waliuulah tried his best 'to reconcile the basic differences amongst the different sections of the Muslims'. He considered the government as an essential means for the re-generation of the Muslim community. Though he was not successful in his life time to prevent the decay of the Mughal and the Muslim society, his efforts at least resulted in the defeat of the Marathas at the hands of the Muslim coalition under Ahmed Shah Abdali and Najib-ud-Daulah. Shah Waliullah made an appeal to Ahmed Shah Abdali to intervene in the affairs of Indo-Pakistan at a time when this country was seriously

Political activities of Shah Waliullah

threatened by the Maratha invasion. After the death of Shah Waliullah, his son and successors Shah Abdul Aziz took upon himself the task of his father. In order to popularise the movement of his father, he prepared a team of workers who were destined to play an important role in the religio-political history of the sub-continent. Shah Abdul Aziz died in 1823 and the leadership of this Movement fell on one of his diciples named Sayyid Ahmad Shahid whose activities will be discussed later on.

Successors of Shah Waliullah

Education and Literature

The Mughal Emperors were great patrons of education and literature. They established educational institutions in different parts of the Empire where boys and girls received their education. They patronised education by grants of lands or money to mosques, monasteries and individual saints and scholars. Humayun, though addicted to opium, founded a *Madrasah* at Delhi. Akbar's reign marks a new epoch for the system introduced for imparting education in schools and colleges. He established colleges at Fatehpur Sikri, Agra and other places. Jahangir and Shah Jahan also took interest in founding *Madrasah* in many parts of the country. The princesses of the imperial household and the nobles were given tuition in their houses. The daugthers of the middle class people attended the primary schools along with the boys. Some of the distinguished ladies who were well-read in Persian and Arabic literature are Gulbadan Begum, authoress of *Humayunnamah,* Humayun's niece, Salima Sultana, authoress of several Persian poems, Nur Jahan, Mumtaz Mahal, Jahanara and Zeb-un-Nisa.

Patrons of education

Distinguished ladies of the Mughal Court

Literary Activity

A long period of peace, a strong and wise Government and a rich culture heritage led to the revival of arts and letters. The Mughal Emperors took a lively interest in literary productions both Persian and Hindi. The Persian literature during the reign of Akbar may be divided into three

Historical works under Akbar

classes, namely, (1) historical works, (2) translations and (3) poetry and verse. Of the historical works, the *Tarikh-i-Afifi* of Mulla Daud, the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnamah* of Abul Fazl, the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Badauni, the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmed, the *Akbarnamah* of Faiz Sirhindi and the *Ma'asiri-i-Rahimi* of Abdul Baqi are the prominent. Abul Fazl was the outstanding literary figure of the age. An intimate friend and councillor of Akbar, he was a poet, an essayist, a critic and a renowned historian. Akbar was a keen student of Hindu literature. By his order many Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. Badauni translated the *Ramayana* in 1589. The *Mahabharata* was translated into Persian by a group of Muslim scholars and was compiled under the title of *Razam-Namah.* The *Atharva Vedas* was translated by Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi into Persian. Among the translated works, names of the *Rajtarangini*, the *Panchatantra* and *Harivasma* may be mentioned here. Some Greek and Arabic works were also translated into Persian. The most important prose-writers were Ghizali and Faizi, brother of Abul Fazl. Besides, there were other literary figures who adorned the court of Akbar.

Abul Fazl was the greatest historian of this age

Sanskrit works translated into Persian

Jahangir had an excellent literary taste and extended his patronage to many scholars. His autobiography, called the *Tuzk-i-Jahangir* stands second to that of Babur. Among the learned men who flourished in his reign are Ghiyasuddin Beg, Naqib Khan, Mutamil Khan, Niamatullah and Abdul Haq Dillawi. The most important historical works— the *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* and *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* were written during his reign. Shah Jahan followed the policy of his predecessors in extending his patronage to learned men. The most important historical works of this period are the *Padshah-namah* of Abdul Hamid Lahori, the *Shah Jahan-Nama* of Inayet Khan and *Amil-i-Salih* of Muhammad Salih. Aurangzeb was a scholar of Muslim theology and jurisprudence. Under his patronage the *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*, a digest of Muslim law, was written. The most important history of his reign,

Literature under Jahangir

Historical works

Shah Jahan's historical works

the *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* of Kafi Khan was written in secret. Other historical works of this period are the *Alamgir Namah* by Mirza Muhammad Kazim, the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* of Muhammad Saqi, the *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh* of Sujan Rai Khatri, the *Naksha-i-Dilkush* of Bhim Sen and the *Fathuhat-i-Alamgiri* of Iswar Das.

Historical works during Aurangzeb

During the Mughal period, literary activity was not confined to Persian alone. It was the "Augustan Age of Hindustani literature." Akbar the Great encouraged Hindi poetry. Among the courtiers of the Emperor, Birbal, Raja Man Singh and Raja Bhagwan Das were renowned poets. Abdur Rahman Khan-i-Khanan was the most distinguished Hindi poet of Akbar's court. Tulsi Das was not only a poet of a high order but a spiritual-teacher of the people of Hindustan. His most famous work, the *Ramcharita Manasa*, or *"The Pool of Ram's life"*, is a masterpiece of Hindi literature and has become "the Bible of hundered millions of people" of Hindustan. Surdas, 'the blind bird of Agra', was another distinguished poet of this period.

Hindi literature developed in Mughal India

In Bengal, there grew up the *Vaishnava* literature. The famous Vaishnava writers were Krishna Das Kabiraj, the author of *Chaitanyacharita*, Brindaban Das, the author of *Chaitanya Bhagavata* and Jayananda, the author of *Chaitananya Mangal*. The *Mahabharata* of Kashiram Das, and the *Kavi Kanken Chandi* of Makundaram Chakraborty were some of the important works of this period.

Bengali literature

Architecture

One of the most distinguished features of Mughal rule in Indo-Pakistan was the unique development in art. The Mughal Emperors were great patrons of art and their period of about a couple of centuries witnessed wonderful progress in every branch of art—architecture, painting and music. The beautiful buildings they erected in different parts of Indo-Pakistan 'still stand and serve as an imperishable index to their refined tastes and afford an excellent testimony to their cultural advancement.'

The Mughal Emperors raised a large number of buildings which are, even to-day, notable for the magnificence of their style. As to the nature of the style, different opinions have been expressed. Fergusson is of the opinion that the Mughal style of architecture is foreign in origin. Some call it 'Pathan', some characterise it as 'Indo-Muslim', some describe it as 'Mughal' and some say it was native. In point of fact the Mughal style of architecture was an agglomeration of various styles, partly foreign and partly indigenous. Nature of Mughal style of architecture

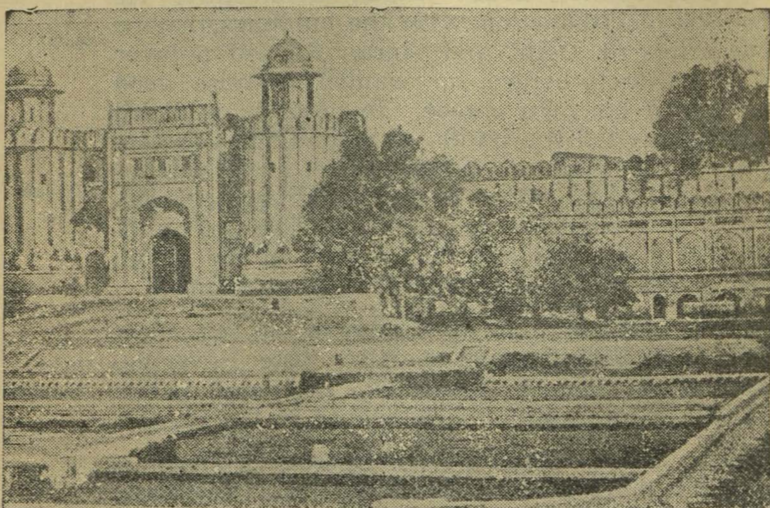
Babur, the first of the Mughal Emperors, held a very poor opinion about Indian architecture. He expressed dissatisfaction with the buildings that he came across at Delhi and Agra. Himself a lover of art and architecture, he wanted to raise good buildings of his own choice. In order to fulfil his design he invited the pupils of Sinan from Constantinople and employed a large number of persons for raising buildings. Most of the buildings constructed by him were destroyed later on. The two buildings that still exist are the mosque in the Kabul Bagh at Panipat and the *Jami-Masjid* at Sambhal. Under Babur Mosques of Babur

The troubled reign of Humayun did not allow him to pay much attention to artistic taste. Nevertheless he raised some buildings like *Din-Panah* palace at Delhi and a mosque at Fatehabad in the Punjab. Under Humayun

Sher Shah evinced a keen interest in architecture. He erected many buildings but the most famous one is his mausoleum at Sasaram which he built during his life time and in which he was buried after his death. According to Dr. V. A. Smith, it is "one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India unequalled among the earlier buildings in the Northern Provinces for grandeur and dignity." Another important buildings of Sher Shah is the Purana Qila and the mosque inside the Purana Qila called *Kila-i-Kunhan* Masjid is "a structure of such admirable architectural qualities as to entile it a high place among the buildings of Northern India." Buildings of Sher Shah

Under Akbar

In Akbar the Great, India found a most active and powerful patron of architecture. The buildings of Akbar were characterised by unity of Hindu and Muslim styles, of which sometimes the one predominated and sometimes the other, so much so that Fatehpur Sikri has been described as "a reflex of the great mind who built it." His architecture speaks of his statemanship, aiming at Hindu-Muslim unity. The most impressive buildings in which he liberally used red stones, were constructed at Fatehpur Sikri. The *Jam-i-Masjid*, the tomb of



Lahore Fort

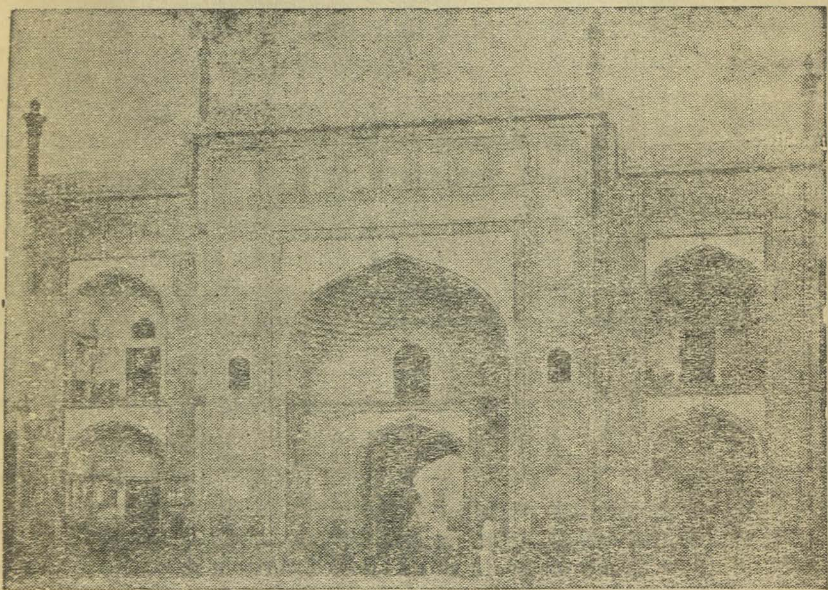
Saikh Salim Chisti, the Diwan, the *Sonhla Makan*, the palaces of the princes of Amber, the palace of Jodhabai, the palace of the Turkish Sultan and the *Khawabgha* are some of the beautiful buildings at Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar's tomb at Sikandra is a unique structure among the sepulchres of Asia. Its construction was started by Akbar himself, but it was Jahangir who completed it. At Agra he erected many magnificent buildings, such as the *Diwan-i-*

'Am, the *Diwan-i-Khas* and the *Jahangir-i-Mahal*. The Agra Fort was constructed under his personal supervision. Akbar also constructed the Lahore Fort (in 1566 A.D.) which is more vigorous but less restrained than the Agra Fort. Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb made additions to Lahore Fort in their respective time.

Buildings in the time of Akbar

Jahangir had an artistic sense but his interest centred mainly round painting and gardening. But yet his reign was not without its architectural glories. He completed the work of the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra. His wife, Nur Jahan built at Agra the tomb of her father, Itimad-ud-Daula, which is the

Under Jahangir



Entrance of Jahangir's tomb at Shahadara (Lahore)

finest architectural gem of Jahangir's reign. Regarding this tomb Mr. Percy Brown writes in the Cambridge History of India : "There is no other building like it in the entire range of Mughal architecture." Among other remarkable monuments of Jahangir's

reign is the tomb of the Emperor himself at Lahore. This tomb was damaged by the Sikhs during the Sikh rule.

Archite-cture under Shah Jahan

During the reign of Shah Jahan, the Mughal architecture reached its highest watermark. In the erection of beautiful buildings Shah Jahan made an extensive use of marble and the *pietradura*. In this connection Percy Brown says, "Shah Jahan founded the Mughal cities of sandstone and left them of marble." The Emperor evinced a very keen personal interest in the art of architecture. He raised buildings at various places, such as Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Kashmir, Kabul, Qandahar, Ajmer, Ahmadabad and other places.

Architecture attained its highest watermark under Shah Jahan

Some of the buildings constructed by Shah Jahan still stand unrivalled in Indo-Pakistan, perhaps in the whole world. The *Taj* which was erected over the tomb of his wife, Arjumand Banu Begum, popularly known as Momtaz Mahal will continue to be the finest monument of conjugal love and fidelity. Before the erection of the building, Shah Jahan invited eminent artists from various parts of the empire and even from outside. The plan of the buildings was thoroughly discussed and it was decided that the building would be made of marbles. The master architect of the *Taj* was Ustad Isa who was assisted by his son, Muhammad Sharif. The *Taj* took 22 years to complete and its total cost was about rupees three crores.

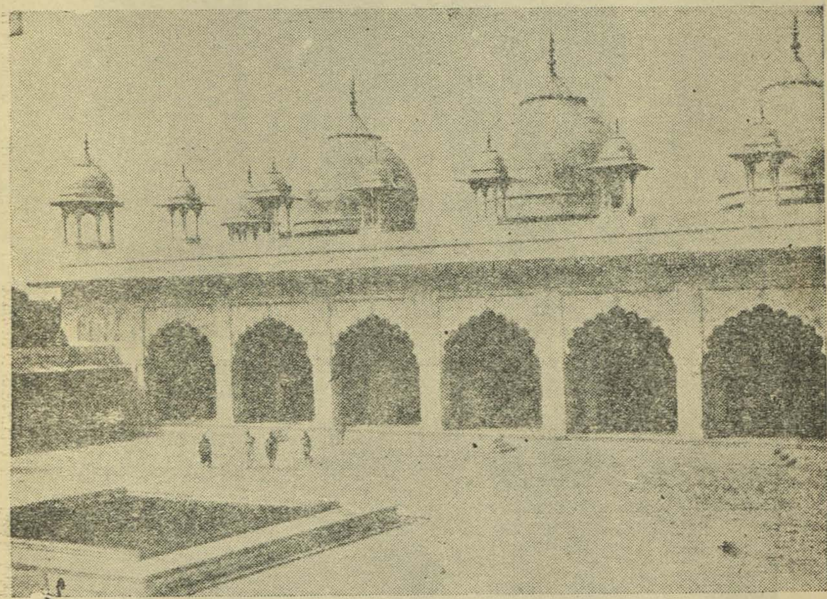
Taj Mahal

The Taj is considered to be one of the most beautiful buildings of the world and has evoked universal admiration. According to Percy Brown, "It seems as if the hand of nature and the hand of man had united and done their utmost to produce a spectacle of supremely moving beauty." It has been variously described as "queen of architecture," "a dream in marble." Rabindra Nath Tagore beautifully styled it as "a tear on the cheek of eternity."

Besides the Taj, the other famous buildings of Shah Jahan are *Moti Masjid* of Agra, *Jam-i-Masjid* of Delhi, *Diwan-i-Am* and *Diwan-i-Khas* in the Fort

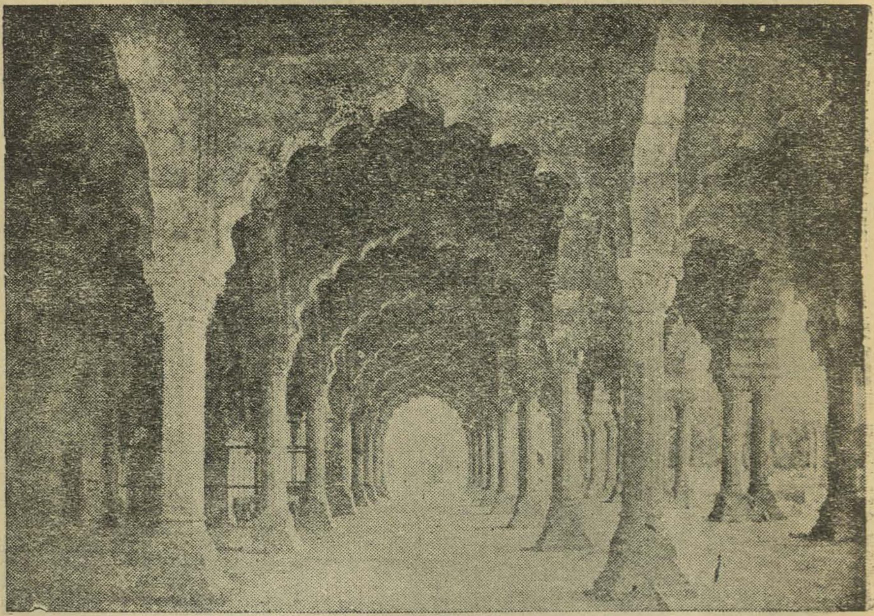
of Delhi and the Peacock Throne. The *Moti Masjid* (Pearl Mosque) is regarded as the "purest and loveliest houses of prayer" in the world. The *Jam-i-Masjid* is also quite impressive and pleasing. The *Diwan-i-Khas* is more highly ornamented than any other buildings of Shah Jahan who, himself described it as "Paradise on earth." Shah Jahan's throne, the

Other buildings of Shah Jahan

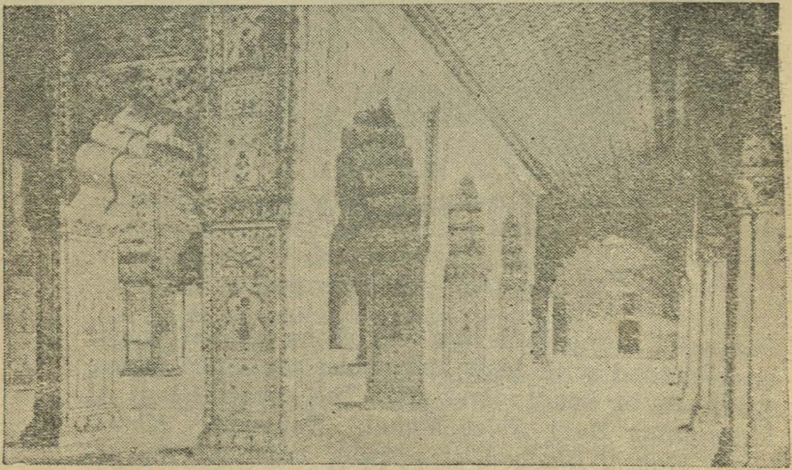


Moti Masjid of Agra

Peacock Throne, built at a cost of one crore of rupees and studded with jems and rubies presented a rare specimen of beauty and art. The constructions of *Masamman Burj, Shish Mahal, Naulakha, Khwa-baqh, Macchi Bhawan*, etc., speak much of the architectural taste of Shah Jahan. The *Shish Mahal* (Shah Burj) was built by Shah Jahan in 1631-32

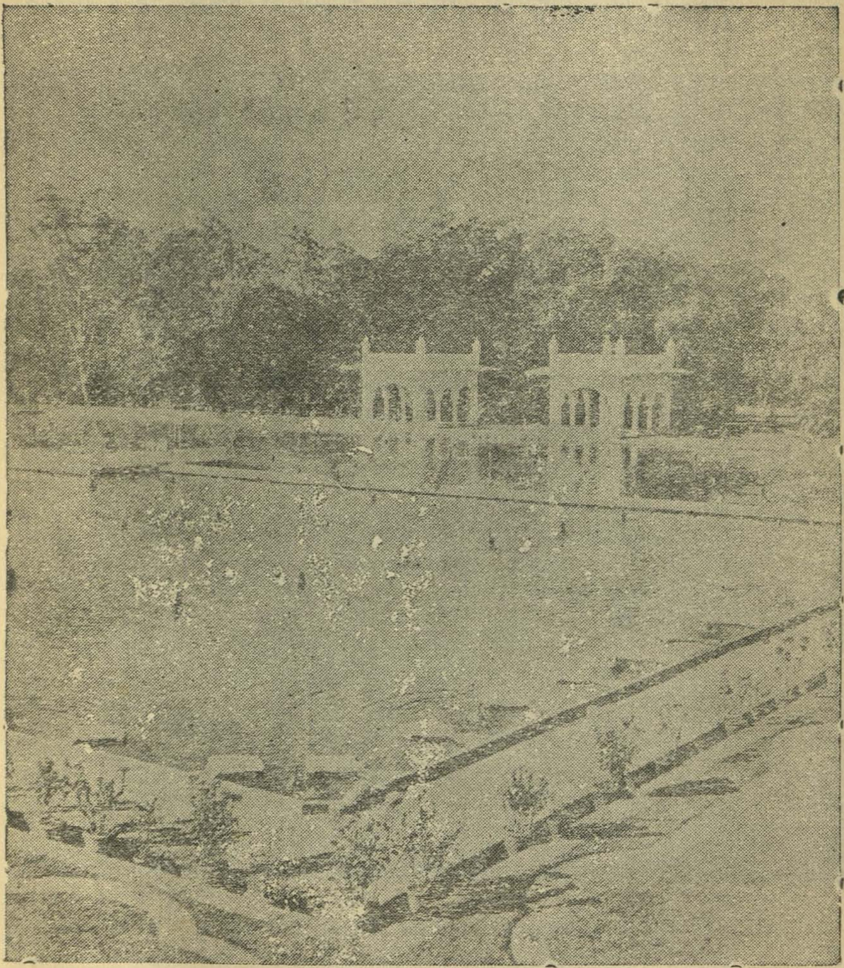


Diwan-i-Am, Delhi



Diwan-i-Khash, Delhi

A.D. It was the residence of the Empress when she stayed at Lahore and is one of the most well-decorated royal residences of the world. The *Bungla,*

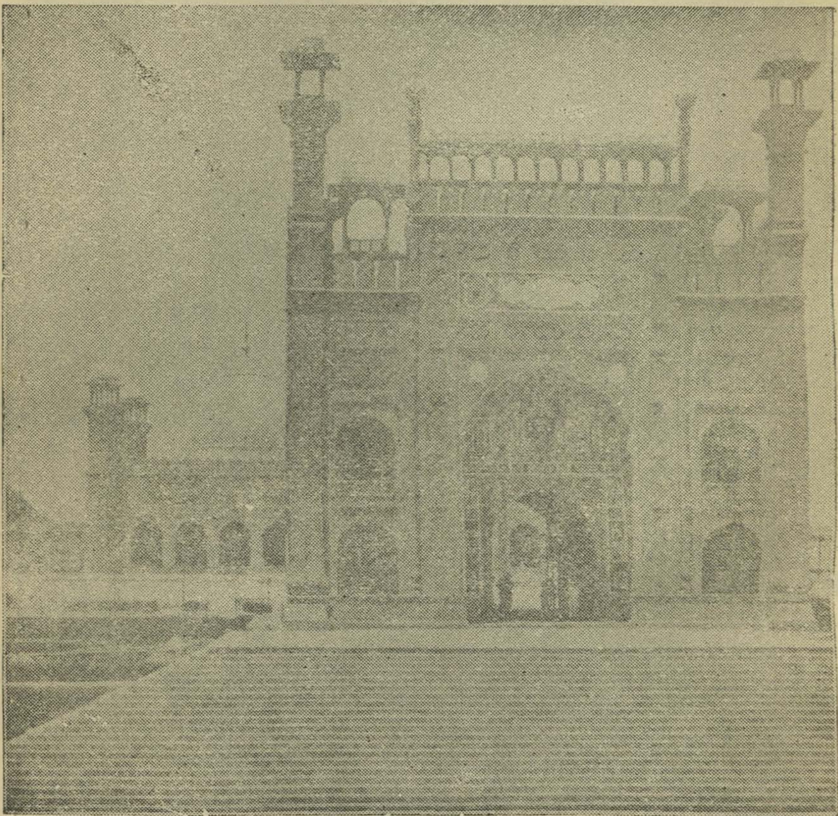


A general view of Shalamar Garden built by Shah Jahan in 1642

popularly called *Naulakha* or the edifice lying within *Shish Mahal* is a dainty little marbale pavilion of chaste workmanship renowned for its extremely

minute and delicate *pietradura* work. It is one of the finest architectural achievements of the Mughals in Indo-Pakistan.

The Shalamar Garden is another specimen of Shah Jahan's architectural taste. There are three



Gateway of Badshahi Mosque, Lahore.

Shalamar Garden

gardens—(i) at Lahore, (ii) at Sreenagar in Kashmir and (iii) at Delhi under the name 'Shalamar'. The garden at Lahore 'was laid out as a royal recreation place as well as for providing accommodation whenever the Emperor was on a visit to Lahore'. For this

purpose a number of pavilions and summer houses were built in it.

The Mughal art began to decline after the demise of Shah Jahan. Though Aurangzeb did not pay much attention to it, he was not without architectural taste. He raised certain buildings which are quite important from the architectural point of view. In 1674 he constructed the *Badshahi Mosque*, the biggest living mosque of the world, at Lahore. The construction of the mosque took only about three years for its completion and the cost, according to *Khulasatul Tawarikh* of Sujan Rai, exceeds rupees five lakhs. Aurangzeb had also a marble mosque in the Fort of Delhi.

Badshahi Mosque built by Aurangzeb

Painting

The Mughal Emperors unlike their Muslim predecessors evinced keen interest in the art of painting and due to their patronage, this art witnessed unique progress. As to the nature of the art, it is a combination of both native and foreign elements.

Babur was a great lover of beauty and art. He patronised the art of painting but unfortunately no painting of his time is available.

Under Babur

Humayun developed a taste for painting during his exile in Persia. When he came back to Indo-Pakistan, he brought with him two master painters of Persia named Mir Sayyid Ali and Khawaja Abdus Samad. These two painters taught drawing and painting to Humayun and his son prince Akbar. They prepared an illustrated copy of the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamjah.*

Under Humayun

Akbar did a lot for the encouragement of the art of painting. He created a separate department of painting and placed it under the control of Khawaja Abdus Samad. The Emperor took personal interest in painting and this led to the growth of his school of painting which may be called the National School of Painting. The painters were invited from every part of Indo-Pakistan and from outside as well. Some of the leading painters who adorned the court of

Under Akbar

National school of painting

Akbar were Mir Sayyid Ali, Khawaja Abdus Samad, Farrukh Beg, Daswant, Basawan, Sanwal Dass, Tara Chand and Jagan Nath.

Under the order of the Emperor some well-known works like the *Chingiz Namaah, Zahar Nama, Naldaman, Kaliadaman* and *Ramayana* were fully illustrated at the hands of the expert painters of the time.

Under Jahangir

It was during the reign of Jahangir that the art of painting reached its height of progress. Sir Thomas Rao who visited the court of Jahangir testifies to the fact that the Emperor was a great lover of painting. The Emperor was an art-critic and a collector of historical painting. He boasts of his own knowledge of painting in these words, "As regards myself, my liking for paintings and my practice of judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought to me, either of the deceased artists, or those of the present day, without the names being told to me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing my portraits and each face be the work of different masters, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eyes and eye-brows of a face I can perceive whose work the original face is and who has painted the eyes and eye-brows."

Painters of Jahangir's court

The favourite subjects of painting were plants, flowers, animals, birds and other natural objects. The distinguished painters of Jahangir's time were Farrukh Beg, Muhammad Nadir, Muhammad Murad Aga Riza, Ustad Mansur and Bishan Das.

Under Shah Jahan

With the death of Jahangir, the art of painting began to witness its decline. Shah Jahan was more interested in architecture and consequently this branch of art was ignored. The painters began to seek their jobs with the nobles and princes. A few nobles patronised the painters and Asaf Khan was one of them. His house at Lahore was beautifully decorated by the painters. Prince Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan was a lover

of painting and tried to revive the Imperial patronage but his unfortunate career spoiled the prospect of art.

Aurangzeb was averse to painting and is said to have defaced the painting of Bijapur and Golkanda palaces. In spite of the Emperor's antipathy to this art, painting did not die out as certain pictures of Aurangzeb's battles have come down to us. Under Aurangzeb

Music

All the Mughal Emperors except Aurangzeb evinced a great interest in music.

Babur, a poet and a man of artistic taste, was very fond of music, both vocal and instrumental. He himself composed songs of a high order and is said to have written a very interesting treatise on it. Under Babur

Humayun was also interested in music. He often enjoyed the company of musicians and singers and had set aside two days in a week, Monday and Wednesday, for listening to music. It is said that after the capture of Mandu in 1535, he was so much impressed by a song sung by one of the captives, Bachchu by name that the Emperor not only liberated him but also appointed him as a musician of his court. Under Humayun

Music made the greatest progress in the time of Akbar. Himself a good musician, the Emperor used to compose tunes. According to Abul Fazl, "His Majesty pays much attention to music and is, the patron of all who practise this enchanting art." His interest in music brought numerous musicians at the Court—Hindus, Iranis, Turanis, Kashmiris—both men and women. The most well-known musician of Akbar's court was Mian Tansen. He was originally a Hindu of Gwalior. Tansen had embraced Islam and received his education in music in Gwalior. According to Abul Fazl, "A singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years." The other famous musicians of his age were Ram Dass, Bauja Bawra and Sur Das. Ram Dass was considered second only to Tansen. He Under Akbar Musicians of Akbar's court

was given a reward of one lakh tankas by Bairam Khan for his excellent performance.

Under Jahangir

Like his father, Jahangir had also a great interest in music. He continued the practice of patronising the musicians and of grouping them into seven parties allotting one day of the week to each party. He was himself a good musician and he composed many Hindi songs which were very interesting.

Under Shah Jahan

Shah Jahan was also a lover of music. He was himself a good singer. His songs were often thrilling. According to J.N. Sarkar, the voice of Shah Jahan was so attractive that "many pure-souled *Sufis* and holy men with hearts withdrawn from the world who attended these evening assemblies lost their senses in the ecstasy produced by his singing". The chief musicians of Shah Jahan's court were Lal Khan (Tansen's son-in-law), Jagan Nath, Janardan Bhatta and Mahapattar.

Under Aurangzeb

After the death of Shah Jahan, the art of music declined. Aurangzeb did not like music and so he dismissed all the musicians and singers of his court. But in spite of this, music continued to flourish, for the members of the royal family, the nobility and the courtiers were greatly interested in music and continued patronising this art.

PART III

MODERN INDO-PAKISTAN

CHAPTER I

ADVENT OF THE EUROPEANS IN INDO-PAKISTAN

Introduction

The immense wealth of Indo-Pakistan had attracted the attention of the foreigners in the past and it proved to be the cause of her misery and misfortune. Like other foreigners, the Europeans were also attracted to the sacred soil of Indo-Pakistan. The main object of the Europeans of coming to this land was to make business with the East. But in course of time the merchants became the master of the land.

From the very ancient times Indo-Pakistan had commercial contacts with the countries of the West. The trade between the East and the West was carried on through the land as well as the sea-routes. The products of Indo-Pakistan were in great demand in the western countries during the first three centuries of the Christian era when the eastward expansion of the Roman Empire facilitated commercial intercourse between the East and the West. But from the seventh century A. D. the Arabs began to dominate the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea and the monopoly of Indian trade passed on to their hands. It was from them that the merchants of Venice, Genoa and other countries of Italy purchased Indian goods and carried them to Europe. In the fifteenth century A.D. the Ottoman Turks were very powerful and with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks the overland route was also lost to the nations of Europe. Thenceforth the European traders whose business suffered heavily due to the loss of the eastern markets and finding their business prospect gloomy, began to think of discovering a new route to India. It was the commercial necessity that inspired many a European to discover a new

Causes of the coming of the Europeans

Commercial interest

route to India. Moreover, the contact of the Europeans with the Muslim culture produced among them a great intellectual awakening known as the Renaissance. This Renaissance stimulated them to adventurous sea-faring activities which resulted in the discovery of new land and sea-routes.

Renaissance

Discovery of Sea-route to Indo-Pakistan

Sea-route to Indo-Pakistan discovered

The credit must go to the Portuguese who for the first time discovered the sea-route to Indo-Pakistan. Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1487 and after a few years Vasco da Gama started on his expedition under the patronage of King Emmanual. With the help of an Arabian pilot, he reached Calicut on the western coast of Indo-Pakistan on the 27th May, 1498. As a result of this discovery, a direct contact between the Indo-Pak sub-continent and Europe was established.

The Portuguese Settlements

The Portuguese were the pioneers not only in the discovery of the sea-route to Indo-Pakistan, but also in the establishment of European powers in the East. The Portuguese had to face the opposition of the Arab traders who had been carrying on import and export business on the Malabar coast. Vasco da Gama, without making much headway in the establishment of trade centre on the Malabar coast, returned to Portugal in 1499. On the 9th March, 1500, another expedition was sent under the command of Pedro Alvarez Cabral. But his policy towards the Arab traders on whom the prosperity of the port of Calicut was largely dependent, brought him into hostility with the Indians. When the Portuguese tried to deprive them of their commercial benefit and began to harass them, the Raja of Calicut, known as the Zamorin, took up their cause and with the help of the local Muslims as well as the Sultans of Gujrat and Egypt waged war against the Portuguese. In the long-drawn struggle their efforts ultimately ended in failure.

Policy of Pedro Alvarez Cabral

After Pedro Alvarez Cabral, Vasco da Gama came to Indo-Pakistan for the second time in 1502

A.D. He was able to establish factories at Cochin and Cannanore. His policy of cruelty towards the Arab merchants created a great discontent in the land. The Portuguese now abandoned the policy of sending annual expeditions to this country and decided to appoint a viceroy who would look after the Portuguese settlements in Indo-Pakistan.

Factories at Cochin and Cannanore established

De Almedia (1505-1509)

De Almedia was the first viceroy of the Portuguese possessions in Indo-Pakistan. He was against the idea of establishing a Portuguese Empire in the East. He wanted the Portuguese to strengthen their naval power for the protection of their settlements and trading centres. This policy is known as the "Blue Water Policy". About the importance of their naval power in Indo-Pakistan he even remarked, "Should it be known for certain that as long as you may be powerful at sea, you will hold India as yours; and if you did not possess this power, little will avail you a fortress on shore." He was defeated and killed in a naval battle with the Egyptians in 1509. De Almedia was followed by Alfanso de Albuquerque in 1509 A. D.

De Almedia, the first Viceroy

Alfanso de Albuquerque (1509-15)

Albuquerque was the greatest of the viceroys and the real founder of the Portuguese Power in the sub-continent. According to Stephens, his policy was based on four aims. Firstly, he wanted to occupy certain places for trading purposes and to rule them directly. Secondly, he wanted to colonise the selected districts by encouraging mixed marriages with the natives. Thirdly, when either of these alternatives was not possible, forts should be built. Fourthly, when even this should not be possible, native merchants should be induced to accept the supremacy of the king of Portugal and to pay him tribute.

Greatest of the Viceroys

His policy

Albuquerque extended the Portuguese possessions in Indo-Pakistan. Before his coming to power the Portuguese territory was confined within Cochin

and Cannanore. It was he who captured Goa from the Sultan of Bijapur in 1510 and took all possible steps to strengthen its fortifications. Goa was made the headquarters of the Portuguese in the East. He next conquered Malacca in the Far East. Ormuz, an Island in the Persian Gulf was captured from the Shah of Persia. A fort was built at Cochin.

Extension of Portuguese possession

Albuquerque was a patriot and did his best to promote the interest of his country. He was also an able administrator. He appointed many Portuguese officers to carry on the administration. He established schools for the education of the natives but his treatment to the Muslims was harsh and cruel. While the Muslims were persecuted, the Hindus were welcomed and employed in different branches of administration. The *Panchayats* of the Hindus were allowed to continue. He encouraged the marriages of the Portuguese with Indian women to strengthen the position of Portugal in Indo-Pakistan. But his policy of mixed marriage was not successful as it resulted in the creation of a large class of degenerated Portuguese half-castes. Attempts were made to abolish *Sati* but it was not a success.

His administration

During the regime of Albuquerque's successors, the Portuguese hoisted their flag on Daman, Diu, Salsette, Bassein, Bombay, San Thome (Madras) and Hugli. Their authority also extended over the major part of Ceylon. But in course of time, they lost most of the possessions except Daman, Diu and Goa.

Portuguese settlement in Indo-Pakistan

Causes of Decline of Portuguese Power

The Portuguese were the masters of the Eastern seas throughout the sixteenth century. But from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the power of the Portuguese began to decline. There were many factors responsible for the decline of the Portuguese Power in Indo-Pakistan.

Incompetent successors of Albuquerque

The stability and expansion of power greatly depends on the ability of persons at the helm of affairs. Albuquerque was a competent Governor and the Portuguese Power in Indo-Pakistan had made rapid expansion under him. But his successors

sors were incompetent and the Portuguese power declined in their hands.

Defective administrative system

The administrative system of the Portuguese in Indo-Pakistan was defective. It was characterised by corruption of a high order. The salaries of the officers were low and as such they felt no hesitation in accepting bribes from any quarter. They looked more to personal interest than to the interest of the country. They did not care for the sufferings of the people under the Portuguese rule and were bent upon making fortune for themselves. The corrupt system of administration lowered the prestige of the Portuguese in the eyes of the subjects and they could not command their ungrudging loyalty.

Religious intolerance and persecution of the Portuguese

The religious policy of the Portuguese was responsible for the decline of their power in Indo-Pakistan. The Portuguese captured Hindu and Muslim children and forcibly converted them to Christianity. This policy of conversion produced widespread discontent in the country. Their cruelties continued unchecked for a long time. They became so strong that their activities could not be suppressed even in the time of Akbar. Shah Jahan viewed their activities with great alarm and suppressed them by capturing Hugli in 1632. Their treatment with the conquered people, especially with the Muslims, was one of persecution. But the most important factor which led to the fall of the Portuguese power in the sub-continent was the union of the crowns of Portugal and Spain under Philip II in 1580. This union dragged Portugal into wars with the Dutch and the English who were then at war with Spain. This complication of the European problem rendered 'the small country with its limited population unable to bear the strain of maintaining a distant empire in the East'.

Bad effect of the union of the crowns of Portugal and Spain

Discovery of Brazil

The Portuguese discovered Brazil in South America and they began to give prior attention to it. It became a place of greater importance than Indo-Pakistan in their eyes. Their Indo-Pak possessions were neglected as a result of this discovery. The discovery of Brazil thus weakened the position of

the Portuguese in the sub-continent by diverting their attention and resources to their South American possession.

Deterioration in the character of the Portuguese

There was deterioration in the character of the Portuguese in Indo-Pakistan. At first they were full of courage, ambition and national pride. But later on, they became cruel and arrogant and began to look down upon the Indians. As very few Portuguese women came from Europe, they were encouraged to marry Indian women of lower classes. It was hoped that in this way the Portuguese settlements in Indo-Pakistan would become self-supporting in soldiers and sailors. The mixed race resulting from these marriages was of inferior quality. They lacked courage but were arrogant. Moreover, marriage with the women of lower strata dissipated the character of the Portuguese and they became unfit for the task of empire building.

Challenge of other European nations

To these causes of decline must be added the challenge of other European nations, like the Dutch, the French and the English who began to take active interest in the affairs of the East. The Portuguese could not cope with the rising maritime power of their European nations. Thus the challenge of other European rivals greatly contributed to the decline of the Portuguese power in Indo-Pakistan.

The Dutch in Indo-Pakistan

The Dutch formed the United East India Company in 1602

The Dutch were the first among the European nations to challenge the monopoly of the Portuguese in the East. They had long been under the political and religious tyranny of the Hapsburg rulers of Spain. After having been liberated from the bondage of Spain, 'the pent-up enterprise of the Dutch commercial class burst forth as if a dyke had been cut'. They formed the United East India Company of the Netherlands under the patronage of the State in 1602. The main objects of this Company were not only to carry on trade but also to build forts, form offensive and defensive alliances with the native princes and powers and make war or peace generally with the object of overthrowing

the Portuguese supremacy in the East. They turned their attention to the Spice Islands. Malacca was captured in 1641 and the Portuguese were finally driven out from Ceylon in 1658. Thus within a short period the Dutch set up their trade centres at several places of which Calicut, Surat, Chinsura, Kashim Bazar, Patna, Negapatam and Cochin deserve special mention here. But the Dutch could not withstand the rising power of the English. Though the former remained supreme in the Malay Archipelago, they failed in Indo-Pakistan.

The Dutch settlements

Causes of Failure of the Dutch Power

There were several factors which led to the failure of the Dutch in Indo-Pakistan. Firstly, the Dutch were primarily interested in the island of South-East Asia. They never concentrated their attention on the main land of Indo-Pakistan. Secondly, the Dutch system of administration in the settlements was defective. The salaries of the employees were very low and they carried on a lot of private trades. As a result, the Company's interest was neglected. Thirdly, the Dutch military forces in the East were weak. These were ill-recruited, ill-paid and ill-organised. Fourthly, the Dutch were too busy with European affairs. P. E. Roberts remarks, "The Dutch Power in India was largely jeopardised on European battlefields." From the middle of the 17th century the Dutch were always at war in Europe—first with England and then with France. England under the leadership of Cromwell and Charles II challenged the commercial supremacy of the Dutch and in response to this challenge the Dutch had to bear the brunt of the aggressive wars of Louis XIV of France. These wars had not only drained their resources but also weakened their maritime power. Hence they were not in a position to continue their rivalry with England in the East.

Causes responsible for the decline of the Dutch power in Indo-Pakistan

The Danish and other European Settlements

Like the Dutch, the Danish started a Danish East India Company in 1616 and established factories at Tranquebar in 1620 and Serampore in 1676.

But they sold off their factories to the British in 1845 for Rs. 12,50,000. The Ostend Company was similarly started by Flemish merchants under the patronage of the Austrian Emperor in 1723. Its chief settlement in Indo-Pakistan was at Bankibazar, three miles north of Barrackpur. A Swedish East India Company was chartered in 1731. All these projects, after sometime, could not stand the test of time.

The East India Company

Foundation of the East India Company in 1600

The victory of the English over the Spanish Armada and the report of the immense wealth of Indo-Pakistan spread by the English travellers like Ralph Fitch and Mildenhall aroused in the minds of the Englishmen a strong desire to trade with the East. With this end in view a body of English merchants applied to Queen Elizabeth for a charter granting them the right of trading in the East. In 1600, Queen Elizabeth granted them under the title, "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies"—a monopoly of trade in the East for a term of 15 years. This Company is generally known as the East India Company.

Early difficulties of the East India Company

At first, the Company despatched separate voyages and the subscribers divided the profits of each undertaking among themselves. The first two voyages were made to the Spice Islands. The second voyage had to encounter much opposition from the Dutch who were pushing forward their claim to monopolise the Spice trade of the Archipelago. The third voyage which reached Surat in 1608 under Captain Hawkins with a letter from James I saw the Mughal Emyeror, Jahangir who cordially received him and granted the English permission to settle at Surat. But the Portuguese influence at the Mughal court was so strong that this concession was repealed. Thus we find that the Dutch in the Malay Archipelago and the Portuguese in Indo-Pakistan created considerable diffculties for the East India Company in its early stage of existence. Besides, the Company had to face severe criticism at home for its monopoly of trade in the East.

In the face of the above difficulties the Company continued to carry on the work. In 1612, the East India Company under the command of Thomas Best succeeded in defeating a Portuguese fleet off Surat. This victory enhanced the prestige of the English. As a result, the Mughal Emperor granted a *farman* to the English allowing them to establish a permanent factory at Surat. In 1615, the English gained another naval victory over the Portuguese of Surat. This success was followed up by the arrival of Sir Thomas Roe as accredited ambassador of James I to the Mughal Court. The mission of Sir Thomas Roe was to secure permanent trading facilities for the Company in the East. He was in the Mughal Court for three years and though he was able to get some concessions for his master, no permanent treaty was signed. English factories were established at Agra, Ahmadabad and Broach and all were under the authority of its chief at Surat who obtained the designation of President. The English captured Ormuz in 1622 and with its capture the Portuguese Power was considerably weakened in the Eastern Seas.

Success of the English over the Portuguese

Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe

In Indo-Pakistan the rivalry of the Portuguese was overcome, but the Dutch in the Spice Islands (Malay Archipelago) proved too strong for the English. Though the Dutch and the English acted in concert for sometime against the Portuguese, the English were expelled in 1621 from Polo Run, an island near Amboyna and after the famous "Massacre of Amboyna" in February, 1623, in which ten Englishmen were put to death on a charge of conspiracy to seize the Dutch fort of Amboyna, the rivalry between the two began to grow. The "Massacre of Amboyna" was a turning point in the fortunes of the English in the East. Ousted from the Spice Islands by the Dutch, they concentrated their energy on Indo-Pakistan. The total number of English vessels in the East was not more than 17 as against 134 of the Dutch. But with the establishment of their settlements at Masulipatam (1611) and Madras (1639) on the Coromondal Coast, Surat (1613) and Bombay (1668) on the west coast and

The English expelled by the Dutch from the Spice Islands

Sutanati, Gobindpur and Calcutta (1690) in Bengal, the English were unconsciously paving the way for their future empire in this sub-continent. Of these settlements, Madras was the most prominent. In 1639, Francis Day obtained it for 1,200 *pagodas* from the Raja of Chandragiri and built there a factory which came to be known as Fort St. George. It superseded Masulipatam as the headquarters of the East India Company on the Coromondal Coast. As indemnity for the 'Massacre of Amboyana', Cromwell exacted £3,615 paid to the heirs of the victims. But the most precious compensation obtained by the English was the fruitful field they found in this country.

Results of the 'Massacre of Amboyna'

The next stage in the growth of English influence in the East came with the establishment of factories in 1633 at Hariharpur and Balasore in Orissa. For many years the English maintained their hold upon these places with great difficulty due to the hostility of the Portuguese. But their prospects were much improved by an English surgeon named Gabriel Boughton who had lived as court physician with the Mughal *Subadar* of Bengal. As a price of his service rendered to the Mughal *Subadar,* he obtained from him in 1650 a licence for the Company to trade in the province. The English set up a factory in Hugli in 1651 and soon after at Patna and Kashim Bazar.

Establishment of factories in Bengal

In the meantime the Company's fortunes at home were under a cloud. Their monopoly of the Eastern trade aroused much opposition in England and their practice of exporting bullion was regarded as detrimental to the interest of the country. In 1635, a group of merchants headed by Sir William Courten applied for permission to Charles of England who granted a licence for trade in the East Indies. This permission of Courten's Association to trade in the East caused serious loss to the Company. Courten's Association established a settlement at Assada in Madagascar. The ruinous competition was brought to an end by a 'union of two bodies' in 1649. During the second half of the seventeenth

A rival Company headed by Courten started

century, the misfortunes of the Company disappeared, owing to changes in the policy of the Home Government. In 1657, Cromwell granted a charter to the Company. Under its provisions they raised the first permanent joint-stock and 'the Company passed from its medieval to its modern basis'. The establishment of a permanent joint-stock banking greatly relieved the Company of its past financial difficulties.

With the restoration of the charter in 1650 there came a welcome change in the fortunes of the Company. 'The twenty years (1660-80) may be regarded as the golden age of the Company'. Charles II who was very sympathetic towards the Company granted it a series of charters. The charters granted between the years 1661 and 1683 strengthened the position of Company and enabled it to coin money, erect fortifications, exercise jurisdiction over English subjects and to make war and peace with non-Christian peoples.

Charters of Charles II enhanced the position of the Company

Charles II obtained Bombay from the Portuguese as a part of the dowry of his wife, Catharine of Braganza and finding this place an exceedingly unprofitable possession, handed it over to the East India Company in 1668 at a rent of ten pounds a year. Bombay rapidly grew in fame and prosperity and succeeded in replacing Surat as the chief settlement on the west coast in 1687.

Bombay under the Company

The Company's policy in Indo-Pakistan underwent a change during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. A peaceful trading body was transformed into a power to establish its own position in view of the political disorder in the country. The long warfare between the imperial forces and the Marathas and the latter's raids on Surat in 1664 and 1670, the weak Government of the Mughal viceroys in Bengal, 'the disturbances caused by the Malabar pirates and the consequent necessity of defence made the change inevitable'. The English in Bengal were oppressed by Nawab Shaista Khan. Gerald Aungier, Governor of Bombay 'wrote to the Court of Directors that the times now require you to manage your general commerce with the sword in your hand'.

Changed policy of the Company

In the course of a few years the Directors approved of this change in the Company's policy and wrote to the Chief of Madras 'to establish such a policy of civil and military power and create and secure such a large revenue to maintain both as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English Dominion in India for all time to come'. Thus the Company had decided to adopt a new policy. The names of Sir Josia Child and Sir John Child are associated with this policy.

Company's Struggle with the Mughals

In 1651, Sultan Shuja, the *Subadar* of Bengal, issued a *farman* which allowed the Company the privilege of trading for a fixed annual payment of duties worth Rs. 3,000. In 1672, Shaista Khan, Aurangzeb's viceroy of Bengal issued a *farman* granting them exemption from the payment of duties and the Emperor himself issued a *farman* in 1680 ordering that none should molest the Company's people for customs or obstruct their trade. But in spite of these *farmans* the Company's agents in Bombay, Madras and Bengal could not escape from the demands of the local customs-officers in view of their increasing trade and their goods were occasionally seized. In the circumstances the Company decided to protect their interest by force, for which they thought it necessary to have a fortified settlement at Hugli. Hostilities between the English and the Mughals took a serious turn when the former sacked Hugli in 1686. Hugli and the Mughal fortifications at Balasore were also stormed by the English. Shaista Khan retaliated this by seizing all the English factories within his reach, drove the English from Hugli and forced them to retire to Sutanati and thence to the fever-stricken island of Hugli. But hostilities were renewed in 1688 when a fresh naval force was sent from London under Captain William Heath with orders to capture Chittagong. The commander ultimately failed in his object and then retired to Madras. On the western coast Sir John Child, Governor of Bombay captured many Mughal vessels and sent his captain to the Red Sea

Hostilities began with the sack of Hugli in 1686

Peace concluded between Aurangzeb and the English

and Persian Gulf 'to arrest the pilgrimage traffic to Mecca'. At this Aurangzeb seized the English factory at Surat and ordered the expulsion of all Englishmen from his dominions. The English, finding no hope of success in the struggle appealed for pardon to Aurangzeb who granted it and also a new licence for trade on condition that the English would pay a heavy fine and restore all the captured Mughal ships.

Job Charnock, the English agent at Hugli, had been endeavouring to establish a settlement on the site of Calcutta since 1686, but had to leave his project on account of the hostilities with the Mughal Emperor. But after the conclusion of a peace he was permitted to establish a factory at Sutanati in 1690. Thus was laid "the foundation of the future capital of British-India, the first step in the realisation of the half-conscious prophecy of 1687." Owing to the rebellion of Sobha Singh, a Zamindar of Burdwan, the English as a measure of security got permission to fortify their new factory in 1696. In 1698 they were granted the zamindari of the three villages of Sutanati, Kalikata and Govindapur on payment of Rs. 1,200 to the previous proprietors. On the sites of these villages there grew up a city which came to be known in history as Calcutta. In 1700 the fortified settlement, named Fort William after king William III of England was established.

Settlement of Calcutta

Fort William, 1700

The United Company

The Company had to face serious opposition in England during the later part of the seventeenth century. The opponents of the Company made a vehement attack on its policy when a humiliating peace was concluded with the Mughals. Opposition to the Company took many forms. There were people who regarded the export of bullion by the 'Company as harmful to the economic interest of the country according to the prevailing mercantile theory.' The second school of opponents attacked the Joint Stock Organisation of the Company. The third party 'objected to the existing Company as

Formation of a rival party

resting on a too narrow and exclusive basis'. The Whig Party vindicated the opponents of the Company and in 1694, the House of Commons passed a resolution to the effect that 'all the subjects of England had an equal right to trade in India unless prohibited by statute.' In 1698, a new Company was established on the lines of a Regulated Company. This new Company came to be called the 'General Society.' About the same time a large number of subscribers were incorporated into another Joint Stock Company under the title of the English Company of Merchants. This new Company became a serious rival of the old Company. In 1702 the decision of amalgamation between the two Companies was resolved and it came into effect under the award of Godolphin in 1708-9. The two Companies were henceforth united under the title of 'the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies." The internecine quarrels of the Company stopped for ever. The United Company continued its corporate existence down to the Revolt of 1857.

Award of Godolphin

In spite of the political disorders of the country, the expansion of the East India Company's trade and influence in Indo-Pakistan during the first forty years of the eighteenth century was quiet and gradual. In 1715 an embassy under John Surman and Edward Stephenson was sent to the Mughal Court with a view to securing privileges throughout Mughal India. William Hamilton accompanied the embassy as a surgeon and he cured the Emperor Farrukhsiyar of a painful disease. The Emperor being pleased with the English issued a *farman* by which certain villages near Calcutta and Madras were made over to the Company and a formal recognition was given to the residence of its servants in India. The privilege enjoyed by the English of trading in Bengal, free of all duties but subject to the annual payment of Rs. 3,000 per annum, was also recognised. They were allowed other concessions, including exemption from payment of customs duties at Surat in return for an annual sum of Rs. 10,000 and the right of coming and issuing money from the Bombay mint. The *farman* granted by the Mughal Emperor

Magna Charta of the Company

greatly promoted the interest of the Company and it has been described by Orme as the 'Magna Charta of the Company.' The trade of the Company in Bengal gradually prospered and with it the importance of Calcutta increased. The Company's shipping at the port during the ten years 'following the embassy of 1715 amounted to ten thousand tons a year.'

French Settlements

The French were the last of the European powers to compete for commercial gains in the East with the other European powers. In spite of that Henry IV, Richelieu and Colbert realised the importance of Eastern trade. In 1664, Colbert, the Minister of Louis XIV, established the French East India Company. The first French factory in India was established at Surat in 1668 by Francois Caron. Marcara who accompanied Francois Caron to Surat established another French factory at Masulipatam in 1669. In 1673 the French founded Pondichery and the charge of this settlement was given to Francois Martin who developed it into an important place. In Bengal, Shaista Khan granted a site to the French on which they built the famous French factory of Chandannagore in 1690-1692. The French occupied Mauritius in 1721, Mahe in 1725 and Karikol in 1739. With the coming of Dupleix in 1742 as the Governor of Pondichery, the commercial policy of the French Company took a new turn. Dupleix wanted to see the French Empire established in Indo-Pakistan.

Establishment of the French East India Company

After 1741, commercial policy changed into political one

The Anglo-French Rivalry

On the eve of the Aglo-French rivalry, the political condition of Indo-Pakistan presented a spectacle of disunity and discord. The authority of the Mughal Emperor in south Indo-Pakistan was on the road to rapid decline. The *Subadar* of the Deccan (Asaf Jah) declared himself independent of Delhi in 1724 and his authority was challenged by the Marathas under Baji Rao. The Carnatic otherwise called the Coromondal Coast which remained under

Disunity in the Deccan favoured the design of the English

the *Subadar* of the Deccan was ruled by a governor called the Nawab. The Nawab led practically an independent life showing only a nominal submission to the Deccan. This state of rivalry in the Deccan favoured the design of the foreigners.

The position of the English was better than that of the French

The position of the English was far superior to the French in the sub-continent in strength, wealth and trade. They were in an advantageous position on the eve of the conflict. Though the French had a strong hold on Surat, Masulipatam, Pondichery, Karikol and Mahe in the Deccan and Chandannagore in Bengal, their financial position was not at all sound.

Condition of India favoured the design of the Europeans

The entire Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was under the rule of the Mughal Government. The Carnatic was a province and was ruled by a *Subadar,* called the Nawab and the French factories of Madras and Pondichery lying on the eastern coast of the peninsula were under the Nawab. But the decline of the Mughal power and the revolt of the Marathas had made the legal position meaningless. In 1743 the Marathas invaded the country and killed the Nawab. Anwaruddin was then installed as the Nawab of Carnatic. This chaotic condition of India favoured the designs of the Europeans.

Struggle between the English and the French in India

The war of Austrian succession which broke out in Europe in 1740, extended to Indo-Pakistan in 1746. In that war England and France fought on opposite sides. The English captured a few ships of the French in India and made preparations for an attack on Pondichery. At this Dupleix, the French Governor, wrote to La Bourdonnais, the Governor of Mauritius to send help. La Bourdonnais reached Pondichery with a fleet of eigth ships in July, 1746. He laid siege to Madras and captured it after a short time.

Nawab Anwaruddin sent army against the French but failed

Nawab Anwaruddin of Arcot was not a silent spectator of these events happening in his territory. He resented the capture of Madras by the French without his permission. He sent an army against the French force under the leadership of his eldest son. But the Nawab's army was forced to retire to

St. Thome. The success of the French for the time being seemed complete. But it proved otherwise.

Disscusion between Dupleix and La Bourdonnais

La Bourdonnais had promised to restore Madras to the English for a suitable ransom ; but Dupleix stood vehemently against this policy. With the break of the monsoon La Bourdonnais was forced to leave Madras. Dupleix took the opportunity and repudiated the treaty "which La Bourdonnais had made with the council of Madras and plundered Madras from top to bottom". The first effect of this change was the failure of Dupleix who wanted to capture Fort St. Davis. The English fleet under the command of Boscaven made an attack on Pondichery but was repulsed with heavy loss. Before renewing the attack the War of Austrian Succession came to a close by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapella (1748). By this treaty Madras was restored to the English. Thus ended the first stage of the contest between the English and the French.

Madras restored to the English by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapella

The Second Carnatic War

The first Carnatic War had shown that the success of the European nations in the East would to a large extent depend upon the sea-power. Dupleix had realised this truth and he knew that French power was practically limited to the Carnatic, whereas the English had important settlements in Bombay and Bengal. But he had a thorough knowledge of the internal politics of the Deccan and in order to achieve his own end he wanted to secure the support of some Indian princes. "Fortune soon favoured him and placed before him a unique opportunity to work out his new policy."

War of Succession

The death of Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk who founded the kingdom was followed by a War of Succession. His second son, Nasir Jang, succeeded to the throne ; but his grandson, Muzaffar Jang laid claim to the throne on the ground that he was appointed *Subadar* of the Deccan by the Mughal Emperor. Another claimant appeared in the person of Chanda Saheb, the son-in-law of the late Nawab Dost Ali. He was taken prisoner by the Marathas in

1741 and after his release he put forward his claim to the office of his father-in-law. Dupleix was waiting for such a chance. He made a secret treaty with Chanda Saheb and Muzaffar Jang with a view to placing them on the thrones of the Carnatic and the Deccan respectively. The combined forces of the allies defeated and killed Anwaruddin in the battle of Ambar near Villore in 1749. Muhammad Ali, the son of Anwaruddin fled to Trichinopoly.

The English realising the danger wrote to Nasir Jang for military help and sent some help to Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly. Nasir Jang with the help of the English defeated Chanda Saheb and forced him to retreat. Muzaffar Jang had also to admit humiliation in the hands of Nasir Jang. It appears from the course of events that the plan of Dupleix was going to be upset. But soon the course took a different turn. Nasir Jang was murdered in 1750 and Muzaffar Jang was proclaimed *Subadar* of the Deccan. As a mark of gratitude to the French, Muzaffar Jang appointed Dupleix Governor of all the Mughal territories south of the Krishna river and also bestowed upon him the territories surrounding Pondichery and Masulipatam. At the request of Muzaffar Jang the services of Bussy, the ablest French officer, were placed at his disposal. Shortly after this event Chanda Saheb was made the Nawab of Arcot. The two nominees of the French were now on the thrones of the Deccan and the Carnatic. The policy of Dupleix had thus succeeded to a surprising extent.

Chanda Saheb made the Nawab of Arcot

The success of the French had roused the English from a deep slumber. They now realised that if immediate steps were not taken to counteract the designs of Dupleix he would surely succeed in driving them out from this country. They firmly resolved to help Muhammad Ali who was closely besieged by Chanda Saheb at Trichinopoly. Dupleix could have changed the course of the day, had he attacked Muhammad Ali before the English could come to his rescue. But he was out-manoeuvered by the diplomacy of his rivals. On the advice of the Eng-

lish, Muhammad Ali kept up the negotiation with Dupleix till his hands were sufficiently strengthened. Dupleix did not understand that he was being duped. He also sent a force in 1751 to attack the town, but the attempt proved fruitless. The siege of Trichinopoly dragged on and the rulers of Mysore and Tanjore and Murari Rao, the Maratha Chief joined Muhammad Ali and the English. Muhammad Ali suggested an attack on Arcot, the capital of Chanda Saheb. If the attention of Chanda Saheb was diverted to the safety of his capital, it would be easy for him to capture Trichinopoly. The proposal was accepted and Clive who had lately joined the army was entrusted with its execution. Clive boldly seized Arcot in 1751 and defended it against the forces of Chanda Saheb for fifty-three days. This was a glorious feat of arms and marked a turn in the tide. Chanda Saheb immediately sent the major part of his army to recapture Arcot. Clive offered a stubborn resistance and Chanda Saheb after a fruitless siege gave up the attempt. The French army had to lift the siege of Trichinopoly. Chanda Saheb surrendered to the Raja of Tanjore and was beheaded by the Tanjorean general. Muhammad Ali now became the undisputed Nawab of the Carnatic. The high hopes of Dupleix were thus shattered to the ground.

Muhammad Ali was set against Chanda Saheb

Siege of Trichinopoly

Though he met with great reverse, Dupleix did not lose his heart. He succeeded in winning over Murari Rao and the ruler of Mysore to his side and secured the neutrality of the Raja of Tanjore. He even did not give up hope of capturing Trichinopoly. But the French authorities at home did not like his policy and decided to recall him. His recall marked the commencement of British triumph. They sent Godeheu to supersede Dupleix who was recalled to France in 1754. Godeheu entered into peace terms with the English by which both the nations agreed not to interfere in th quarrels of native princes. Thus except in the Deccan where Bussy maintained French influence, the French lost almost everything 'that Dupleix had gained for them.'

Recall of Dupleix

Failure of Dupleix

Causes

Dupleix was certainly the greatest man sent by the French to Indo-Pakistan, though he failed and was misunderstood by his countrymen. His failure was due to several factors. The lack of co-operation among the French officers was one of the important factors for the failure of Dupleix. He did not receive the full co-operation of the French officers. La Bourdonnais did not fully co-operate with him during the First Carnatic War. The French officers generally looked to their own interest and ignored the interests of the Company. Dupleix was a great statesman but not a great general. The French generals in Indo-Pakistan were no match for the English generals. The course of events was to a great extent determined by military personalities. Had Dupleix at his disposal the military genius of the type of Clive the history of the French in the sub-continent would have been altogether different. The naval supremacy of the British Government contributed largely to the failure of Dupleix. It could send reinforcements to Indo-Pakistan even during the war. It guarded their settlements from seaside. It also prevented the French from sending reinforcements to Indo-Pakistan during the war.

Lack of co-operation from French officers

Lack of generalship on French side

Naval supremacy of England

One of the greatest mistakes committed by Dupleix was the division of his forces. He wanted to dominate the Carnatic and the Deccan at one and the same time with limited resources. If he concentrated his entire forces upon the Carnatic and reduced Trichinopoly, he might have taken that place. But he kept Bussy, the ablest of the French general, at Hyderabad to maintain French influence in the Nizam's Court. The subsequent developments in the Carnatic led to the recall of Bussy and with his recall the French influence at Hyderabad collapsed. In this respect Dodwell says, "It is unwise to pursue two objects at once and to attempt more than one has the means of accomplishing." The main cause of the failure of Dupleix was the lack of adequate assistance from the home authorities. But he was partly responsible for this as he did not keep the

Division of his forces

Want of adequate help from the home authorities

Company informed of the details of his plan and of the actual position of the French in Indo-Pakistan. As a result, he had to suffer from financial difficulties. The French Government did not come to his help though he stood in need of it.

The Third Carnatic War

With the outbreat of the Seven Years' War in Europe in 1756, the French and the English settlements in Indo-Pakistan were again involved in hostilities. Thereupon Clive captured Chandannagore, a French possession in Bengal. The French Government sent Count de Lally to India to attack the English settlements in Southern India. Lally arrived at Pondichery in April, 1758. He captured Fort St. David without much difficulty and prepared to attack Madras; but ultimately he failed in his attempt. Hence he made a great blunder in calling Bussy from the Deccan in order to strengthen his hands. The departure of Bussy had undermined the influence of the French at the Court of the Nizam. Clive availed of this opportunity and sent Colonel Forde to the South. He took the district of Masulipatam from the French. At this course of events the Nizam Salabat Jang concluded a treaty with the British and ceded Masulipatam to them. Thus the influence of the French at Hyderabad was lost for ever. Lally was a man of military skill; but he was obstinate and ill-tempered and for this he could not work with others. He failed to secure the co-operation of Admiral D' Ache, the Governor of Pondichery. In 1757 he made an attack on Madras, but was forced to lift the siege after two or three months and the British were strong enough to take the offensive. Lally gave a strong resistance; but he was eventually defeated by Sir Eyre Coote in the battle of Wandiwash (1760). Coote followed up his success by capturing a number of French possessions in the Carnatic. In course of three months the French lost everything in the Carnatic except Jinji and Pondichery. The English laid siege to Pondichery in May, 1760. In view of the situation Lally appealed to Haidar Ali of Mysore

Hostility between the English and the French in India

Defeat of Lally at Wandiwash, 1760

Capture of French settlements in India

for help. In response to his request Haidar Ali sent a contingent of his forces to help the French. Pondichery had been completely surrounded by the British and Haidar's forces returned to Mysore, leaving Lally to his fate. In January, 1761 Pondichery made an unconditional surrender. The surrender of Pondichery was followed by the capture of Jinji and Mahe, a French settlement on the Malabar coast. Thus the French lost one by one all their possessions in Indo-Pakistan.

Causes of the French Failure

There were several causes which led to the failure of the French and the success of the English in Indo-Pakistan. Firstly, the commercial superiority and better financial position of the English contributed largely to the failure of the French in the sub-continent. The English never forgot that they were primarily a trading body and they carried on trade on a large scale even during the war and its financial position continued to be good. The French Company, on the other hand, never devoted itself exclusively to commerce and trade and therefore always had but a limited income. Dupleix and Lally who gave France a temporary fame preferred territorial aggrandisement to mercantile interest of the Company. Their territorial conquests impoverished the French Company and it became a burden to the Government rather than a source of profit. Hence it was unable to bear the burden of the ambitious scheme of Dupleix and Lally. P. E. Roberts says, "No power could attempt to hold India from a distant base oversea unless its occupancy was based on sound commercial and financial lines." Secondly, the French Company was a Government sponsored body and so it lacked the spirit of bold, individual and corporate effort. It had to look to the Government for financial support even in matters of trade. As a result, it was always interfered by the Government in all the affairs. The share-holders, "being assured of a fixed dividend, took no interest in the fortunes of the Company." The English Company on the other hand, was a private concern and its employees possessed great initiative and enterprise.

Commercial superiority and better financial position of the English

Want of individual initiativeness

Their fortunes were linked with the prosperity of the Company and they took interest in its affairs. The English Company was backed by the English Government but it was free from the State interference. The English East India Company thus could maintain its trade activities in a satisfactory condition in the East. Thirdly, the superiority of the British at Sea was an important factor for the failure of the French. The British were so strong at Sea that they could send supplies into the Carnatic from Bengal and also bring soldiers from Europe, while the French, being weak in naval power, were unable to replenish their sources. The English had their naval base at Bombay. But the French had their naval base in the island of France, which was far off. The result was that the French could not bring their navy into action at proper time. Fourthly, the success of the English at Plassey added considerably to the stability of their position in Bengal. The financial resources of Bengal gave the British a decisive advantage over Lally. Fifthly, the character and conduct of the leaders cannot be altogether overlooked in the event of the French failure in Indo-Pakistan. During the First Carnatic War, there broke out quarrels between Dupleix and La Bourdonnais on the question of policy. Similarly, there were dissensions between Lally, the commander of land forces and O' Ache, the commander of sea forces in the Third Carnatic War. Besides the internal differences among the French agents and the non-co-operation of the French Government, there can be no denying the fact that "British superiority lay in the quality of leadership as also in the professional superiority of men like Lawrence and Clive, Forde and Coote".

Naval superiority of the English

Success of the English in Bengal

Internal differences among the French leaders

Superior leadership of the English

Estimate of Dupleix

Dupleix was one of the ablest and most remarkable persons of European conquests in the sub-continent. Possessed of a strong determination and enormous capacity for work, he rose from a humble position to the post of Governor-General of the French possessions in Indo-Pakistan. He was certainly ambitious but his motives were patriotic. He turned

The aim of Dupleix

the commercial policy of the French Government into a political one. The establishment of the French Empire in the sub-continent was the sole motive of Dupleix and he endeavoured hard to achieve his end. He raised the prestige of France in Indo-Pakistan to a high position of honour and would have frustrated the British hopes in the Deccan, 'if the French Government had supported him'. His countrymen did not understand him and he was not given that good treatment which he well-deserved. He was a genius and a far-sighted politician. Regarding the greatness of Dupleix P.E. Roberts says, "He is a striking and brilliant figure in Indian history. For even if we give up the old uncritical estimates, we need not deny his real claims to greatness. His political conceptions were daring and imaginative. He raised the prestige of France in the East for some years to an amazing height; he won reputation among Indian princes and leaders that has never been surpassed."

Striking figure in Indian history

Dupleix was a capable administrator. He served the interest of his country with sincere earnestness. He was not motivated by personal gains even in the case of his quarrel with La Bourdonnais. His convictions were great and his aim was not self-centred. It has been said that he was unscrupulous in money matters; but one should not forget the character of the then Europeans in India. His rival Clive was not free from this charge of unscrupulousness in money matters.

Good administrator

Dupleix had to work hard against many odds and difficulties. The lack of support from the Home Government, absence of unity among the French officers and want of strong finance stood as great obstacles in the way of his success in Indo-Pakistan. Though a failure in schemes, Dupleix commanded the respect and regard of the French people for his noble object in establishing the French supremacy in the sub-continent.

His place in history.

CHAPTER II

THE BRITISH CONQUEST OF BENGAL

Nawabs of Bengal

Bengal was a province under the Mughal Empire. It was ruled by a Governor. But under the weak successors of Aurangzeb it became independent under Murshid Quli Khan who founded a new dynasty of Nawabs in Bengal. On the death of Murshid Quli Khan in 1727, his son-in-law, Shuja-ud-Din became the Nawab of Bengal and Orissa. Bihar was also added to his viceroyalty. He was succeeded by his son, Sarfraz Khan in 1739. During this period Alivardi Khan who was the Deputy Governor of Bihar revolted against his master in 1740 and after defeating him at Gheria became the Nawab of Bengal. He proved himself a strong and capable ruler. His regime was almost spent in an unceasing warfare with the Maratha raiders whose repeated invasions caused untold sufferings to the people of Bengal. At last he had to purchase peace by the cession of the province of Orissa and an annual payment of twelve lakhs of rupees as *chauth* to them. Alivardi Khan allowed the English to trade in Bengal ; but he did not allow them to fortify their possessions.

Murshid Quli Khan

Alivardi Khan

Siraj-ud-Daulah

Alivardi Khan had no male issue. So Siraj-ud-daulah, the son of his youngest daugther Amena, ascended the throne of Bengal after his death. But this was not liked by his other two daugthers who aspired to the throne of Bengal after the death of their father. Ghasiti Begum, the eldest daugther and Shaukat Jang, the son of the second daugther of the deceased Nawab created great troubles for the young Nawab. Rajballabh took up the cause

Siraj-ud-daulah's difficulties

of Ghasiti Begum in right earnest. In addition to the hostile activities of Rajballabh and Shaukat Jang, Siraj-ud-daulah, on his accession, had to come into conflict with the English.

Causes of hostility with the English

There were several causes of this conflict. Firstly, the attitude of the English was sympathetic towards the rival claimant whose cause was supported by Rajballabh. This made the Nawab turn against the English. Secondly, the English were misusing certain trade privileges in Bengal which were given to them by the Government. It irritated the young Nawab. Thirdly, Alivardi Khan had not permitted the English to fortify their settlements in Bengal. But in anticipation of the breaking out of the Seven years' War, the English and the French began to fortify their settlements in Bengal without the Nawab's permission. The Nawab became irritated at this and ordered them to demolish the same. The French carried out his order but the English did not care at all. Lastly, Krishnadas, a rich merchant and son of Rajballabh had fled to Calcutta with his family and treasure. He was given shelter by the English. The Nawab asked the English to hand over Krishnadas to him but they did not pay heed to him.

Misuse of trade privileges

Fortification of the English settlements

Affair of Krishnadas

The enraged Nawab marched against Calcutta and captured it. "The capture of Calcutta will ever remain memorable in history on account of the so-called Black Hole episode which occupies a prominent place in the narrative of Holwell". According to him, 146 prisoners were confined in a room, known as the Black Hole (18 feet long by 14 feet 10 inches wide). One hundered and twenty three died of suffocation and the rest remained to tell the tale of that tragic summer night. It has been proved by recent researches that the whole story is a mere fabrication. Some of the prisoners were put into the Black Hole and a number of them who were wounded in the course of the fight died there. But the tragic details which Holwell has given in order to suit a magnified number of prinsoners have not been accepted by the modern historians. In any case Siraj-ud-daulah had no hand in the Black Hole incident.

The story of the Black Hole tragedy is a mere fabrication

The Battle of Plassey, 1757

When the disastrous news of Calcutta reached Madras, an expedition was sent from there for the recovery of Calcutta under the command of Clive with a fleet under Admiral Watson. Calcutta was re-occupied by Clive in January, 1757 and Siraj-ud-daulah once again marched with his army to meet Clive ; but he could not do well in the engagement. Ultimately a treaty was concluded in which the English got back Calcutta and were given the right to fortify it. The English also captured Chandannagar in 1757 and thereby prevented the French from coming to Bengal to help the Nawab. Siraj-ud-daulah urged Bussy to come to Bengal from Hyderabad ; but when the latter heard the disaster of Chandannagar he turned back at Ganjam.

Recapture of Calcutta by Clive

The English now realised the position of Bengal well. So they were determined to replace Siraj-ud-daulah by a Nawab 'more amenable to their control.' They entered into conspiracy with the disaffected nobles of the Nawab and resolved to place Mir Jafar, the Commander-in-Chief of the Nawab's Army and brother-in-law of Alivardi Khan on the throne. Rai Durlab, the treasurer of the Nawab, and Jagat Seth, the richest banker of Bengal were the other leading members of this conspiracy. Amin Chand, a righ Bengali merchant acted as the intermediary between the English and the disaffected nobles. The terms of agreement between the two were settled through him. It was resolved that Clive was to march to Plassey and Mir Jafar was to join with all the forces under his command. Mir Jafar was to be made the Nawab of Bengal and he was to confirm all the privileges of the Company. But when the details of the conspiracy were settled, Amin Chand threatened to disclose the whole conspiracy to the Nawab if he were not promised 30 lakhs of rupees and a clause to this effect inserted in the agreement. Clive, however, very cleverly prepared two drafts of the treaty. The false document contained a promise to pay 30 lakhs of rupees to Amin Chand and the genuine one contained no mention of the amount to

Conspiracy against Siraj-ud-daulah

Clive's forgery

be paid to him. Watson was a conscientious person and he refused to sign the false document. Thereupon Clive forged his signatures. This false document was shown to Amin Chand.

Clive then changed his attitude and wrote a letter to the Nawab accusing him of evading the



Clive in Plassey grove

terms of the treaty and corresponding with the French. He further declared that he would refer the dispute to Nawab's Darbar. He marched towards Murshidabad with his army and reached Plassey with 3,000 troops. This place is 23 miles south of Murshidabad. The battle was fought on the 23rd of June, 1757. Mir Jafar who commanded the Nawab's Army stood still with his forces. Mohanlal and Mir Madan along with a handful of Frenchmen backed by a French Officer fought gallantly, but the battle was ultimately decided in favour of the English. Siraj-ud-daulah fled to Murshidabad and from there to Patna. He was, however, captured on the way and put to death by the orders of Miran, son of Mir Jafar. The conspiracy of Mir Jafar and others who have been regarded as the 'Great

Defeat and death of Siraj-ud-daulah

Betrayers' of the country by her patriotic sons resulted in the loss of the independence of Bengal.

The battle of Plassey may be considered as one of the most significant battles in the history of Indo-Pakistan. Its results were deep and far-reaching. Firstly, the battle of Plassey brought about a change of the Nawab of Bengal. Siraj-ud-daulah was replaced by Mir Jafar who was a mere puppet in the hands of the English. Secondly, it resulted in the extension of the British territories around Calcutta and the financial position of the Company was also strengthened. The new Nawab gave one crore of rupees and the territory of Twenty-four Parganas to the Company. Thirdly, the prestige of the Company increased in the eyes of the people. From the position of mere traders in Bengal, the Company became the master of a rich tract of land and henceforth played the role of a king-maker and king-breaker in Bengal. Fourthly, the battle of Plassey had its effect on the course of Anglo-French conflict in the Deccan. It placed at the disposal of the English the resources of Bengal, both in men and money. These resources were used against the French in the Carnatic Wars. Thus the rich resources of Bengal enabled the English to defeat the French in the Deccan during the Third Carnatic War. Fifthly, the victory at Plassey gave to the English the key to the conquest of India. It greatly enhanced their power which enabled them in course of time to defeat Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II at the battle of Buxar in 1764. Lastly, after the battle of Plassey Mir Jafar was made the Nawab of Bengal. It is called the First Revolution in Bengal. Mir Jafar gave a lot of money to the officers of the Company. The share of Clive was £ 334,000. This excited the greed of the officers who after the departure of Clive decided to replace Mir Jafar by his son-in-law Mir Qasim. One of the reasons for this change was that the senior officers hoped to get money from the new Nawab. Thus the battle of Plassey prepared the way for subsequent revolutions in Bengal by rousing the greed of the servants of the Comyany.

Seraj-ud-daula replaced by Mir Jafar

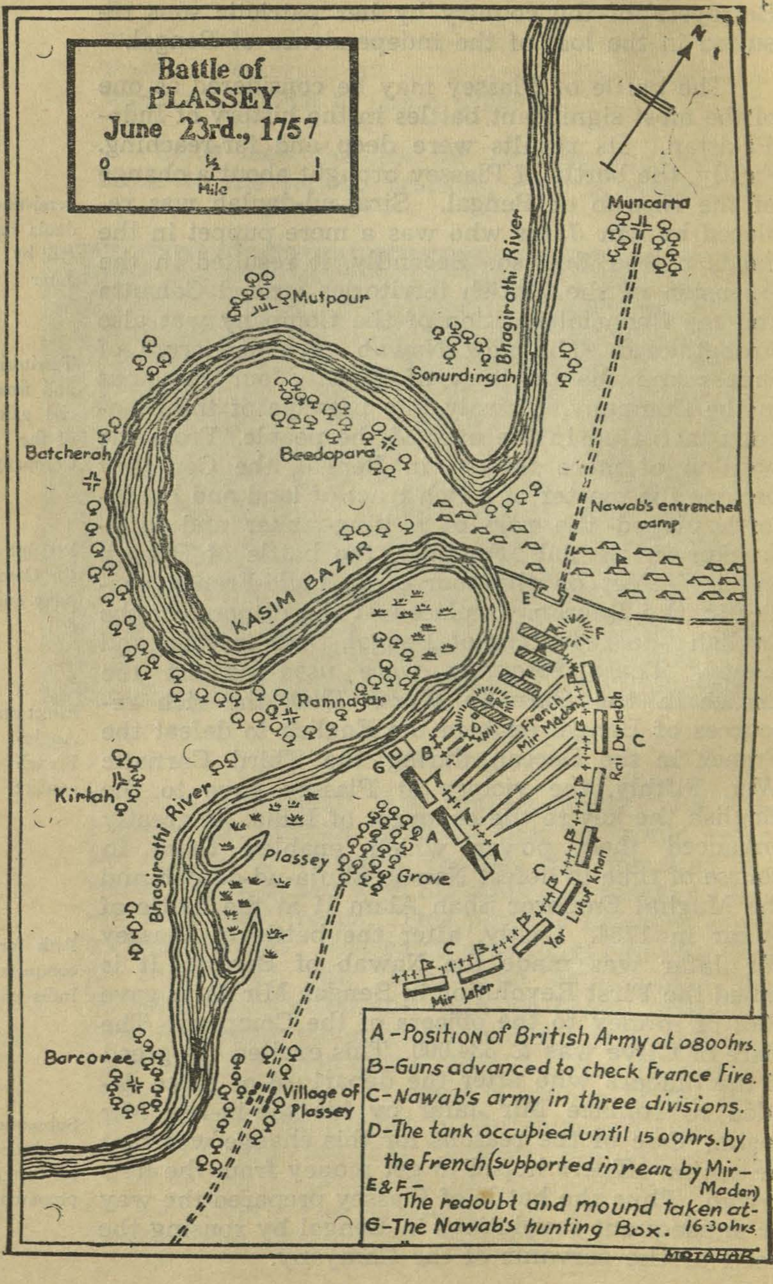
Territorial and financial gains of the Company

Prestige of the Company enhanced

Effect on Anglo-French conflict

Path for the conquest of India paved

Subsequent revolutions in Bengal prepared


Battle of
PLASSEY
June 23rd., 1757
0 ½
Mile
N
Muncarra
Bhagirathi River
Mutpour
Sonurdingah
Batcherah
Beedopara
Nawab's entrenched camp
KASIM BAZAR
E
F
Ramnagar
French—Mir Madan
D
B
G
Rai Durlabh
C
Kirlah
Bhagirathi River
A
Plassey
Grove
C
Yar Lutuf khan
C
Mir Jafar
Borcoree
Village of Plassey
A -Position of British Army at 0800hrs.
B-Guns advanced to check France Fire.
C-Nawab's army in three divisions.
D-The tank occupied until 1500hrs. by the French (supported in rear by Mir-Madan)
E&F - The redoubt and mound taken at 16·30hrs.
G-The Nawab's hunting Box.
MOTAHAR

Mir Jafar

On his accession to the *Masnad* of Bengal Mir Jafar filled up the pockets of Clive, Drake, the Governor and other members of the Council and agreed to compensate for the losses incurred by the Company and private traders in the capture of Calcutta. In 1759 the Crown Prince of Delhi besieged Patna, but was repulsed by Clive who in appreciation of his services got twenty-four parganas as *Jaigir*.

Defeat of the Dutch

This success of the English aroused the jealousy of the Dutch who were eager to supplant the English influence in Bengal. Mir Jafar now tried to change one master for another and entered into negotiations with the Dutch. But the vigilant watch of Clive thwarted the design of the Dutch. They were defeated and humbled at Bedara near Chinsurah in 1759. Thus Clive maintained the supremacy of the English in Bengal.

Invasion of Shah Alam II repulsed

In 1760, the Crown Prince Shah Alam II again invaded Bihar and besieged Patna. Clive with the help of the Nawab defeated the Emperor and forced him to retreat. After this event Clive left for England and was rewarded with an Irish Peerage for his meritorious services. His departure was soon followed by the question of succession. Miran, Mir Jafar's son and chosen successor was now killed by lightning. Hence the Bengal Council had decided to depose Mir Jafar and to place Mir Qasim, the son-in-law of the Nawab, on the throne. The treachery and incompetence of Mir Jafar and his failure to make the payments due to the Company made him and his family distasteful to the English. Moreover, the members of the Council were assured that they would get handsome presents from Mir Qasim. Vansittart, the Governor supported the suggestion of Holwell for deposing Mir Jafar and a secret treaty was concluded with Mir Qasim in which the latter agreed to pay off the outstanding dues to the English and to cede to them the zamindari of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong. The revolution was successful and Mir Qasim was installed on the throne of Bengal in 1760.

Deposition of Mir Jafar

Mir Qasim

The new Nawab proved to be a man of considerable ability. Had he been allowed of free hand, he might have done much more than he did. Within a year and a half he paid off the dues of the Company. He improved the training and discipline of his Army. He also increased the vigour of his revenue system. It is said that he realised in two years almost double the old revenue of the country. But the dishonest officers of the Company did not allow him to carry on his works for a long time. They wanted to supplement their low salaries by illegal private trade which the new Nawab did not like. Mir Qasim apprehended anger from the corrupt council at Calcutta and so he removed his capital from Murshidabad to Monghyr. Under Imperial *farman* the Company was exempted from the payment of transit duties on goods passing through Bengal. The same privileges were demanded by the servants of the Company for their private trade with which the Company had no concern. The Nawab was a man of firm determination. He abolished all transit duties and placed the English traders at par with the Indo-Pakistanis. This measure made the English furious and Ellis, the chief of the English factory at Patna asserted the rights of the English by seizing the city. The attempt failed and Patna was recaptured ; but the events led to the outbreak of the war between the English and Mir Qasim (1763). Dodwell says, "It was a war of circumstances rather than of intentions." Mir Qasim had no intention of waging war against the English, if they could manage the things properly. The Nawab had discharged the Company's debt, paid the arrears of his Army, retrenched the expenses of his court, reduced the power of the Zamindars and established an effective Government. He raised an Army at Monghyr on European model with the help of the European adventurers. But the outrageous proceedings of the Calcutta Board and of Ellis at Patna tell a different tale. The war was hastened by the assault of the city of Patna by Ellis.

His quarrel with the English over transit duties

On June, 1763 Major Adams took the field with an army of 1,000 Europeans and 400 Sepoys against

Mir Qasim's army of 15,000 to 20,000 men. Mir Qasim had no genius for war and was defeated in successive engagements at Katwa, Gheria and Udaynala. He fled to Patna. Adversity developed the cruel side of his nature, and after having killed all the English prisoners who had fallen into his hands at Patna, went to Oudh. He formed a confederacy there with Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah and the Emperor Shah Alam II who was staying in the court of the Nawab of Oudh. All the three made a common cause against the English and attacked Patna but they were repulsed. Then they took up their position at Buxar. The combined forces also could not do well here and were defeated at the hands of the English general, Major Hector Munro in 1764. Mir Qasim fled away while Shuja-ud-daulah and Shah Alam II surrendered to the English.

Defeat of the combined forces at Buxar, 1764

Importance of the Battle of Buxar

The battle of Buxar occupies an important place in the history of British India. Historians have expressed different views about the importance of the battle of Buxar. Broome is of opinion that the fate of India depended on the battle of Buxar. Sir James Stephen says, "Buxar deserves far more than Plassey to be considered as the origin of the British power in India." Firstly, it was a fierce and hotly contested battle. The battle of Plassey 'was decided more by treachery than by an inherent superiority of English arms.' But Buxar was a straight fight between two rival claimants for supremacy, each of which was fully alive to the consequences of the war. Secondly, at Plassey only the Nawab of Bengal had been defeated, while at the battle of Buxar the Mughal Emperor, the Nawab Wazier of Oudh and the Nawab of Bengal were defeated. Thirdly, the victory at Plassey gave the English a footing on the soil of Bengal which they utilized to the full in the battle of Buxar. The work begun at Plassey was completed in the battle of Buxar. At Buxar the English not only tightened their grip over Bengal but also ensured the safety of its north-west frontier. Thus the supremacy of the English for

Hotly contested battle

Defeat of the Emperor of India along with the Nawabs of Bengal and Oudh

Completion of the work of Plassey

Sovereignty of the East India Company in Indo-Pakistan

which they were fighting was ensured in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a result of the battle of Buxar. The East India Company was now a Sovereign power in Indo-Pakistan and its prestige was greatly enhanced.

Immediately after the outbreak of war with Mir Qasim, the English once again placed Mir Jafar on the throne and obtained certain privileges from him. Mir Jafar was an aged man and died in February, 1765. Nizam-ud-daulah, the son of Mir Jafar was installed on the throne on condition that the entire management of administration should be left in the hands of a minister who would be nominated by the English and could not be dismissed without their approval. Thus the supreme control over the administration passed into the hands of the English, while the Nawab became a figurehead.

Clive's Second Governorship (1765-67)

On Clive's departure there ensued in Bengal a period of misrule and political turmoil which threw grave discredit on the English name. The situation became so serious that the Court of Directors had sent out Clive again as Governor of Bengal with full powers to remove abuses and restore order. He came to Indo-Pakistan in May, 1765 and was confronted with several important problems of which the political and administrative ones were the prominent.

Problems before Clive

Political arrangements

Clive first wanted to settle the political affairs of Bengal. This was done by the Treaty of Allahabad (1765). The terms of the treaty were:

1. Shuja-ud-daulah was given back his Kingdom of Oudh except the districts of Kara and Allahabad on payment of fifty lakhs of rupees.
2. There was to be an English force in Oudh for the protection of its frontiers and its expenses were to be borne by the Nawab.

3. The Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II was given the districts of Kara and Allahabad, which had been taken away from the Nawab of Oudh, to maintain his royal dignity and prestige.

4. Shah Alam II was also granted a pension of 26 lakhs of rupees a year.

5. In return for these two gains, the Mughal Emperor granted the Dewani (revenue collection) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company.

The treaty of Allahabad is very important in the history of British India. Firstly, the grant of Dewani by the Mughal Emperor made the position of the Company legal in the provinces of Bengal and Bihar. Since 1757 they had been *de facto* masters of Bengal but now they became its *de jure* masters. Secondly, the Nawab of Oudh became a dependent ally of the Company. Thirdly, Oudh was made a buffer State between the British and the Marathas and the safety of Bengal was thus secured. Lastly, the titular Mughal Emperor became a pensioner of the Company.

Merits of Clive's political arrangement

Clive's Reforms

Lord Clive took several steps to reform the civil as well as military affairs of the Company. The servants of the Company were thoroughly demoralised and bribery and corruption reigned supreme in the land. He issued orders against the acceptance of presents which the Company's servants used to get on the occasion of the accession of each Nawab. He effectively put a stop to this system in spite of vehement opposition. He also ordered the employees of the Company not to carry on private trade. But in view of their low salaries he tried to compensate them by forming a Society of Trade under the control of Council. He wanted to remunerate only the superior servants of the Company who were given share in the Society of Trade. This society enjoyed a monopoly of the inland trade of salt, betelnut and

Civil reforms

Acceptance of presents stopped

Abolition of private trade system

Society of Trade

tobacco. But the Directors did not approve it and so the monopoly was entirely abandoned.

Military reforms

Clive had also to deal with the military administration of the Company. The most important of his military measure was the abolition of *double batta* or field allowance of the military officers. Ever since the battle of Plassey Mir Jaffar had allowed this allowance to the military officers. The allowance was granted to the military officers on active service but officers had continued to receive it even in time of peace. When the English Company received the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the duty of the payment of *double batta* fell on the Company. As a measure of economy it was now decided to abolish the system and Clive stopped the payment of the *double batta.* This measure was resented to by the military officers and a large number of them threatened to resign *en bloc.* Clive met the threatened mutiny with a stern hand.

Abolition of 'double batta'

Suppression of the British officers

Dual Government of Bengal

Another administrative measure of Clive was the establishment of Dual or Double Government in Bengal. He made an arrangement with the Nawab of Bengal by which the Company was to collect revenue and keep the army, while the Nawab was to carry on the civil, criminal and police administration and to receive 53 lakhs of rupees a year. The general administration was theoretically in the hands of the Nawab, but actually it was in the hands of two Deputy Nawabs, Muhammad Reza Khan for Bengal and Shitab Ray for Bihar. These two Deputy Nawabs were appointed by the Nawab on the advice of the Company. The Company performed revenue functions, but the work of administration was not assumed by it. "Thus, such a system of Government where there existed two authorities for a lay observer—one foreign and the other native ; one real and the other nominal ; one dominant and the other passive ; one supreme and the other shadowy—is the celebrated Double Government of Clive."

Introduction of Dual Government

There were several factors for adopting this system of Dual Government. Firstly, the directors of the Company apprehended that the assumption of responsibility would consume profits. Secondly, the Company did not have sufficient number of administrators for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Thirdly, it removed the suspicion of the Europeans. The open assumption of the Government of Bengal would have roused the jealousy and opposition of the European powers. But this system enabled Clive to contact the territorial acquisition under the legal camouflage of the Dewani and to disarm the foreign opposition at the same time.

Clive's motive in introducing the Dual System of Government

The Dual System of Government proved most defective in many ways. Firstly, power was divorced from responsibility. The Nawab had responsibility but no power, while the Company had power without responsibility. P. E. Roberts says that "the unfortunate divorce of power from responsibility soon caused a recrudescence of the old abuses." According to Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, "the system exhibited the ardroitness of an astute schemer, rather than the foresight of a responsible administrator. It was a sure contrivance for enjoying the spoils of past without taking over its fundamental obligation." The second defect of the system was that the Company did not gain much. The Company had got the right of collecting revenue but its financial position had become very bad in spite of this. The revenue was collected through the native agents and the directors thought that a good deal of it was misappropriated by the native agents. The English supervisors were appointed but this also did not improve the financial condition of the Company. The cultivators paid beyond their capacity but the Company did not grow rich. Thus the system of Dual Government was a total failure. In the words of Kaye, "The Dual administration made confusion more confounded and corruption more corrupt."

Defects of the Dual Government

The Dual Government was a total failure

Clive returned to his country in 1767. He was tried for his malpractices in Bengal but was honour-

ably acquitted. He put an end to his life in 1774 by committing suicide.

An Estimate of Clive

Achievements of Clive

Clive occupies a prominent place in the galaxy of British generals and administrators who placed their motherland on the map of Indo-Pakistan. By his victory at Plassey, he laid the foundation of the British supremacy in Bengal and provided the basis for its further expansion into the interior of the country. It was through his efforts that a body of merchants was raised to the position of a great territorial power in this sub-continent. His tact, patience, industry, and foresight were of a high order and he worked cautiously to achieve his ends. He was not only a great soldier but also a great administrator and a statesman. As a soldier he gave proof of the qualities of a brave fighter. Smith says, "His military genius and his gifts of leadership were abundantly manifested both in the peninsula and in Bengal." His abilities as a statesman were exhibited chiefly in his second Governorship of Bengal when he established Oudh as a buffer State between Bengal on the one hand and the Marathas on the other. His second Governorship was marked by considerable reforms and he did much to check the rapacity of the Company's servants. "Never throughout his glorious career as a soldier did Clive's character and his conduct stand higher," says Malleson, "than when, in dealing out punishment for the mutiny which he and he alone had suppressed".

A great soldier and statesman

Clive was a man of thought as well as a man of action. But as a human being, he was not free from defects. On his arrival in England Clive was severely criticised for his fraud practised on Aminchand, and taking of huge bribes in presents. He was over-fond of money and did not care to adopt any means, fair or foul, for its acquisition. In this respect Mr. Colebrook says that his whole course of dealings with Mir Jafar was "stained with falsehood and treachery throughout." There was no limit to his greed and the manner in which he satisfied it was condemnable. In accepting bribes in the

Dark side of Clive's character

shape of presents he had left behind a tradition to be followed for many years by the Company's servants. In spite of some faults, there is no denying the fact that at the most critical moment he 'rendered great and meritorious services to his country'. His headlong valour on the battle field, his splendid daring and audacity in a political crisis, his moral courage in facing disaffected and mutinous subordinates, his force and fire in debate, all justify the lofty verdict of Lord Macaulay that "our island has seldom produced a man more truly great than Robert Clive, either in arms or in council." Thus Clive occupies a high place in the history of British India and may be rightly regarded as the founder of the British Empire in the sub-continent.

His place in history

Bengal after the Departure of Clive

The period after the departure of Clive and before the arrival of Warren Hastings as Governor was a period of misgovernment. Clive's successors Verelst (1767-69) and Cartier who bridged over the intervening period of five years were men of no exceptional abilities. During their weak administration the evils of Clive's Dual Government were fully manifest. It is said that before he (Clive) cut his own throat with a pen knife in 1773, in his own home, he had unconsciously created conditions in Bengal wherein innumerable throats were to be 'cut as an inevitable consequence of his Double Govment in the province'. The great famine of 1770 carried off one-third of the population of Bengal. But the officials of the Company displayed a lamentable indifference to the sufferings of the people. Instead of trying to give relief to the distressed people they were collecting the revenue with great severity In describing the condition of famine Mr. Bacher, a servant to the Company writes, "It must give pain to an Englishmen to have reason to think that since the accession of the Company of the Dewani the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before. The fact is undoubted that the fine country, which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary Government, is verging towards ruin."

A period of mis-government

Haidar Ali of Mysore

When the Mughal Empire began to decline rapidly and the Marathas and the English were trying to establish their supremacy in the sub-continent, it was at that juncture of national crisis that the country found some patriots who fought tooth and nail to check the advance of the enemies. In the north Najib-ud-daulah was trying heart and soul to bring back the lost prestige of the Muslims; in the east Seraj-ud-daulah and Mir Qasim were fighting for the independence of the country; in the south Haidar Ali and his son Tipu Sultan had taken upon themselves the responsibility of saving the country from the hands of the enemy. The Mysore territory was in the past a part of the empire of Vijayanager. When that empire broke at the battle of Telikota (1565 A.D.), the territory of Mysore went under the sway of a Hindu dynasty. It came into prominence under Haidar Ali.

Early career of Haidar Ali

Haidar Ali was one of the ablest adventurers and important figures in Indo-Pak history. Born in 1727, he gave the promise of a successful career early in life. As a soldier he entered the service of the *Dalwai* or Prime Minister Nanjraj who ruled Mysore in the name of the titular King. He was given the Command of 300 foot and 50 horse soldiers. Haidar soon won the love and admiration of his master who being impressed by his boldness and dashing spirit conferred on him the title of *Khan* and independent command of 400 foot and 50 horse. Haidar Ali took part with the ruler of Mysore in a war in Trichinopoly against Chanda Saheb and the French. Though Nanjraj was defeated in the war, it brought Haidar Ali into close contact with the European methods of warfare. He learnt the European methods of warfare and at the same time exhibited his bravery and courage on the field of battle. In recognition of his merit and ability, Nanjraj appointed him in 1755 the *Faujdar* or Commandant of Dindigul. Here Haidar Ali organised a body of troops and was gaining strength in the State.

Faujdar of Dindigul

Two years later Mysore had to encounter a new calamity. It was suddenly attacked by the Marathas and as Devaraja and Nanjraj were at feud with each other, the cause of the Mysore State was about to be lost. The soldiers of the army were also discontent because of non-payment of their salary. It was at that critical moment that the Raja placed the entire charge of the army at the disposal of Haidar Ali. He took immediate steps to save the country against the Marathas and forced them to retreat. The Raja, being pleased with Haidar Ali, rewarded him by conferring on him the title, *Fath Bahadur.* It was at that time that Nanjraj was removed from power through the agency of Haidar Ali's trusted officer, Khandey Rao. Thus the authority of Mysore came into the hands of Haidar Ali and Khandey Rao had risen to power under him. But soon he proved disloyal to his patron by joining hands with the Raja in a plot against him. The palace intrigue put him into an awkward situation and kept him out of office for a while. But he faced the situation courageously and was able to re-establish his authority. Within a short time he extended the territory of Mysore by the conquest of Bednore, Sunda, Kanara, Sira and other places. After the death of Raja of Mysore in 1766, he became the real ruler of Mysore. The rapid rise of Haidar Ali was a source of danger to the neighbouring rulers who were determined to crush his power in the bud.

Virtual ruler of the Mysore State

His conquests

The latter half of the eighteenth century saw the rivalry between Mysore and the Marathas for supremacy in the south. "The Marathas found in Haidar Ali a great obstacle in the way of extending their authority in the south.' The conquest of the Kingdom of Bednore is an important event in Haidar's career and it greatly alarmed the Marathas. In 1764, the Marathas made preparations for an invasion of Mysore and for this they sought the help of the Nizam and the English. Haidar Ali was defeated in the battle of Jadi Hanvali and forced to flee from the battle field. The Peshwa Madhav Rao had sent three more expeditions against Haidar

His struggle with the Marathas

Ali and on each occasion the latter was defeated and compelled to pay war indemnities. The premature death of the Peshwa (1871) gave him a great relief and soon he was able to recover his lost territories from the Marathas.

The First Mysore War

Haidar Ali clearly realised that the English was the real enemy of the Muslims in the subcontinent. His idea soon came to be true. In 1766, the English formed a strong coalition with the Marathas and the Nizam against him. Haidar Ali thinking it impossible to cope with the combined forces tactfully detached the Nizam from his alliance with the English. He along with his new ally attacked the English and rendered the British general helpless. In this war he displayed feats of courage and bravery. Though he was defeated and the Nizam left him in the course of events, he continued to fight against the enemy. He successfully marched against the British forces and appeared within a few miles of Madras. The Madras Government got frightened at this and was forced to lay down arms. 'It was the first time that the Company had been obliged to sue for peace with an Indo-Pakistan Power.'* The peace terms dictated by Haidar Ali provided for the mutual restitution of conquests and reciprocal assistance in defensive war. But when the Marathas next invaded his territories, the English did not help him according to the terms of the treaty. Haidar Ali never forgave this treachery and betrayal of the English.

Combined forces against Haidar Ali

Haidar dictates peace terms to the English

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* Pakistan History Board, *A Short History of Hind-Pakistan.*

CHAPTER III

WARREN HASTINGS
(1771-85)

Early Career

With the appointment of Warren Hastings as the Governor of Bengal early in 1772, the history of India entered upon a new phase. He was destined to play an important role in the history of British India. From the humble position of a mere writer in the Company's service in Calcutta at the age of 18 only he rose to the position of Resident at Kashimbazar by sheer dint of his service and ability. When Kashimbazar was captured by Seraj-ud-daulah, Warren Hastings was imprisoned. He managed to escape and rendered valuable service under Clive. He was appointed a member of the Calcutta Council in 1761. He sailed back home in 1764 and after five years returned as a member of the Council at Madras. In 1772, he became the Governor of Bengal in place of Cartier.

Early Difficulties

Warren Hastings took the charge of a most chaotic administration and sought to evolve an orderly Government out of it. The Dual Government was a total failure and all sorts of corruption reigned supreme in the administration. The trade of the country was monopolised by the English servants of the Company and native agents oppressed the people in collecting the revenue. The terrible famine of 1769-70 took away ten million souls of Bengal and one-third of the cultivated land became waste. There was a heavy drain in the treasury and the country was in an utter state of confusion. Gangs of robbers had infested every corner of the country and the courts of justice existed in name only. Realising the hopeless condition of the Company, Richard Becher, a servant of the Company

Internal difficulties

wrote to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors on the 24th May, 1769: "It must give pain to an Englishman to have reason to think that since the accession of the Company to the Dewani, the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before..........."

External difficulties

Besides the question of mal-administration, Hastings had to face external troubles. The Marathas quickly regained their power and energy after their defeat in the historic field of Panipat in 1761 and emerged as a prominent power both in the North and in the South. The Mughal Emperor Shah Alam threw off the friendship of the English and joined the Marathas. Haidar Ali, the ruler of Mysore, was waiting for taking revenge upon the British for their treachery, because the latter refused to help him against the Marathas in spite of their treaty obligations. Such was the condition of the British India when Warren Hastings came to power.

Warren Hastings' Reforms

The most urgent task before Warren Hastings was of setting the administrative system in order. Sir Alfred Lyall says that Warren Hastings "showed a genius for pioneering administration." Immediately after his accession, he embarked upon a series of important reforms. His period of administration may conveniently be divided into two unequal divisions—the first from April 13, 1772 to October 19, 1774, when he was the Governor of Bengal and the second from 1774 to 1785, when he became the Governor-General of the Company's administration in the sub-continent under the Regulating Act. During the first period he tackled all the problems of internal administration.

Administrative Reforms

Abolition of Dual Government

The Dual System of Government introduced by Clive had totally failed and plunged Bengal into administrative chaos. The Company had all power but no responsibility for running the administration. The work of administration had been

carried by Muhammad Reza Khan and Shitab Ray, Deputy Nawabs of Bengal and Bihar respectively in the name of the Nawab. Warren Hastings removed them from their respective post. These two officers were tried for corruption and mal-administration but they were, however, acquitted. The Company took over the work of administration in its own hands. The treasury was shifted from Murshidabad to Calcutta. Its advantage was that the Government would be able to exercise control properly. The new Nawab, Najam-ud-daulah, was placed on the throne and his mother Munni Begum, the widow of Mir Jafar, was appointed his guardian. The allowance of the new Nawab was reduced from 32 lakhs to 16 lakhs of rupees.

Transfer of treasury

Re-organisation of Nawab's affairs

Revenue Reforms

The Treaty of Allahabad had given the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company. It did not collect revenue direct. The collection of revenue was in the hands of *Amins* who were no better than contractors and troubled the peasants a lot. Warren Hastings decided that the revenue must be collected by the Company direct. He entrusted the collection and supervision of revenue to the English Officials called Collectors who were to be assisted by the local officers. The right of revenue collection was given to the highest bidders for a period of five years. This system was found to be defective and it was made annual in 1777. A Board of Revenue was set up at Calcutta to supervise the work of revenue collection.

Appointment of English Collectors

Revenue Settlement

Establishment of Board of Revenue

Financial Reforms

With a view to economising the expenditure of the Government, Hastings drastically reduced the stipulated allowance of the Nawab of Bengal from 32 to 16 lakhs of rupees a year. He also stopped the tribute payable to the Emperor Shah Alam on the pretext that the Emperor had left the British protection and gone over to the side of the Marathas. The districts of Kara and Allahabad were also taken

Allowance of the Nawab of Bengal reduced and that of Shah Alam stopped

away from him and they were given to the Nawab of Oudh for 50 lakhs of rupees.

Commercial Reforms

Abolition of the 'dustuk' system

Warren Hastings introduced certain reforms in the sphere of commerce and trade also. The servants of the Company carried on private trade under the system of *'dustuks'*. No customs duty was levied on the goods owned by the servants of the Company. Warren Hastings prohibited the use of *'dustuks'* by the officers of the Company. Now they had to pay duties for their personal goods. This added a good deal to the revenues of the Company.

Reduction of the number of customs houses

Warren Hastings took another step for the promotion of trade and commerce in the country. The existence of a large number of customs houses was hampering the growth of trade and he abolished most of these houses. Henceforth there were to be only 5 customs houses at Calcutta, Murshidabad, Hugli, Patna and Dacca.

Abolition of customs duties

With a view to improving trade and commerce in the country Warren Hastings reduced customs duties on all goods except salt, betelnut and tobacco to the extent of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$. This customs duty was to be paid by all persons.

Judicial Reforms

Establishment of Civil and Criminal Court in each district

The fame of Warren Hastings rests chiefly upon the reforms of judicial administration. There was a close relation between land revenue and civil administration. Warren Hastings separated the civil administration from the commercial organisation. He established a Civil and a Criminal Court in each district to ensure fair justice to the people. The English collectors dispensed Civil Law while Indians presided over the Criminal Courts in the districts. His idea was to introduce some forms and practices of English law without disturbing much the existing laws of the land. He set up two Courts of Appeal in Calcutta, viz., the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* (the Supreme Civil Court) for civil cases and *Sadar Nizamat*

Adalat (the Supreme Criminal Court) for criminal cases. The former was presided over by the Governor-General assisted by two members of the Council and the latter by an Indian Judge. He thus "laid the foundation of a civil system of administration on which the superstructure was raised by Cornawallis."

Establishment of Courts of Appeal

The introduction of reform in different spheres of administration was a great achievement of Warren Hastings. This created order out of chaos and confusion. But his reforms were not perfect. His attempt to separate commerce from administration was not crowned with success. The question of the profits of the Company's servants was not taken into consideration. Moreover, private trade in the system of presents continued to flourish as before. The new revenue and judicial administrations were far from satisfactory. Yet Warren Hastings' reforms were certainly a great improvement upon the previous system. In consideration of this it can be said, "If Clive was the founder of the British Empire in India, Warren Hastings was its organiser."

Criticism of Hastings's reforms

The Oudh Policy of Hastings

'The central pillar of Hastings' foreign policy was the alliance with Oudh.' In order to make Oudh a buffer State between the Marathas and the English, Hastings wanted to keep on good terms with the ruler of Oudh and with this end in view concluded the treaty of Benares in 1772 by which he sold Kara and Allahabad to Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab Wazir for 50 lakhs of rupees. It was the Oudh policy of Hastings which involved him in the Rohilla War. Hastings found in Shuja-ud-daulah a traitor just as Clive in Mir Jaffar. Shuja-ud-daulah was the first Indian prince who had the disgraceful honour of making an offer to accept, as his sovereign, the King of England, in place of the Mughal Emperor to act as his minister (vizir) in India at a time (1773) when Shah Alam was still ruling at Delhi and the English had to establish their claim as a paramount power in the sub-continent. His life

history is in fact a record of betrayals of his country, of his brethren and of his people. There was none excepting the English who reposed trust in him. Abject servility to the English was the pride of his life and his "useful services rendered no mean assistance" in consolidating and setting the British power on a firm basis. In consideration of the growing power of the Marathas and the conduct of Shah Alam who threw off the British protection by placing himself under the Maratha tutelage, the Oudh policy of Hastings (treaty of Benares) and his treatment to the Emperor Shah Alam may be justified on political grounds but not from the moral point of view. The treaty of Benares is the first event that reveals the fiendish and debased nature of Hastings.

Treaty of Benares

The Rohilla War (1773-74)

A dark chapter of Hastings' foreign policy was his direct participation in the Rohilla War. The country of Rohilkhand, lying at the base of the Himalayas to the north-west of Oudh, governed by a confederacy of Rohilla chiefs under the leadership of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, formed the homeland of the Rahillas, a brave race of Pathan warriors. In view of the common Maratha danger, the Nawab of Oudh and Hafiz Rahmat Khan concluded a treaty on June 13, 1772 in the presence of Sir Robert Barker, the British Commander-in-Chief who merely witnessed the signatures of the parties. The treaty, *inter alia*, provided that if the Marathas invaded Rahilkhand, the Nawab would help him to repulse them and for that service the Rohillas would pay him 40 lakhs of rupees. In 1773 the Marathas invaded Rahilkhand and the Nawab of Oudh sent his troops accordingly. The combined forces compelled the Marathas to retreat. When the Nawab demanded the stipulated sum, the Rohilla chiefs pleaded for reconsideration of the question of payment in consideration of the fact that the expedition against the Marathas was undertaken as much for the safety of Rohilkhand as for Oudh. The Nawab rejoiced at the denial of the claim and appealed to Warren Hast-

Causes of the Rohilla War

ings for help. He promised to bear all the expenses of the war and to pay 40 lakhs of rupees to the Company. Hastings found in this appeal a chance to replenish the offers of the Company. He gladly accepted the appeal and sent a brigade under Colonel Champion. The allied British and Oudh troops marched into Rohilkhand on April 17,1774 and met the Rohillas at Miranpur Katra on April 23, 1774. The Rohillas fought with unparalleled bravery but they were defeated and Hafiz Rahmat Khan, their leader, was killed. The misfortune not only decided the issue of the war, but also sealed the fate of the entire race of the wretched people. Innumerable Rohillas were slaughtered on the field, in the street and in their houses and many were banished from the country. According to Mill, "every one who bore the name of Rohilla was either butchered or found his safety in flight and in exile. Their country was annexed to Oudh."

Terrible atrocities committed by the Nawab's soldiers

Hasting's Rohilla policy has become a subject of severe critism. Some of the European historians have supported his Rohilla policy on the ground of political considerations. The pecuniary advantages to the Company and the strategic importance of Rohilkhand prompted him to send British troops in aid of the Nawab of Oudh. It is said that the Rohillas were not able to hold their own against the Marathas and if the latter could once have secured the possession of the land (Rohilkhand) the safety of both Bengal and Oudh would have been endangered. It is also argued in favour of Hastings that the Nawab had a legal case against the Rohillas for not complying with the treaty obligations and the Company was in duty bound to help the Nawab. These arguments are merely an eye-wash of the situation and can never be supported in view of the terrible atrocities committed on the innocent people of Rohilkhand. In this connection Alfred Lyall says, "The expeditions against the Rohillas was wrong in principle, for they had not provoked us and the vizir could not be relied upon to abuse his advantages." The innocent people of Rohilkhand did nothing to

Criticism of Hastings's Rohilla policy

incur the displeasure and hostility of the Company. So Mr. T. Ray Chowdhury aptly observes that "the whole transaction smacks of selfish motives, mainly of a mercenary character, and it undoubtedly set a bad precedent." Hasting's action was obviously against the instructions of the Directors who asked the Company not to participate in any Indo-Pakistan warfare. Hastings reluctantly approved the Nawab's proposal considering that the occasion for armed help would never come. But P. E. Roberts says that such a "lame half hope, half belief" is not at all impressive as statemanship. So we can reasonably conclude that Hastings proved himself as an impracticable schemer, who had 'sold the lives, liberties of a free people and condoned horrible atrocities on the part of the armies of the Nawab of Oudh.'

Rohilla policy of Hastings cannot be supported from the moral point of view

The Regulating Act, 1773

The passing of the Regulating Act in 1773 is one of the most outstanding events of this period. Several causes prompted the British Parliament to intervene with definite authority in Indian affairs. The embarrassing financial condition of the Company and the dishonesty of its servants were mainly responsible for this intervention. A detailed discussion about this topic has been made in the chapter on Constitutional Development.

Hastings and the Council

Almost from the very beginning the relation between Hastings and the Council was far from being satisfactory. Of the four members, the three, viz., Sir Phillip Francis, General Clavering and Colonel Manson maintained an attitude of open hostility to Hastings. Their hostility was the outcome of the ill-devised Regulating Act and lack of experience in Indian affairs. Though Mr. Barwell, the fourth member supported Hastings, the real power passed into the hands of the hostile majority. As a result, the Governor-General though he was the head of the administration, could not carry out his policy in the teeth of opposition of the Council. Thus there

The Oudh policy of Hastings condemned by the Council

ensued a six years' struggle which is probably unique in the history of British rule in Indo-Pakistan. The Council began to oppose him by disapproving and condemning the Rohilla War. They recalled the British Resident, Mr. Middleton and took an advantage of the death of the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh. On the death of the latter they cancelled the existing treaties and forced upon the successor of the deceased Nawab a new treaty by which he had to pay his subsidies at a more increased rate and to surrender the district of Benares to the Company. Moreover, the Councillors admitted the claims of the Begums of Oudh (mother and grand-mother of the new Nawab) to the greater portion of the treasure left behind by the Nawab-Wazir. But the hostility reached its climax when the Council entertained the charges of peculation brought against Warren Hastings by Raja Nanda Kumar.

Case of Nanda Kumar

Charges of forgery against Nanda Kumar

The hostile attitude assumed by the Council had greatly undermined the prestige and position of Hastings in the public eye. Of the several charges of defalcation and corruption brought by the natives against Warren Hastings, the charge of Raja Nanda Kumar definitely attracts our attention first. Nanda Kumar, a Brahmin of high rank and influence who had held important posts under the Nawabs accused Hastings of taking a heavy bribe from Munni Begum, the widow of Mir Jaffar. In spite of the persistence of the Councillors, Hastings refused to meet the charges and declared the Council dissolved. At the same time he lodged a charge of conspiracy against Nanda Kumar. While this was enquired into, another charge of forgery was brought against Nanda Kumar by one Mohan Prasad. He was tried by the Supreme Court of Justice with Sir Elijah Impey as the Chief Justice. Nanda Kumar repeatedly wrote to the Calcutta Council that he was a victim of conspiracy between the Governor-General and the Supreme Court and cried for fairness and justice. But the long arm of Hastings was too powerful. Nanda

Kumar was found guilty and sentenced to death on August, 1775.

Criticism

The incident of Nanda Kumar has been a subject of controversy among the historians. It is generally believed that Nanada Kumar was put to death nominally for forgery but really for accussing the Governor-General. The supporters of Hastings put forth the argument that Nanada Kumar had a fair trial and Hastings had no hand in the matter. It cannot be denied that there was a miscarriage of Justice. According to P. E. Roberts, "It is very doubtful whether the Supreme Court had any jurisdiction over the natives. Moreover, the sentence of death was not done in accordance with the Indian Law but with the English Law which was not applicable to India." Burke and Elliot observed that "Hastings had murdered Nanda Kumar by the hands of Impey." While Mecaulay says that "None but idiots and biographers can doubt that Hastings was the real mover in the business," a later writer Beveridge in his famous book, *"Trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar'*, holds that Hastings "did conspire with Impey to murder his ancient foe."... ..

The Marathas

The imperialistic design of Peshwa Balaji Rao was completely shattered in the historic field of Panipat in 1761. But they once more emerged as a formidable power in 1770 under the able leadership of the fourth Peshwa, Madhav Rao I. But the death of the young Peshwa, Madhav Rao changed the course of events and involved Poona in the pernicious struggles and dissensions of succession.

The First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-82)

The first Anglo-Maratha War broke out when the English interfered in the domestic affairs of the Marathas. The throne of the Marathas was disputed by Raghoba Rao and Narayan Rao, the brother and successor of the deceased, Madhav Rao. Narayan Rao, shortly after his accession to the

throne was murdered and Raghoba Rao was acknowledged as the Peshwa. The birth of a posthumous son of Narayan Rao from his wife Ganga Bai gave a new and swift turn to Maratha politics. The confederate Maratha chiefs under the leadership of Nana Fadnavis recognised the infant as the lawful Peshwa and set up a Council of regency in his name. Raghoba's counter-moves failed and he applied to the English in Bombay for help. The Bombay Council readily decided to help and concluded with him the Treaty of Surat in 1775 by which Raghoba Rao agreed to cede to the English the island of Salsette and the harbour of Bassien with a part of the revenues of the Baroda and Surat districts as the price of their help.

Treaty of Surat, 1775

The English and the Marathas met at the plain of Arras on May 18, 1775 and the allied forces of the Company and Raghoba won the day. But the English Council in Calcutta disapproved of the policy of the Bombay Government. Hastings wanted to support them. But he was over-ruled and a fresh treaty called the Treaty of Purandar (1776) was concluded. By this treaty the Bombay Government agreed to give up the cause of Raghoba. The Treaty of Surat was, however, approved by the Directors and Hastings wanted to continue his alliance with Raghoba Rao. Within a few months the allies suffered a crushing defeat at Telegaon. The English were forced to make an unconditional surrender and sign a humiliating convention at Wadgaon. By the Convention of Wadgaon the English agreed to give back all their acquisitions since 1773, to withdraw forces arriving from Bengal and to surrender two hostages as a guarantee for faithful performance of the "disgraceful" convention.

Treaty of Purandar, 1776

Convention of Wadgaon

Hastings soon repudiated the disgraceful convention and continued the war. Fortune favoured him and he came out successful. By the Treaty of Salbai, the first Anglo-Mysore War came to an end in 1782. It obtained the Salsette for the English and provided a pension to Raghoba Rao.

The Maratha policy of Hastings was ill-advised and defective. The Treaty of Salbai brought no material gain to the English. On the other hand it

exhausted the Company's treasury and forced Hastings to have recourse to objectionable financial methods to fill up the empty treasury. But though the English did not achieve any material gain, yet the treaty can be regarded as a landmark in the history of British supremacy in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. It gave them peace with the Marathas, a formidable enemy for long 20 years and thus left them comparatively free to fight their other enemies like Haidar Ali and the French and to bring the Nizam and the Nawab of Oudh under their control. Dr. V. A. Smith also emphasised the importance of the treaty by saying that "it established beyond dispute the dominance of the British as the controlling factor in Indian politics." Towards the end of 1780 the fortunes of the English in India had fallen to their lowest water-mark. The coalition of Indian powers against them, the preparation of the French for a formidable expedition to recover their old prestige in India and the successful operations of Haidar Ali in the Carnatic threatened the position of the English in Indo-Pakistan. It was the Treaty of Salbai that saved the English position at that critical moment by isolating Haidar Ali. In consideration of this, Hastings may be called the second founder of the British Empire in India.

Importance of the Treaty of Salbai

The Madras Government about this time presented a most hopeless picture. Corruption and other heinous vices formed the very basis of administration. The system of Double Government which was then prevailing produced most disastrous results similar to those in Bengal. In a sentence, it can be said that Madras was a prey to corruption.

Affairs in Madras

The Second Anglo-Mysore War

The first Anglo-Mysore War came to an end by the treaty of 1769 which provided that if Haidar Ali was attacked by any other power, the English would help him. But when the Marathas invaded Haidar Ali's territories in 1771, the English did not offer any help. The violation of the terms of the treaty by the English severely offended Haidar Ali who was looking for an opportunity to strike the English at any time. So he gladly participated in

Causes of the war

a grand confederacy formed by the Nizam and the Marathas against the English in 1779. The Anglo-French conflict in Europe (1778) had deeply influenced the relation between the English and the French in Indo-Pakistan. The English seized the French settlements including Mahe, a port which was within the jurisdiction of Haidar Ali and was very useful to him. The situation was further aggravated when the English did not pay attention to his remonstrations. This provocative act of the English compelled Haidar Ali to declare war in 1779 against the English.

Capture of Mahe by the English

Haidar Ali succeeded in giving the British, in the words of McLeod "a damned rap over the knuckles". He entered the Carnatic with an army of about 90,000 and "swept with the broom of desolation". He gave a crushing defeat to an English brigade under Colonel Baillie. Sir Hector Munro, the well-known hero of Buxar, retreated in panic to Madras. Haidar Ali succeeded in capturing Arcot in 1780. But in the meantime Hastings by diplomatic policy detached the Nizam, Sindhia and the Raja of Bera from Haidar Ali. Thus Haidar Ali was left alone to conduct the war. Hastings next sent an army from Bengal under Sir Eyre Coote who succeeded in gaining three victories in succession at Porto Novo (1781), Polliore and Scholingur. As a result of this defeat Haidar Ali merely lost the ground on which he stood. The English then seized Nagapatam and Trincomali from the Dutch who had participated in the European war against the English. The appearance of a powerful French fleet (early in 1782) under the Admiral de Suffrein changed the course in favour of Haidar Ali. The French succeeded in recovering Trincomali and kept the English busy at sea. Haidar Ali conquered Cuddalore from the English and his son Tipu surrounded a detachment of 2,000 under Colonel Braithwaite in 1782 and compelled him to surrender But at this critical moment Haidar Ali died and Tipu continued the war vigorously. He secured another amusing victory over Brigadier Mathews in 1783. But the treaty of Versailles between the French and the English deprived him of any further help. Yet he fought single-handed and captured Bednore and

Defeat of Baillie by Haidar Ali

Battle of Porto Novo

Death of Haidar Ali

Treaty of Mangalore

Mangalore. The war continued for sometime with varying success on both sides. At last the Treaty of Mangalore (1784) closed the Second Aglo-Mysore War.

The treaty was concluded on the basis of the mutual restitution of conquests and liberation of prisoners of war. Hastings did not approve the terms of the treaty as it seemed to him a humiliating one. Tipu recovered all his lost territories while the English lost all the advantages which they had gained at Porto Novo, Pollilore and Scholingur. In this connection Dr. Smith says, "The Second Anglo-Mysore War ended in dishonour for the English."

Achievements and Character of Haidar Ali

His achievements entitle him to rank as one of the important figures in history

Haidar Ali was one of the most remarkable men of his time. He started his life as an ordinary soldier in the army of the Hindu State of Mysore but by dint of hard work and ability he became the ruler of a State. A self-made man, he occupies a very high place in the history of Indo-Pakistan. He found Mysore a small principality, weakened by dissension and impoverished by misrule, and left it as one of the foremost states in Indo-Pakistan at the time of his death. 'Haidar Ali had not taken regular military training, but his skill in the art of fighting was so great that the best general of his time acknowledged his superiority'. He had to face the combined forces of the Nizam, the Marathas and the English and on many occasions he made them feel the weight of his power and prowess. Though he ultimately failed in his wars with the English, none can deny the military dexterity of Haidar Ali.

Haidar Ali, a great administrator

Haidar Ali was not only a great warrior and soldier, but also a great administrator and statesman. He divided the Central Government into 18 departments, each under a minister or a secretary. He paid attention to the re-organisation of the revenue department. His army organisation was a model of efficiency. He also built a strong navy of 30 war ships to combat the European maritime powers. Haidar Ali treated the Hindus with justice and toleration. Most of his officers were Hindus. Krishna

Rao and Purnia held important posts in the State. He was accessible to all and he personally supervised the administration, although he could not read or write. Regarding the administration of Haidar Ali Mr. Munro says, "The Mysore Government is the most simple and despotic monarchy in the world in which every department, civil and military, possesses the regularity and system communicated to it by the genius of Haidar Ali and in which all pretensions derived from high birth being discouraged or extirpated, justice severely and impartially administered and numerous and well disciplined army kept up........"

Though illiterate, Haider Ali had a thorough grasp on the affairs of the administration and could speak five languages fluently. He was as brave and fearless as a tiger. He was always clean in his dealings even with his enemies. By sheer force of character, he had made himself the ruler of a kingdom. Mr. Bowring says, "He was a bold, an original and enterprising commander, skilful in tactics and fertile in resources, full of energy, and never desponding in defeat. He was singularly faithful to his engagements, and straightforward in his policy towards the British." In spite of the severity of his internal rule, his name is always mentioned in Mysore with respect. Character

Chait Singh of Benares

Hastings' treatment towards Chait Singh, Raja of Benares was extremely harsh, merciless and vindictive. Chait Singh was originally a feudatory of the Nawab of Oudh and placed himself under the overlordship of the Company by the treaty of 1775. He agreed to pay an annual tribute of 22½ lakhs of rupees to his new master, and the sum would not be increased further. But the outbreak of hostilities with the French compelled Hastings to seek expedients to replenish his treasury and the demanded an extraordinary sum of 5 lakhs of rupees from the Raja in 1778. Chait Singh paid the amount and in the next year the demand was renewed and payment was made after some delay. At this Hastings imposed upon him a fine of 51 lakhs of rupees and ultimately Arrest of Chait Singh

put him under arrest. Thereupon the troops of Chait Singh revolted and killed a number of English sepoys. The disturbances were, however, suppressed and Chait Singh was deposed.

Criticism

Hastings' dealing in the affairs of Chait Singh was definitely "cruel, unjust and oppressive" and can not escape reasonable criticism. Apologists like Smith hopelessly tried to justify the demand of Hastings on the ground of grave necessity of the time and situation. Chait Singh was a ruling prince. But he was wrongly described by the defenders of Hastings as a mere Zamindar. Even if he was a mere Zamindar, it is readily sad to note that no other Zamindar was called upon to meet such extraordinary demands. Further the treaty of 1775 clearly stated that "no demand shall be made upon him by the honourable Company." So if we leave aside the moral consideration of the thing, yet the Raja was not at all legally bound to pay any sum more than 22½ lakhs of rupees. Hence the conduct of Hastings was unjust and improper.

Begums of Oudh

Having failed to extract money from Chait Singh, Hastings turned his attention to the Begums of Oudh. There was a rumour that after the death of Shuja-ud-daula (1775) the Begums of Oudh had inherited extensive *Jagirs* and immense treasures amounting to several million sterlings. The Calcutta Council guaranted the property and treasury of the Begums in spite of the opposition of Hastings. Asaf-ud-daula, the young Nawab-Wazir was required by the treaty of Faizabad to pay off the arrears due to the Company. But the Nawab expressed his inability to pay his debt unless the property and treasures held by his mother and grand-mother were restored to him. The floating report was an allurement to Hastings who in order to meet the expense of the costly wars against the Marathas and Haidar Ali sought this type of extortion. Hastings withdrew the Company's guarantee on the pretext that the Begums had been implicated in Chait Singh's revolt and ordered the Nawab to despoil the Begums. But the Nawab now pondered and hesitated to do a

vicious thing against his own mother and grandmother. The hesitation on the Nawab's part exasperated Hastings and he wrote to the British Resident Middleton in December, 1781 : "You must not allow any negotiations or forbearance, but must prosecute both services until the Begums are at the mercy of the Nawab". The British troops were sent to Faizabad where the Begums lived. The residences of the defenceless Begums were mercilessly pillaged by the British troops and their guests and guards were slaughtered. In this way Hastings realised 100 lakhs of rupees by which the Nawab's debt to the Company was cleared off.

The Begums were pillaged and their guards slaughtered

Whatever may be the arguments of historians in favour of Hastings, his treatment towards the Begums of Oudh leave an indelible stain on his character. According to Burke, Sherdan and Mecaulay, Hasings and the Wazir joined in "a plot to rob the two ladies" one of whom was "parent to one of the robbers." Mecaulay observes, "There can be no doubt that Hastings was the moving spirit in the whole transaction." The systematic cruelty of Hastings on this occasion surpassed all limits. Sir Alfred Lyall says, "The employment of personal severities, under the superintendence of British officers, in order to extract money from women and eunuchs is an ignoble kind of undertaking....to cancel the guarantee and leave the Nawab to deal with the recalcitrant princes was justifiable, to push him (Nawab) on and actively assist in measures of coercion against women and eunuchs was conducts unworthy and indefensible." There is no doubt that Hastings was the main actor in the whole transaction.

Criticism of Hastings's action

Retirement of Hastings

The high-handed policy of Warren Hastings was strongly criticised by the House of Commons in England. The Court of Directors also censured him for his unjust and immoral dealings with the Begums of Oudh in 1783. Pitt came to power in 1784 and as the Ministry did not approve his policy, Hastings tendered his resignation and left India in February, 1785.

Hastings left India in 1785

Hastings was favourably received by the people of England. But three years later he was impeached for many charges, such as corruption, acceptance of presents and bribes, oppression in the case of Chait Singh and the Begums of Oudh, etc. The trial began in 1788 and continued for eight years. At last he was acquitted of all the charges. He breathed his last in 1818 in the midst of mental anxiety.

Impeachment of Hastings

An Estimate of Hastings

Different opinions of the historians about the achievements of Hastings

The activities and character of Warren Hastings have become a subject of controversy. Personally Hastings was dishonest, treacherous and corrupt and there was a touch of vindictiveness in his character. His Rohilla policy, the case of Nanda Kumar and his treatment towards Chait Singh of Benares and the Begums of Oudh have tarnished his character. For these activities he was criticised and condemned by the famous writers and historians like Burke, Mecaulay, Mill and Beveridge. But in recent times the modern historians have tried to justify almost all his actions. Perhaps, the actual truth lies between the two schools of thought. From the moral and humane points of view the activities of Hastings cannot be supported. Later in life he was impeached in the House of Commons for his questionable actions especially for his treatment towards Chait Singh and the Begums of Oudh. But from the point of view of British interest his actions can be better understood. In all his actions he was guided by the interest of the Company.

His problems

During the period of office Hastings rendered valuable service to consolidate the British power in Indo-Pakistan. He came to power at a very critical moment of British rule in the sub-continent. He found the administration of the Company in a chaotic condition. The Dual Government of Clive had proved a failure and all sorts of corruption prevailed in the land. The revenue of the Company was defalcated and the treasury was almost empty. Such a state of affairs Hastings had to face. He successfully piloted the vessels of administration through a most difficult and stormy period.

From the very beginning Hastings devoted his energy and time to the betterment of the English conquered territories and the system of administration. At the outset he, according to the direction of the Court of Directors, took over the charge of collecting the revenue through the agency of the Company's own servants and thereby abolished the dual system of government introduced by Clive. He removed Reza Khan and Shitab Ray, the Deputy Nawabs of Bengal and Bihar respectively from office and a Board of Revenue was established. He made a quinquennial settlement of the revenues with the zamindars and appointed a 'collector' who was entrusted with the collection and supervision of revenue in each district. Hastings separated the civil administration from the commercial organisation. A civil and a criminal court in each district was set up to ensure fair justice to the people. He established two courts of appeal in Calcutta, *viz.*, the *Sadr Dewani Adalat* for civil cases and *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* for criminal cases. He thus laid the foundation of British administration in Indo-Pakistan. Hastings saved the British interest in the south where the Company's position was at stake in the hands of the Marathas and Haidar Ali. It was due to the efforts of Hastings that the First Anglo-Maratha War and the Second Anglo-Mysore War were concluded in favour of the English. He sent a mission to Bhutan and Tibet with a view to facilitating trade relation with those countries.

His achievements

There can be no denying the fact that Hastings had recourse to many questionable ways of action which cast a black spot on his character. In order to remove the financial difficulties of the Company, he did not hesitate to extort money from the Begums of Oudh and Chait Singh of Benares by cruel persecution. But we have to consider all facts and to make every allowance for his difficulties. He served the cause of the Company better than many administrators sent to this sub-continent. The foundation of the Indo-Pak legislation, the restoration of law and order under the Company, the extension of trade and commerce and above all, the safety of the Company's power and prestige from the impending perils bear eloquent testimony to his genius and ability. Lord Clive laid the foundation of the British

Second founder of the British Empire

Empire in Indo-Pakistan but it was Warren Hastings who expanded and consolidated it on a sound basis. In consideration of his achievements Hastings may rightly be regarded as the second founder of the British Empire in Indo-Pakistan.

Patron of literature

Hastings was a man of many parts. He was a patron of arts and literature and knew Persian and Bengali well. He encouraged the study of Sanskrit literature and founded the Madrasha in Calcutta. Another memorial work of Hastings was the establishment of Royal Asiatic Society. It was under the patronage of Hastings that the first Bengali grammar by Halhed was published.

Pitt's India Act of 1784

The Regulating Act of 1733 was in operation until it was superseded by Pitt's India Act of 1784. In course of these years the glaring defects of the Regulating Act became apparent and the British Parliament seriously gave its attention to providing relief to, and reforming, the Company. The first move for reforms made by Dundas ended in failure. The Indian Bill of 1782 introduced by Fox was passed by the House of Commons but was rejected by the Lords due to the intervention of King George III. Pitt succeeded Fox and introduced a new bill in January 1784 and it was passed in August of the same year.

Board of Control

The supervision of all civil, military and revenue affairs of the Company was vested in Board of six Commissioners (appointed by the Parliament) popularly known as the Board of Control. This Board was comprised of the Secretary of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and four Privy Councillors appointed by the King. Its orders were to be transmitted to India through Secret Committee of three Directors. The real power of the Board passed into the hands of the Senior Commissioner, who was known as the President of the Board of Control. The power of the Court of Proprietors was considerably reduced, as they could not suspend any resolution of the Board of Directors. Thus the supreme authority passed into the hands of the Commissioners and the Directors only retained their patronage,

viz., the right to appoint and dismiss their own servants. As a result of the Act, the Company was definitely brought under the control of the Parliament.

Important changes in Indian administration

The Act also brought important changes in the Indian administration. The members of the Governor-General's Council were reduced to three and only the servants of the Company were made eligible for these posts. The control of the Governor-General over the subordinate Presidencies of Madras and Bombay was clearly defined and make more effective. By a supplementary bill passed in 1786, the Governor-General was authorised in special cases to act against the majority of the Council and also to hold the office of the Commander-in-Chief. Lastly, it was laid down that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour and conquest of this nation." Thus the Act practically established double Governments (Board of Control and Board of Directors of the Company) for Company's possession in India which remained in force till 1858.

The Act of 1784 was a very skilful enactment bearing all the marks of a political compromise. It removed the defects of the Regulation Act as far as practicable.

CHAPTER IV

LORD CORNWALLIS
(1786-93)

Macpherson (1785-86)

With the departure of Hastings in February, 1785, Sir John Macpherson, the senior member of the Council, became the temporary Governor-General of India. He continued the office of the Governor-General for a period of 20 months only. Lord Cornwallis took the charge of the Governor-General's office from him in September, 1786.

Policy of Cornwallis

A man of noble birth and lofty character, Lord Cornwallis enjoyed a high reputation for straightforward conduct and unquestionable integrity. He enjoyed the confidence of Younger Pitt, the Prime Minister and Henry Dundas, the President of the Board of Control. The British Government in India had earned notoriety for corruption and Cornwallis had been purposely sent to clean up the administration. He was empowered to override the majority of his Council and he combined in his person the twin offices of Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General. He abandoned the policy of expansion and devoted himself to the reforms of the Company's service. Mr. R. C. Dutt remarks, "He did not belie the expectations formed of him and his rule afforded a gleam of sunshine in India after much of darkness and storms."

Reforms of Lord Cornwallis

The problems before Cornwallis, according to Dr. Iswari Prasad, "were two-fold—firstly, the reform of the administrative mechanism, both executive and judicial, in which corruption was rampant and secondly, to redress the grievances of the landed aristocracy, who complained of unjust confiscations of their lands and their privileges." Immediately after the assumption of office, he launched upon a career of reforms. He made some effective reforms in every branch of administration. His re-

forms in different spheres of administration may conveniently be divided under the following heads :

(1) Reform of the Covenanted Service ; (2) Judicial reforms ; (3) Commercial reforms ; (4) Land Revenue reforms or Permanent Settlement.

Reforms of the Covenanted Service

Sir John Malcom says about the Government of Warren Hastings that "the whole system of the Government over which he (Warren Hastings) presided was corrupt and full of abuses." Nepotism and corruption had formed an inseparable part of the character of the Company's servants. They were carrying on the forbidden private trade and enriched themselves by large unofficial perquisites, though they received fixed but poor salaries from the Court of Directors. "I am sorry to say," wrote Cornwallis, "that I have every reason to believe that at present almost all the collectors (Company's servants) under the name of some relations or friends deeply engaged in commercial works and by their influence as collectors and judges of *Adalat* became the most dangerous enemies to the Company's interest." Cornwallis, in order to put a stop to the illegal sources of income, increased the pay of the Company's servants. At the same time, he introduced certain rules and regulations known as the Cornwallis Code for the guidance of the officials and saw to it that these regulations were strictly enforced. In this connection P.E. Roberts observes, "The covenanted service of the country from that date assumed a new aspect and grew by natural development into the imperial civil service of the Indian Empire."

Measures against corruption

While making appointments, Lord Cornwallis gave the best posts to Europeans in general and the Englishmen in particular. He had a very low opinion about the Indians. He thought that the Indians were unworthy of trust and responsibility and they should not be allowed to fill in any but the humblest offices in the government. This policy of Lord Cornwallis towards the Indians ever remained a stigma on his fair name and character.

Judicial Reforms

The next department to feel the administrative genius of Lord Cornwallis was the judiciary of Indo-Pakistan. The famous historian P. E. Roberts aptly says, "In the administration of the judicial courts, civil and criminal, Cornwallis completed the work begun by Warren Hastings." He entrusted the collection of revenues and the administration of justice to separate officers. The collectors were divested of all judicial and magisterial powers. But Cornwallis curtailed the magisterial power of the collectors and their duties were now confined to purely revenue administration. He established a regular hierarchy of civil and criminal courts. He introduced the lower courts presided over by Indian *Munsifs* and *Sadr Amins* for trying petty civil cases. Above these were the District Courts (Zilla) under a British Judge with native assessors. He also established four provincial Courts of Appeal at Calcutta, Murshidabad, Patna and Dacca, each under three European Judges who were assisted by Indian assessors. They tried criminal cases and heard appeals from the decisions of the District Courts. Then came the Court of Appeal or *Sadr Diwan Adalat* presided over by the Governor-General and members of the Council. It was the final Court of Appeal for civil cases.

Collectors deprived of judicial powers

Gradation of civil courts

A paralleled organisation of criminal courts was set up and the judges were practically the same. The criminal jurisdiction of the Deputy Nawab or Naib Nazim was abolished and the judges from the four provincial courts were sent on circuit to try criminal cases within the area of their jurisdiction twice a year. The highest court of criminal cases was the *Sadr Nizamat Adalat.* It is noted here that Muhammadan criminal law was administered with slight modifications. The cruel punishment, such as impalement and mutilation, was abolished.

Criminal courts

Sadr Nizamat Adalat

The districts were divided into several areas called thanas for police administration. Each thana was placed under the charge of a native Daroga. The District Magistrate supervised the works of the

Daroga. As a result, the zamindars were totally deprived of the power and responsibility of maintaining peace and tranquility in their area and were compelled to disband their police force. Lord Cornwallis thus made the beginning of the establishment of the royal police force.

Police administration

There is no doubt that by introducing the Cornwallis Code he did much to purify the administration and to check the irregularity and uncontrolled exercise of power by the Company's servants. But his supreme distrust of Indians and their exclusion from the posts of trust and responsibilities not only wounded the sentiments of the Indians but also created troubles for the administration. To reform the police administration, he curtailed the power and position of the zamindars and the duties performed by them were transferred to European officers. The number of qualified British officials was by no means large and it was not possible for these officials to deal with all cases in time. As a result, work was in arrears and the people were, in most cases, deprived of timely benefit of the Court of Justice.

Criticism of the reforms of Cornwallis

Commercial Reforms

Another important work of Cornwallis was the reformation of the commercial administration of the Company in Bengal. When he came to power, he found that the Board of Trade made a practice of entering into contracts with its own servants styled Residents for the supply of the commodities required for exports. This system produced bad results. Some of the Residents cheated the Company and oppressed the Indians from whom they purchased goods. He abolished this system and enforced that Residents were to conduct trade and fix the price. He also instructed the commercial Residents to the effect that local and foreign traders should receive just and proper treatment. Dunbar observes that 'this was an admirable reform and lasted as long as the Company remained a trading body.'

Practice of contracting with its own servants abolished

Proper treatment to the local and foreign traders

The Permanent Settlement

Previous revenue system and its evil consequences

The most remarkable reform of Cornwallis was the introduction of Permanent Settlement in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The system of land settlement and revenue collection in Bengal presented a deplorable picture before the Government, when Cornwallis assumed the charge of his new assignment. During the time of Warren Hastings the right of collecting revenue was put to auction and let out to the highest bidder at first for a period of five years and then for one year. It was to the interest of the new landholder to make as much profit as he could within the specified time ; for he had no proprietary right in the land. The peasants were, therefore, at times ill-treated and oppressed, and cultivation suffered, with the result that the value of the land ultimately deteriorated. This was not the only evil of that system. Irresponsible bidders often made an impossible bid and failed to make payment owing to non-realisation of money from the peasants. The collection of revenue was, therefore, uncertain. As a result of this unsatisfactory system, the Government, the zamindars and the peasants suffered a lot. In order to remove these defects in the land revenue system, Cornwallis introduced a Permanent Settlement.

Circumstances leading to the introduction of Permanent Settlement

Lord Cornwallis belonged to the landed aristocracy of England. It was but natural to have sympathy for the landed magnates. In his own country the landed magnates are the hereditary proprietors of the soil and their interest is associated with the improvement of the land. He naturally expected that a similar system, if introduced into this country, would produce beneficial results. In consideration of these, Cornwallis made ten years' settlement with the zamindars in 1789 A.D. and then converted it into Permanent Settlement in 1793. Before the introduction of Permanent Settlement he wrote to the Directors of the Company for its approval. There was a controversy between Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, a senior most member of the Calcutta Council on the question of the Permanent Settlement. Sir Shore was not in

favour of the Permanent Settlement on the ground that the Company had not obtained sufficient information regarding the land. However, Pitt the Younger, the Prime Minister, and Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, accepted the view point of Lord Cornwallis and the existing settlement was made permanent in 1793. It was introduced in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Dr. Smith says, "Cornwallis introduced his Permanent Settlement and effected a revolution without intending."

Main features of the Permanent Settlement

The main features of the Permanent Settlement were that the zamindars who had so long been mere collectors of revenue were made the permanent owners of the land, subject to the payment of the fixed revenue to the Government. The share of the Government was fixed at about 10|11ths of what a zamindar received at that time (1793). The zamindars had no apprehension of losing their land except on the ground of non-payment of revenue.

Different opinions about the Permanent Settlement

The Permanent Settlement is an important episode in the history of revenue administration. It speaks eloquently about the administrative genius of Lord Cornwallis. But as to the justice and equity of this solution and its ultimate effect upon the country, opinions always differed as they differ even to-day. Marshman has supported the Permanent Settlement. He says, "It was a bold, brave and wise measure. Under the great influence of this territorial charter, which for the first time created indefensible rights and interests in the soil, population has increased, cultivation has been extended and a gradual improvement has become visible in the habits and comforts of the people." Holmes on the other hand has criticised the Permanent Settlement. He says, "The Permanent Settlement was a sad blunder. The inferior tenants derived from it no benefit whatever. The zamindars again and again failed to pay their rent charges, their estates were sold for the benefit of the Government."

Merits of the Permanent Settlement

There is no doubt that the Permanent Settlement made the British Government highly popular and gave stability to its administration. It helped to make Bengal the wealthiest and most flourishing

province in Indo-Pakistan. The system secured for the Government a fixed income and thereby removed the evils associated with temporary settlement. P. E. Roberts says, "It has avoided the evils of periodical settlement which, at however long intervals, produce economic dislocation, evasion, the concealment of wealth, and the deliberate throwing of land out of cultivation." The position of the zamindars was improved as they were made the permanent owners of the land. The zamindars became rich and spent money for the educational and cultural progress of the country. Besides, the Permanent Settlement created a body of zamindars in Bengal who were loyal to the Government in times of trouble and danger. It is very well-known that the zamindars of Bengal remained loyal to the British Government during the Revolt of 1857.

Government income assured

Position of the Zamindars improved

In spite of the merits of this system, some fundamental errors vitiated the settlement. Firstly, the areas of 'the zamindari estate were unknown, the areas of rent-free grants and maintenance of lands were unascertained, the areas of pasture lands and waste lands remained unascertained, when the settlement was declared permanent. This led to endless confusion and opened gates of litigation. Secondly, though the position of the zamindars was improved, the interest of the peasants was not considered. Their old proprietary right on the land was gone and they were entirely thrown at the mercy of their new landlords. There was no protection for the peasants from the oppression of the zamindars. In view of the defects of this system the East Pakistan Assembly abolished the Permanent Settlement recently. Thirdly, the value of lands increased many times due to the extension of cultivation. But the revenue payable to the State had remained fixed for all times to come, the Government was deprived of a share of its unearned increment. That was why, the Government had to impose various taxes on the ryots in order to increase the revenue. Fourthly, the zamindars failed in many cases to realise the rent from the cultivators and could not pay the State dues in time. So

Demerits of the Settlement

Interest of the peasants ignored

Loss of revenue to the Government

they were compelled to part with their ancient rights to new proprietors. The rigid punctuality of the payment of revenue enforced by the sale law ruined many old zamindars in Bengal who could not pay the rent on a fixed day before sunset. Lastly, the expectation of Cornwallis that the zamindars would improve the lot of the subjects and develop their estates was doomed to disappointment. As there was no apprehension of losing the land in future, the zamindars did not pay their attention to its improvement. The peasants also did not try for its improvement, as they had no right in the land.

Many old Zamindars affected

Improvement of land hampered

In conclusion, it can be said that though the settlement brought an orderly form of revenue administration, yet it was unsatisfactory in many respects. Seton Carr, the biographer of Cornwallis says, "The Permanent Settlement somewhat secured the interest of the zamindars, postponed those of the tenants and permanently sacrificed those of the State." The Muslims were hard hit by the introduction of the Permanent Settlement. It took away from the hand of the Muslim land-owners their lands and gave it to the Brahmanic revenue collectors. Regarding the result of the Permanent Settlement Sir W. Hunter says, "A hundred and seventy years ago it was almost impossible for a well-born Musalman in Bengal to become poor ; at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich."

Result of the Permanent Settlement on the Muslims

Foreign Policy

Cornwallis wanted to maintain peace with the Indian States. That was why he refused to help the son of Shah Alam at Delhi and wanted Mahadaji Sindhia against interfering in the affairs of Oudh. But the circumstances compelled him to change his policy of non-intervention and to wage war against Tipu Sultan.

The Third Anglo-Mysore War

The most important political event of Cornwallis regime was the Third Anglo-Mysore War. As a

matter of fact the treaty of Mangalore (1784) was nothing but a "hollow truce". Realising this, a ruler like Tipu did not remain idle and tried to win for himself the support of France and of Constantinople and sent envoys to both places. But he received only "promises for future help and no active assistance for the present." The Anglo-French conflict in Europe precipitated the Third Anglo-Mysore crisis in India. Cornwallis wrote to Malet, a Resident at Poona in 1788, "I look upon a rupture with Tipu as a certain and immediate cause of war with France." The effort of Tipu to win the French support and sympathy made him an eye-sore to Cornwallis. Cornwallis also adopted a course of action which amounted to a violation of the Act of 1784. He maintained most friendly relations with the Nizam and obtained from him the possession of Guntur. According to the treaty of Musalepatam, 1788, the Nizam also asked for British help to recover certain portion of his territory from Tipu Sultan, which Cornwallis tactfully complied with. In July, 1789, he sent a letter to the Nizam for sincere co-operation and prepared a list of allied powers in which the name of Tipu was deliberately omitted.

Causes of the war

The act of Cornwallis was a sufficient provocation to Tipu who protested reasonably but in vain. Tipu commenced hostilities by attacking the Raja of Travancore who was an old ally of the British. Cornwallis regarded the attack of Tipu as an action of war and joined hands with the Nizam and the Marathas who apprehended that the growth of Tipu's power was detrimental to their interests. Thus a triple alliance was formed to crush the power of Tipu Sultan.

Attack on Travancore by Tipu

Triple alliance against Tipu

The fairly fought Anglo-Mysore War lasted for about two years in which Tipu displayed wonderful skill and strategy. The first campaign under Major-General Medows was not at all impressive and Cornwallis himself assumed the command in December, 1790. Marching through Vellore and Ambar to Bangalore, Cornwallis reached Arikera in March, 1791, and succeeded in defeating Tipu. But he was next compelled to retreat hastily owing to

the brilliant generalship of Tipu and utter lack of equipment and provisions for his army. The fighting was resumed in the summer of 1791 and Tipu captured Caimbatore. But Cornwallis with the help of the army sent from Bombay occupied the hill-forts that lay on his path towards Seringapatam and attacked its outskirts. The Marathas also began to destroy the Mysore territory by their repeated attacks.

Tipu finding the resistance hopeless concluded the Treaty of Seringapatam after some negotiations in 1792. By this treaty, Tipu had to surrender half of his dominions, out of which a large portion was given to the Nizam and a portion to the Marathas. Moreover, he had to pay a large war indemnity of more than £ 30,00,000 and to send two of his sons as hostages to Company's camp.

Treaty of Seringapatam, 1792

Some critics maintain the view that Cornwallis could easily destroy the power of Tipu instead of concluding a treaty with him. This was a political blunder for which the Company had to wage another war against Tipu Sultan. But it is a fact that on the question of annexation of the kingdom of Mysore and overthrowing its ruler, he was guided by several considerations, *viz*., the displeasure of the Marathas and the Nizam who were useful allies to the Company, the resentment of the official circle in England and the convention of the policy of Pitt's India Act of 1784. Moreover, Cornwallis "was not eager to take over the management of the whole country of Mysore and so deliberately stayed his hands."

Criticism

An Estimate of Cornwallis

Lord Cornwallis deserved a wide-spread reputation and special admiration for his various beneficial reforms in different spheres of administration. He was undoubtedly a strict disciplinarian and a good administrator. The organisation of the covenanted civil service, establishment of the district courts as the unit of administration, reformation of the judicial and police administration and introduction of the Permanent Settlement in

Achievements of Cornwallis

Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were the enduring monuments of Cornwallis. But by excluding the Indians from the high posts of the Government he definitely proved his short-sighted policy. Cornwallis left India in 1793.

The Charter Act of 1793

Renewal of the Charter

The retirement of Cornwallis synchronised with the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1793. There was a strong agitation against the retention of the monopoly of the Indian trade by the Company. At last the Company's privileges were extended for another twenty years with the small concession that 3000 tons of shipping should be allowed for the use of private shippers.

Sir John Shore (1793-98)

Sir John Shore, a distinguished civil servant of the Company, became the Governor-General of India in 1793. His period of administration was a fair trial of the neutral policy laid down by the Court of Directors. He maintained very strictly the 'Policy of Non-intervention'. This is why Shore did not render any help to the Nizam when he was attacked by the Marathas. He refused to intervene in the affairs of others and the Nizam was badly defeated at the battle of Kharda in 1795. This policy of Shore had been condemned and it had tarnished the reputation of the English. The Nizam became very much displeased with the English for their breach of faith and looked to the French officers for help to train his troops.

Policy of Non-intervention

The policy of Non-intervention followed by Sir John Shore has been seriously criticised by some writers. They regarded it as politically defective and quite impractical at the troublous period. "It was proved," wrote Sir John Malcom, "from the events of administration that no ground of political advantage could be abandoned, without being instantly occupied by an enemy ; and that to resign influence was not merely to resign power, but to allow that power to pass into hands hostile to British Government." Sir John Shore's attitude of Non-intervention had definitely crippled the power of

Criticism of Shore's policy of Non-intervention

Nizam due to his defeat at the hands of the Marathas. On the other hand, the power of the Marathas was greatly increased which proved detrimental to the interest of the Company in Indo-Pakistan. Moreover, the policy was regarded by the native powers as a sign of weakness on the part of the English. So they were encouraged to be hostile against the Company.

Oudh Affairs

Sir John Shore interfered in the question of succession in Oudh. After the demise af Asaf-ud-dawla, the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh, he found two claimants for succession. He investigated the claims of each and ultimately recognised the claims of Sa'adat Ali, brother of the late Nawab. By a treaty with him, the Company undertook the defence of Oudh in return for an annual subsidy of seventy-six lakhs of rupees and the cession of the part of Allahabad.

Intervention in the question of succession

Sir John Shore failed to keep up the balance of power among the Indian states undisturbed. His administration proved a failure and the British supremacy was seriously threatened. On the other hand, the reforms of Cornwallis gave rise to discontent among the military officers of Bengal who were deprived of their unlawful gains. They started a mutiny in Bengal and threatened to seize the administration. Shore under compulsion granted many concessions to the discontented soldiers for which he was recalled towards the close of 1798.

Recall of Shore

CHAPTER V

LORD WELLESLEY
(1798-1805)

Sir John Shore vacated his offce in 1798 and was succeeded by Lord Mornington, better known by his later title of Lord (Marquess) Wellesley. Before coming to Indo-Pakistan, Wellesley had served for several years as a member of the Board of Control and had the fortune to study the problems of this country. His period of office 'was one of the most critical and eventful' in the history of Indo-Pakistan. It has been said that his eventful administration was 'but a series of graduated upheaval from chaos to cosmos.' At that period the struggle for supremacy between the British and the Indian powers went to its final stage. Wellesley, by his indomitable will with a political grasp of facts and gorgeous imagination successfully tackled all the problems and outdistanced almost all the British administrators in this country.

Political Condition of Indo-Pakistan

Condition of Indo-Pakistan on the eve of his assumption of power

Wellesley assumed the charge of administration at a most difficult and critical period when the Company was exposed to many grave dangers. He clearly realised that the Company could no longer play any predominent role in politics due to Sir John Shore's policy of Non-intervention. The French influence in the courts of different Indian princes became a source of constant danger to the British power. Tipu, the old enemy of the Company had greatly improved his resources and allied himself with the French Governor of Mouritius and Reunion. The power of the Nizam was greatly reduced due to his defeat by the Marathas as a result of the neutrality of the English and so he welcomed French support. Sindhia whose power reached an alarming point had also appointed another French commander named Perron. Thus the hold of the

Rise of different native powers

French in the courts of the native rulers became a serious menace to the British position and the situation was further aggravated as England was then envolved in Revolutionary War with France and Napoleon had undertaken an expedition into Egypt in order to strike the British power in Indo-Pakistan.

Wellesley's Aims and Policy

With a view to saving the Company's position in Indo-Pakistan, Wellesley was guided by two main principles. Firstly, his object was to make the British the paramount power in the sub-continent and secondly, to remove French influences from all native courts. In other words his objects "were to establish a comprehensive system of alliance and political relation over every region of Hindustan and the Deccan," says Dr. Smith. In order to achieve his two-fold objects, Wellesley was bent upon an imperialistic policy rather than maintaining a balance of power with the native states. He wanted to extend the Company's control over all the possible native states. He abandoned the policy of Non-intervention and turned his attention towards the expansion of the Company's possession. To satisfy his imperialistic desire he adopted the policy of annexation and subsidiary alliance. As regards small and weak States, he favoured the idea of annexation, while the big and powerful States were forced to enter into his famous Subsidiary Alliance.

The French danger

His aims

Policy of Non-intervention abandoned

Wellesley's system of Subsidiary Alliance implied that the ruler who accepted this system had to agree to the following conditions: (1) He must accept the Company as the paramount power in Indo-Pakistan. (2) He was to make no war and to carry on no negotiations with any State whatsoever without the knowledge and consent of the paramount power. (3) He was not to have any non-English European in service. If such persons were already in the service, they had to be dismissed. (4) He was to have a British Resident at his court. (5) He was to accept the Company as the arbitrator in his disputes with other States. (6) He was to keep

Main features of the Subsidiary Alliance

a British force in his territory at his cost. The Company in return was to protect him against all internal and external dangers. Thus the ruler who accepted this system lost his political independence in return for British protection.

Subsidiary system applied by the predecessors of Wellesley

The Subsidiary Alliance was not new in the land. "Clive concluded the first subsdiary treaty with Shuja-ud-dawla of Oudh in 1765 and Hastings and Cornwallis had developed it." But it is specially associated with the name of Wellesley who made use of it to a great extent and regarded it as part of the technique of supremacy.

Criticism of Subsidiary Alliance

The Subsidiary Alliance introduced by Wellesley was wrong in principle. Though the native princes were granted security and possession of their states, yet they had to surrender all their external rights. Their prestige and influence went to the lowest ebb and they lost the stimulant to good Government. The rulers did not take interest in ruling. Mill gives an estimate of the evils of dependence on the English by saying that "the oppressions of the native Government were limited by their weakness. When they received the use of English strength their oppressions were limited by nothing." It has also been observed by Sir Thomas Munro that "wherever the subsidiary system is introduced, the country will soon bear the marks of it decaying villages and decreasing population." The great defect of the Subsidiary system was that it failed to maintain a certain standard of internal administration. But in Wellesley's time this policy formed the line of the least resistance. It strengthened the position of the Company and relieved its finances 'by making the native princes themselves defray the expenses of the troops by which they were to be overawed.'

His Foreign Policy

Lord Wellesley's foreign policy is a complete departure from that of his predecessor. He gave up the idea of non-intervention and wanted to extend the sway of the Company over all the prominent powers of Indo-Pakistan. His whole

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policy centred round two main objects—first to exterminate the French influence from the courts of the native rulers and then to crush the power of the Indian princes by imposing upon them his famous Subsidiary Alliances. He cast his eyes over the political horizon of Indo-Pakistan and fixed his attention on the three leading powers of the time, *viz.*, the Nizam, Tipu Sultan and the Marathas. He successfully concluded a Subsidiary Alliance with the Nizam, dealt a death blow to the power of Tipu and shattered the power of the Marathas. He thus not only laid the foundation of the British Empire in Indo-Pakistan but also made the influence of the English predominantly felt throughout the length and breadth of the sub-continent.

Application of Subsidiary System

The Nizam

The first native state which felt the weight of Subsidiary Alliance was the Nizam of Hyderabad. His defeat in the battle of Kharda at the hands of the Marathas had weakened his power and so in view of the future danger he without any further delay entered into the Subsidiary Alliance of Wellesley in 1798. He had to surrender a part of his dominion to the British and to cut off all his connection with the French. Wellesley thus secured the British position at Hyderabad.

The Nizam accepted the Subsidiary Alliance

The Fourth Anglo-Mysore War

Wellesley next turned his attention towards Tipu Sultan of Mysore. Lord Cornwallis optimistically estimated the results of the war with Tipu in his time by saying, "We have effectively crippled our enemy, without making our friends too formidable." But the hope of lasting peace was soon belied. "Instead of sinking under his misfortunes, he (Tipu) started", writes Malcom, "all his activity to repair the ravages of war". After the Treaty of Seringapatam (1792) Tipu had been making all sorts of preparations with characteristic thoroughness to strike the English again. He failed to reconcile himself to the humiliating defeat inflicted on him by the English.

Causes of the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War, 1799

Like an astute diplomat he allied himself with the French against the English and sent ambassadors to the French Governor of Mauritius who readily welcomed his proposal of an offensive alliance. As a result of this alliance, some Frenchmen joined the service of Tipu Sultan. Wellesley at once asked Tipu to explain his conduct and considering his reply quite unsatisfactory declared war against Tipu in 1799.

Defeat and death of Tipu Sultan

The British plan of attack was well-prepared and operations were well-combined. Two armies—one under General Harris by way of the Carnatic and the other from Bombay—moved towards Mysore and met Tipu Sultan. Tipu was first discomfited by the Bombay army and then by Harris at Malaveli. The Nizam of Hyderabad on this occasion sent a continent against Tipu under the command of Arthur Wellesley. Being routed at Malaveli Tipu returned to his capital, Seringapatam and fought tooth and nail for the defence of the capital. But he was defeated and killed. His death was a great relief to the English.

Results of the war

As regards the results of the war Sir Arther Wellesley says, "Our principal allay, the Nizam was restored to us, the French state growing in the peninsula of India was destroyed, our formidable native enemy Tipu, the allay of the French in India was subdued........"

Wellesley's Mysore Policy

Partition of Mysore

With the death of Tipu Sultan, Mysore passed away into the hands of the English. Wellesley did not deem it wise to keep the administration of the country in the hands of any member of Haidar Ali's family. Like a diplomat, he divided the whole territory into several parts. The Nizam was given a certain portion of the territory but had to surrender the lands to the north-west of his dominions shortly after in lieu of the payment for the subsidiary force. The English took for themselves a considerable portion of the territory including Canara, Coinbatore and the sea-coast districts. The principal part of the territories of Tipu was given to a

boy of the Hindu royal family of Mysore. As the new Raja was a minor, Puraiya, a Brahmin and minister of Finance under Tipu was placed in charge of the administration. A treaty of subsidiary alliance was also concluded with the new ruler. The sons of Tipu were granted liberal pensions. Thus Wellesley gained certain important advantages for the Company out of the settlement of Mysore.

Tipu Sultan of Mysore

Tipu Sultan, the worthy son of Haidar Ali was born in November, 1750 at Devanhalli near Bangalore. As Haidar Ali had missed his schooling, he was very particular about the education of his son. Teachers were appointed to teach Tipu. Besides other subjects, he was taught Persian, Arabic, French and English. French military officers were also appointed to train him in the art of war. At the age of ten his education was complete. He could freely speak and write Persian and had a good knowledge of Arabic. Over and above, he acquired a thorough understanding of the art of modern warfare.

His birth and education

Tipu Sultan had to take part in the war of his father early in life. When he was nearly seventeen, war against the Marathas was on. Tipu took a force of 8,000, marched against the Marathas and drove them out. From now on, he was constantly marching at the head of armies. In many of the battles he fought by the side of his father and in many more, he held independent command. It was he who made a whirlwind advance on Madras and forced the British to accept a humiliating peace-terms. In the first Anglo-Mysore War, Tipu proved his ability and skill as a soldier and a general. He thus acquired a considerable practical experience in the art of war before coming to power. On the death of Haidar Ali, Tipu Sultan took the responsibility of Mysore state on his shoulder and carried on the work of his father with vigour and energy.

His early career

Tipu Sultan's Relation with the English

When Tipu was crowned himself king of Mysore (1782), war with the British was still on. His first

duty, after his accession, was to bring the wars begun by his father to a successful close. Tipu Sultan personally led the army against the British and captured Bednore and Mangalore. He forced the Madras Government to sue for peace and a peace treaty was signed at Mangalore (1784). By this treaty, Tipu Sultan was recognised as the ruler of all the territories that belonged to his father before the war had commenced.

Treaty of Mangalore

The peace treaty signed by the British at Mangalore was never meant to be kept. In fact, the agents of the East India Company did not make peace with any power that stood for the freedom of India. The Nawab of Arcot, the Marathas, the Nizam and several other Indian rulers had accepted the British rule. So the British were willing to be friendly with them. Tipu Sultan, on the other hand, hated the British and could not think for a moment that they should establish their rule in Indo-Pakistan. He made every possible attempt to drive out the British from this sub-continent. He tried to win the sympathy and support of France and of Muslim countries and this made him an eye sores to Cornwallis, the then Governor-General of India. Cornwallis also adopted a course of action which amounted to a violation of the treaty made with Tipu Sultan in 1784. He entered into an alliance with the Nizam and decided to attack him. When Tipu Sultan became aware of this, he attacked the Raja of Travancore who had given shelter to the rebels of Mysore and was an old ally of the Company. The attack made by Tipu Sultan on Travancore gave another pretext to the British.

Second Anglo-Mysore War

Causes of hostility between Tipu Sultan and the British

In 1789, Lord Cornwallis formed a triple alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas to crush the power of Tipu Sultan. Cornwallis personally assumed the command. Though Tipu Sultan was successful in the early part of war, he was ultimately defeated. Bangalore fell into the hands of the enemy and the Sultan took shelter at Seringapatam, the capital. The allied forces soon laid siege to Seringapatam. Tipu Sultan was then forced to come to terms. By the treaty of Seringapatam, the Sultan lost half of his

The Third Anglo-Mysore

Treaty of Seringapatam, 1792

dominions and had to pay a large war indemnity and to send his two sons, Abul Khaliq and Muizuddin to the British camp as hostages.

The third Anglo-Mysore War had dealt a severe blow to the power and prestige of Tipu Sultan. But he did not lose heart and continued his efforts to gain his object. He realised that it would not be possible for him to fight single handed against the British. Hence he sent envoys to Arabia, Kabul Constantinople and France for help against British aggression. When Wellesley, the Governor-General of India came to know of the activities of the Sultan of Mysore, he became hostile to him. He declared war against him in February, 1799. The Sultan fought gallantly but without success. He continued fighting bravery until the end. He died a soldier's death in defence of his country (1799).

Fourth Anglo-Mysore War, 1799

Achievements and Character of Tipu Sultan

Tipu Sultan was one of the most remarkable figures known to history. When the Muslim power in the sub-continent was declining and the encroachments of the British were increasing, it was he who made a determined effort to secure freedom for the land of his birth. He has been called the 'last ray of India's hope.' Though he failed to achieve his object, and the sub-continent remained subject to foreign dominion for more than 150 years, the sacrifice of Tipu Sultan would immortalise his name in the history of the freedom movement.

Greatness of Tipu Sultan

Tipu Sultan proved his bravery and ability as a soldier in the Second Anglo-Mysore War. Braithwaite, the British general was completely defeated at his hands. On the death of Haidar Ali he took upon himself the incomplete task of his father and tried to expel the British from the south. But unfortunately, he was discomfited in the Third and Fourth Anglo-Mysore Wars. He sent envoys to different countries for help but he received only "promise for future help and no active assistance for the present". His failure was due to the hostility of the neighbours, the treachery of his officers and

Tipu Sultan as a soldier and general

the lack of practical knowledge. Had he got the support of the Nizam and the Marathas, he could have expelled the British from this sub-continent. He made a blunder by ignoring the support of the Indian rulers who could have rendered immediate and positive help. Tipu Sultan's greatness should not be measured by his ultimate defeat at the hands of the British. He was a true patriot who laid down his life for the freedom of his mother-land from the hands of the British.

As a ruler and an administrator

Tipu Sultan was a great ruler and administrator. The establishment of peace throughout the empire, the introduction of beneficient reforms in all branches of administration, the dispensation of even-handed justice to all, the encouragement to trade and industry bear ample testimony to his genius as a ruler and an administrator. Himself a true Muslim, he treated the Hindus with kindness and toleration. As a reformer, he stopped the practice of polyandry, declared the drinking and selling of wine an offence and introduced a new calendar to meet the administrative difficulties. He was a great lover of democracy. He did away with landlordism. It made the tillers of the soil the owners of their lands. As a result, there was an unusual prosperity for the people of Mysore. Trade and industry grew rapidly, new cities sprang up all over Mysore. The army of Tipu Sultan was modern and well-equipped. In short, Mysore may be compared favourably with any state of contemporary Europe.

A remarkable personality in Indian history, a brave soldier, an industrious ruler, Tipu Sultan is regarded as a diplomat of no mean merit. He sent embassies to France and Turkey and corresponded with Zaman Shah of Afghanistan. He was extremely just and God-fearing. He possessed a sound moral character and was free from the prevailing vices of his class. Love for independence of the country was a special feature of his character. He might have passed the days of his life in peace by entering into a Subsidiary Alliance with the English. But the independence of the country was more valuable to him than his personal comforts.

The British were much distressed at the power and popularity of Tipu Sultan who was their most inveterate enemy in India. That is why most of the English writers have unjustly painted the character and achievements of Tipu Sultan. P. E. Roberts describes him as a "cruel tyrant" while Cornwallis speaks of him as a "mad barbarian" and Wilke as a "fanatic Hindu hater." Sir Lyall has painted him as a "fierce, fanatic and ignorant Muhammedan." It has also been said against Tipu Sultan that he had ill-treated the British prisoners and forced them to become Muslims. All these sweeping remarks are the outcome of their deep-seated hatred and jealousy towards the Sultan. Tipu Sultan granted the freedom of religion to all of his subjects irrespective of caste and creed and his grants in favour of Hindu temples clearly proved his catholicity of mind in matters of religion. Wilke's accounts are full of malicious lies and it has been proved by the discovery and study of the Sultan's Shirhind letters. Tipu Sultan was a good scholar and could speak fluently Persian, Urdu and Kanarese. The charge of forcible conversion is equally false. The fact is that some of the British prisoners accepted Islam out of their own free will. They joined the Sultan's army and stayed in Mysore even after the treaty of Mangalore. But the British propaganda distorted the facts and sought to paint the Sultan in the blackest colour.

Character of Tipu Sultan

Hostile remarks of the British writers

Tipu Sultan was one of the ablest and most popular rulers in Mysore. In this respect Mr. Mohibul Hasan Khan says in his book, 'Tipu Sultan,' "Even now the people of Mysore speak of Tipu with tenderness, in spite of the ceaseless propaganda which has been carried on for the last one hundred and fifty years to efface his memory."

Wellesley's Maratha Policy

One of the greatest achievements of Wellesley was the destruction of the Maratha Confederacy. The disunity among the Maratha chiefs favoured his imperialistic design. His predecessors, Cornwallis and Shores had followed a policy of non-intervention towards the Maratha chiefs. But with

the change of political conditions brought about by the defeat and death of Tipu and the subjection of the Nizam to British control, the maintenance of the policy of non-intervention towards the Marathas was not wise and politic. Hence he completely departed from the policy of his predecessors and applied himself to the realisation of his own policy, *i.e.,* the Subsidiary Alliance. He wanted to keep the Marathas quiet by inducing the Peshwa to enter into a treaty of Subsidiary Alliance with the Company. But as long as Nana Farnavis, a great statesman and minister of Peshwa was alive, his hope was not fulfilled.

The Second Anglo-Maratha War

Causes of the war

Nana Farnavis, the able Maratha stateman died in 1800 and after him, there was none who could mediate between the Maratha chiefs and moderate their rivalries. Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar soon entered into a war with each other. Peshwa Baji Rao II took the side of Sindhia but was defeated by Jaswant Rao Holkar at the battle of Poona in 1802. Being defeated Baji Rao fled to Bassien for shelter and appealed to the English for help. By the treaty of Bassien Baji Rao accepted the principle of Subsidiary Alliance and he was thus restored to the Peshwaship.

Importance of the treaty of Bassien

The treaty of Bassien has rightly been regarded as the most important landmark in the history of British supremacy in Indo-Pakistan. "It was without question a step which changed the footing on which we stood in western India," says Dean Hulton. The direct result of the treaty was that it brought the Peshwa, the head of the Maratha confederacy under British control. The submission of the Peshwa indirectly implied the subordination of the members of the Maratha confederacy.

The Treaty of Bassien definitely wounded the feelings of other Maratha chiefs who saw in it the absolute surrender of Maratha independence. They, forgetting all their differences formed a confederacy against the English and the Peshwa secretly approved this action. The British Government became alarmed at this and requested the Raja of Berar

and Sindhia to withdraw their troops from the Nizam's frontier. On their refusal the war broke out in 1803. In the war, the Marathas were defeated and a treaty of Deogaon was concluded between the English and the Raja of Berar. Soon after another treaty known as the Treaty of Surji-Anjangaon was concluded with Sindha. Thus the Raja of Berar and Sindha accepted the Subsidiary Alliance and surrendered their territories to the British. As a result, the dominions of the Company were largely extended.

Treaty of Deogaon

Treaty of Surji-Anjangaon

Holkar was the next target of Wellesley's attack. Holkar was gaining success at the beginning of the war. The Raja of Bharatpur abandoned the British side and joined Holkar. But the combined forces were ultimately defeated at Deeg. Lord Lake, the Commander of the British Army wanted to capture Bharatpur but when his repeated attempts to capture it were frustrated, he concluded a peace treaty with Raja of Bharatpur. According to the provisions of the treaty, the Raja allied himself again with the English and agreed to pay 20 lakhs of rupees as war indemnity.

War with Holkar

British attempt to capture Bharatpur

Wellesley's Policy of Annexation

Lord Wellesley pursued a highly imperialistic policy. He extended British authority not only by the application of the Subsidiary Alliance but also by adopting what is called a "Forward Policy" over some of the Indian States. He applied his principle first to small decadent States and then in more important fields. In pursuance of Wellesley's policy the Raja of Tanjore concluded a subsidiary treaty and surrendered the whole territory to the British in return for a yearly pension. He next annexed Surat to the British Empire. On the death of the Nawab of Surat, Wellesley deprived the brother of the Nawab in a high-handed manner of his legitimate claims to the throne. In this connection Mill says, "It was the most unceremonious act of dethronement which the English had yet performed, as the victim was the weakest and most obscure."

Forward policy

Annexation of the Carnatic

Wellesley applied the same policy to the Carnatic. He annexed the Carnatic on the pretext of treacherous correspondence of the Nawab with Tipu Sultan of Mysore and the mis-government of the Carnatic. There was no convincing proof of the treachery of the Nawab. The annexation of the Carnatic was made from the imperialistic point of view.

Wellesley's Oudh Policy

The imperialistic design of Wellesley was clearly revealed in his policy towards Oudh. He wanted to bring it under the control of the Company in order to strengthen the defence of the North-Western frontier. During the time of Warren Hastings Oudh had formed a strong buffer-state but owing to mis-government it became weak and a source of danger to the British position in Indo-Pakistan. So Wellesley, on the pretext of invasion to be made by Zaman Saheb, a grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali on Hindustan, 'imposed upon the Nawab of Oudh a new treaty in 1801'. By this treaty the Nawab had to surrender Gorakhpur, Rohilkhand and the Lower Doab comprising the territories between the Ganges and the Jamuna. The Nawab protested against this act of robbery but Wellesley paid no heed to it.

Criticism of Wellesley's Oudh policy

Wellesley's Oudh policy was purely arbitrary and his high-handed conduct has been condemned by many historians. Dr. H. Wilson is of opinion that the negotiations with the Nawab was carried on in an objectionable manner. Sir Alfred also thinks that in his dealing with Oudh, Wellesley subordinated the feelings and interets of his ally to paramount consideration of British policy in a manner that showed very little patience, forbearance or generosity. Though the province was suffering from mal-administration, yet Wellesley's policy did not at all improve its administration. On the other hand, it aggravated the evils of administration 'which in the subsequent period offered Dalhausie a good pretext to capture it.' Wellesley found an excuse for his high-handed conduct in the question of political necessity as Oudh was dangerous to the British position.

Steps against French danger

Wellesley did not fail to take steps against French danger. With this object he sent missions to different countries to undo the influence of the French. He sent John Malcom as an embassy to Persia and Elphinston to Afghanistan. He also sent Indian troops against Napoleon of Egypt.

The authorities of England became disgusted with the aggressive policy of Wellesley and his conquests were "too large for profitable management". It raised the debt of the Company from seventeen millions in 1797 to thirty-one millions in 1806. Further his (Wellesley) conduct was overbearing. He dealt with the Home authorities in a rather masterful way, often disregarding their orders and instructions. Moreover, his policy of free trade which deprived the Company of its monopoly of Eastern trade was not liked by the Courts of Proprietors and Directors. So he was recalled in 1805.

Recall of Wellesley

Achievements of Wellesley

Lord Wellesley was undoubtedly one of the greatest of the British rulers in Indo-Pakistan. He took the office at a very critical moment in the history of the Company. But by dint of intelligence and hard work, he solved all the problems one after another and consolidated the British possessions in the sub-continent. He destroyed the unfriendly state of Mysore and broke the backbone of the Maratha power. He excluded French influence from the courts of the Indian princes and extended British control over the Nizam and the ruler of Oudh. He also brought 'the Carnatic, Tanjore and Surat under the direct control of the Company'. 'Clive laid the foundation of the British Empire in India, Warren Hastings saved it from an untimely dissolution. But the glory of building up the splendid empire belongs to Wellesley'. Without the work of Wellesley, Dalhousie's task would have been much more difficult, if not impossible. It was under him that the British Government became a paramount power in Indo-Pakistan.

One of the greatest of the Governors-General

Lord Wellesley was an imperialist to the core. He had a firm conviction that his policy of annexation would definitely relieve the people from the misrule of the local princes and that was why he annexed province after province to the utter neglect of the protest of the rulers. He was a stout annexationist. But his treatment towards the rulers of Surat, the Carnatic, and Oudh speaks of his high-handedness.

Policy of annexation

Though he was always busy in war, Wellesley was not unmindful of the other problems of administration. He realised the importance of training for the civil servants of the Company and for them he founded the Fort William College at Calcutta in 1800. But as the Directors did not approve his plan, the college was converted into a school for teaching Oriental languages. It was under his direction that the present Government House in Calcutta was built. He incurred the displeasure of the Directors for his encouragement of private trade. He was the haughtiest and most dictatorial Governor-General. He would issue instrucions even to his younger brother couched in the most insolent language. He was a man of violent temper and was not ready to face any opposition. He carried out his ambitious programme in a most high-handed manner. In spite of these defects, Wellesley occupies an important place among the builders of the British Indian Empire.

His character

CHAPTER VI

COMPLETION OF BRITISH ASCENDANCY : DOWNFALL OF THE MARATHAS

Lord Cornwallis (1805)

Governor-General for the second time

On the recall of Wellesley, Lord Cornwallis again came to this country as Governor-General. He reversed the imperialistic policy of Wellesley and decided to follow the policy of non-intervention. With this end in view he tried to end the hostilities with Holkar and to pacify Sindhia. But his plan was not realized as he died at Ghazipur three months after his arrival in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent (1805).

Sir George Barlow (1805-1807)

His policy of non-intervention

Lord Cornwallis was succeeded by George Barlow, a senior member of the Council in 1805. Barlow carried out the policy laid down by his predecessor and made peace with Holkar on very lenient terms. The defeated Maratha chief not only got back his lost territories, but his indefinite rights in Rajputana were also acknowledged. The Rajput chiefs were thus left at his mercy, though the help they had rendered to the British deserved a better recognition. But in the case of the Nizam and the Peshwa, George Barlow did not maintain the policy of non-intervention. When the Nizam of Hyderabad was trying to violate the terms of the Subsidiary Alliance, he forced him to abide by it. He also refused to carry out the orders of the Directors who wanted them to withdraw from the Treaty of Bassien and to allow the Peshwa to resume his old position.

Peace with Holkar

Velore mutiny

The important event of this period was the mutiny of the sepoys at Vellore. The sepoys rose in revolt as a protest against certain changes regarding military uniform and the wearing of hair which they took as an attack on their religion. It was suspected that the sons of Tipu Sultan at Vellore were at the root of the discontent of the sepoys. The mutiny

was, however, suppressed and the Mysore princes were removed to Calcutta. This was the first Sepoy Mutiny in Indo-Pakistan.

Lord Minto (1807—1813)

Lord Minto, President of the Board of Control, was appointed Governor-General in Indo-Pakistan in 1807. He came here with the definite idea of following the policy of Non-intervention. Though he was compelled to change his views from time to time, he did not wholly depart from his policy. As regards his policy Malcom rightly observes, "The Government of Lord Minto had no result more important than the impression it conveyed to the authorities at home, of the utter impracticability of perseverance in that neutral policy they had desired to pursue." The first important event of this reign was the revolt of Travancore in 1808. The revolt was, however, suppressed by Minto. Another revolt of the army officers of Madras broke out as Sir George Barlow, Governor of Madras, checked some unofficial perquisites enjoyed by them. Minto put down the rising without any delay.

His policy

Lord Minto soon realised that the policy of Non-intervention was unsuited to the prevailing condition of the country. So he had to depart from the policy of Non-intervention and took steps to restore order in Bundelkhand in regard to the Raja of Berar and the Sikhs and checked Amir Khan when the latter was about to attack Nagpur.

His departure from the policy of Non-intervention

His Relation with the Sikhs

It was for the first time that the British Government came in touch with the Sikhs. The various Sikhs *misls* were organised and united into a strong state under the leadership of Ranjit Singh who was the sole master of the Punjab. At first he was appointed Governor of the Punjab with the title of Raja (1799) under the Afghan ruler, Zaman Shah. But three years later (1802) he declared his independence and became the master of Amritsar, the holy city of the Sikhs. He brought all the Sikh *misls* (means fraternity) under his control. After consolidating his position in the Punjab, he conquered Kashmir and began to cast covetous eyes on

Rise of Ranjit Singh

the Doab, east of the Sutlej. When he wanted to extend his sway over the territory of the chieftains who dwelt east of the Sutlej, he was opposed by the rulers of these States. These rulers of the East Punjab appealed to the British for protection. Lord Minto, in order to confine Ranjit Singh to the line west of the Sutlej sent Metcalfe as his envoy to Ranjit Singh in 1809. After much negotiation a treaty of "perpetual amity" was concluded at Amritsar between the English and Ranjit Singh by which the latter agreed not to meddle in the affairs of the East Punjab. The smaller Sikh States were brought under British protection.

Treaty of Amritsar with Ranjit Singh

Lord Minto had a good grasp of the political situation. Napolean of France wanted to oust the English from their colonies and with that end in view he had sent a mission to Persia. Minto, in order to oppose the advance of Napoleon, despatched a similar mission to Persia. Another mission was independently sent to Persia by the Home Government. As a result, a dispute arose between the rival British missions and Minto had to accept the treaty concluded by the Crown envoy with the Shah of Persia. Minto sent another two missions—one to Afghanistan and the other to Sind to counteract French menace. He also sent a naval expedition against the French colonies and captured Mauritus. His expedition to the Dutch island of Java was also crowned with success. The foreign policy of Lord Minto thus gave the English an unrivalled position in the Eastern Hemisphere.

Foreign embassies

Naval expeditions

Renewal of the Charter, 1813

According to the Charter of 1793, the Company was allowed to enjoy the monopoly of Eastern trade for a period of twenty years. But it expired in 1813 and so the question of renewal arose before the Parliament for consideration. After a good deal of discussion between the British public and the Directors, the Company's Charter was renewed for another term of 20 years in 1813. The Company was allowed to retain its monopoly of trade in China but the Indo-Pakistan trade was thrown open to all Englishmen.

Abolition of the Company's monopoly of Eastern trade

Lord Hastings (1813—1823)

His policy

Lord Minto was succeeded by Lord Moira, better known by his later title, Marquess of Hastings in 1813. He came to Indo-Pakistan with a fixed determination to follow the policy of Non-intervention. But later he had to alter his views due to the peculiar political condition of the country. After his assumption of power he found "seven different quarrels likely to demand the decision of arms." He gave up the policy of Non-intervention and completed the work of Wellesley. He fought three important wars against the Gurkhas, the Pindaris and the Marathas.

War with the Gurkhas

Gurkhas' refusal to surrender British territory led the war

The Gurkhas had made themselves masters of Nepal "whose boundaries ran along with the British frontiers for about 700 miles." They made occasional raids into the British territories. They captured the districts of Butwal and Sheoraj which were under British possession. When Hastings came to power, he demanded the surrender of these districts. On their refusal, Hastings declared war in 1814.

Defeats of the British in the beginning

The Gurkhas were the most strong war-like race in Indo-Pakistan. They were usually tough fighters. In the beginning of the war the British could not cope with them. The famous British General Gillespie was killed and the three other Generals were repulsed. At last the situation changed in favour of the British. General Ochterlony captured some hill-forts and threatened to occupy the Napalese capital, Katmandu. At this, the Gurkhas came to terms and concluded the Treaty of Sagauli with the British in 1816. By the Treaty of Sagauli, the British secured the hill-stations of Almora, Nainital, Simla and Mussoorie, The Gurkhas agreed to accept a British Resident at Katmandu.

Treaty of Sagauli closed the war

The Pindari War

The Pindaris constituted the next menace which Hastings had to encounter. They were bands of lawless people who made their livelihood by organised plunder. They did not belong to any parti-

cular nationality and were a mixed horde of Hindus and Muslims, Marathas and Pathans. The Pindaris made their first appearance in history towards the close of the Mughal-Maratha war in the Deccan. Taking advantage of the general political unrest of the 18th century they began organised plundering and in course of time were grouped under different leaders of whom Karim Khan, Wasil Muhammad, Chitu, Dost Muhammad, Namdar Khan and Amir Khan were the prominent. They were also loosely attached to the Maratha under Sindhia and Holkar. Encouraged by the Non-intervention policy of the British the Pindaris ravaged Central Indo-Pakistan. In 1815, they plundered the Nizam's dominions. Men and women often burnt themselves to escape the brutalities of these plunders.

The Pindaris were dispersed

Hastings saw the destructive activities of the Pindaris and wanted to destroy these bands. He collected a vast army and in 1817 attacked their strongholds from different directions. The Pindaris were dispersed and their organised bands destroyed. Some of the leaders surrendered and others were severely punished. In this way, the growing power of the Pindaris was crushed and crippled.

The Third-Maratha War

The power of the Marathas was finally crushed

After the treaty of Bassien, Peshwa Baji Rao II was waiting for an opportunity to shake off the British control. He began anti-British negotiations with the courts of Sindhia, Holkar and Bhosla. In 1815 his minister Trimbakji murdered the Gaikwar's Brahman envoy and thereby made the situation worse. The English suspected the Peshwa for this offence and forced him to surrender Trimbakji through the British Resident and to sign a new subsidiary treaty in 1817 by which he renounced the headship of the Maratha Confederacy. At this, the Peshwas revolted and burnt the British Residency. The Holkar and the Bhonslah also rose in revolt in course of the year. The Peshwa was defeated at Kirki, Apa Sahib Bhonslah of Nagpur at Sitabalda and the Holkar at Mehidpur. The Peshwa was finally defeated at Ashti and Koregaon and compelled to surrender to the English. His dominions were annexed to the British Empire and he was

granted a pension of eight lakhs of rupees a year. Thus the two great powers—the Pindaris and the Marathas were crushed for ever and the English became supreme in the sub-continent.

British supremacy over the Rajput States

The British supremacy was also established over Rajputana and Central Indo-Pakistan. Lord Hastings realised the importance of strategic advantages of Rajputana and its resources for defensive and offensive purposes against the internal enemies of the Company. The Pindari menace also made it imperative to take under control all the Rajput States to crush their turbulence. So Hastings inaugurated a new policy towards the Rajputs. He forced Sindhia to give up his claims to the Rajput princes who gladly accepted the British protection. They concluded subsidiary treaties with the British Government and agreed to acknowledge British paramountcy.

British supremacy in Central Indo-Pakistan

After the suppression of the Pindaris, the British supremacy was extended to Central Indo-Pakistan. The Nawab of Bhopal, the minor states of Multan and Bundelkhand also concluded treaties and accepted the British supremacy.

Revolts suppressed

Hastings had to face some difficulties in Orissa and Bareilly. The people of these places rose in revolt due to mis-government. Hastings suppressed the revolts and restored peace there.

Reforms of Lord Hastings

Judicial reforms

The internal administration of Hastings was marked by many notable reforms. The number of courts in Bengal was increased and the power of the Indians enhanced. The procedure in civil cases was simplified. In the administration of criminal justice, the separation of the judiciary from the executive as effected by Lord Cornwallis was abolished.

Ryotwary settlement

Hastings took measures to protect the ryots from the encroachment of the zamindars. He also appointed Sir Thomas Munro to restore the 'ryotwary' system of land settlement in Madras according to the Charter Act of 1813. He also paid attention to public works, such as the construction of roads, bridges and canals. For the encourage-

ment of education he established vernacular schools and abolished censorship of the press. In 1816, the Hindu College was established in Calcutta. Lord Hastings became very displeased with the Home authorities. As a result, he resigned in 1823.

His resignation

Lord Hastings was unquestionably one of the greatest Governors-General in Indo-Pakistan. It can be rightly observed, "Clive sowed the seed of the British empire in Indo-Pakistan, Warren Hastings preserved it against hostile forces, Wellesley realized it, and Lord Hastings reaped the harvest". The Governor-Generalship of Lord Hastings witnessed the firm establishment of the British empire in Indo-Pakistan. He worked on the lines of his great predecessor Wellesley and was destined to achieve the glory and greatness of being one of the most successful Governors-General. P. E. Roberts says about him, "He was an able administrator, a hard and conscientious worker, a good judge of men. His name and fame deserved by rank only just below the greatest in the role of Governor-General."

One of the greatest Governors-General

Causes of the fall of the Marathas

After the fall of the Mughal empire, the Marathas were the only obstacle in the way of the extension of the British power in India. But when the Marathas became weak and degenerated, it was easy for the British to build up their empire in the sub-continent. There were several causes which contributed to the fall of the Marathas.

The Third Battle of Panipat (1761) gave a staggering blow to the power of the Marathas. As a result of the battle, the power of the Peshwa was gone and with it the unity of the Maratha Confederacy also disappeared. Though the Marathas were able to recover their power within a few years, they could not regain their exact old power and position. After the Third Battle of Panipat, the process of distintegration began to set in and the indi-vidiual ambition of the Maratha chiefs and their rivalries hastened the fall.

Effects of the Third Battle of Panipat

The jealousy and disunity among the Maratha chiefs gave the English opportunity to interfere in their internal affairs. On the death of Narayan Rao,

Disunity and jealousy among the Maratha chiefs

there arose the dispute over the question of succession to the Peshwaship and Raghoba sought the help of the British. Again the rivalry between Sindhia and Holkar led to the treaty of Bassien and according to this treaty Baji Rao II entered into a Subsidiary Alliance with the English. The histility among the Maratha chiefs was so bitter that they could not make common cause against the common enemy and as a result, the English got the chance to crush their power.

Abandonment of the guerrilla warfare

The Marathas were once a dread to the Mughals. But they made a serious blunder by abandoning their old guerrilla tactics. Their army was now organised on the western model and this training was not suited to the genius of their people.

Autocratic rule

The Maratha administration was oppressive and so it failed to secure the loyalty of the subjects in the conquered provinces. Their adminstrative policy was, on the whole, wrong in principle and it gradually degenerated into a system of oppression and plunder.

Want of efficient rulers

In fine, it can be said that the foundation of the Maratha empire was laid by the genius of one man and it depended largely on the ability and capacity of the individual personality. But after the death of Shivaji, Baji Rao, Madhab Rao, Mahadji Sindhia and Nana Farnavis, there flourished no worthy and efficient ruler among the Marathas who could cope with the rising power of the British.

CHAPTER VII

EXPANSION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND FALL OF THE SIKHS

A new Era

From the time of Lord Amherst up to the reign of Lord Dalhousie, the period may be regarded as the age of expansion of the British empire in Indo-Pakistan. During this period a new chapter was opened in the history of British supremacy in the sub-continent. This period also marked a change in attitude of the British Government towards the people of the Sub-continent. It was also an age of reforms—social and educational.

Age of expansion and reforms

Lord Amherst (1823-28)

On the resignation of Lord Hastings, Adam, a senior member of the Council acted as temporary Governor-General. Lord Amherst took over the charge from him after seven months. The First Burmese War, the capture of Baratpur and the Sepoy Mutiny at Barrackpore were the important events of his reign.

The First Burmese War

Towards the middle of the 18th century a royal dynasty was established by a local chief named Alompra. His successors extended their territory in different directions and began to push their arms to the eastern frontier of India. By the beginning of the 19th century the Burmese began to encroach upon the British territory. The activities of the Burmese forced Lord Amherst to declare war in 1824. The Burmese under the generalship of Bundula successfully resisted the British advance through Assam and Arakan. At last the English with much difficulty brought the situation in their favour. The war continued for two years and many British lives were lost. By the treaty of Yandaboo the First Burmese war came to a close. According to the treaty,

Causes of the war

Treaty of Yandaboo closed the war

the provinces of Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim were annexed to the British empire. The Burmese king also ceded all claims to the petty States of Cachar, Jantia and Manipur (in Assam) and agreed to pay one crore of rupees as indemnity.

Sepoy Mutiny at Barrackpore

Causes of the mutiny

A sepoy regiment of Barrackpore was ordered to go to Burma for war. But they refused to proceed to Burma in view of the loss of caste by sea voyage. Their pay was also very scanty. When their humble prayer for the redress of their grievances was refused and rejected, they revolted. This rebellion was put down with an iron hand.

Capture of Bharatpur

In 1825 there arose a trouble at Bharatpur where the child Raja set up by the British was displaced by his cousin, Durjan Sal. Amherst was forced to interfere in the matter. The fort of Bharatpur, which once had defied the British arms, fell in 1826 and the throne of Bharatpur was given to the minor successor.

Lord William Bentinck (1828-35)

The Governor-Generalship of Lord William Bentinck who succeeded Lord Amherst marked the beginning of a new era in Indo-Pak history in many ways. Lord Macaulay says, "His seven years' rule in India is marked with eminent prudence, integrity and benevolence. He infused into oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom, who never forgot that the end of government is the welfare of the governed, who abolished cruel rites and faced humiliating distinctions, who allowed the principle of the expression of public opinion, whose constant study it was to elevate the moral and intellectual character of the government committed to his charge; the men of all caste and creed cherished with equal veneration and gratitude the memory of his wise, upright and paternal administration". Though the above remark of Lord Macaulay appears to be slightly overdrawn, there can be no denying the fact that his reign was marked by many beneficient reforms.

Financial Reforms

There were factors for introducing reforms in the financial affairs. Firstly, the wars of Hastings and Lord Amherst had made the treasury practically empty. There was annual deficit of Rs. 10,00,000|- in the budget. Secondly, the time for the renewal of the Charter of the Company was drawing near and it was necessary to present a favourable report of the Company's position in Indo-Pakistan. It was under these considerations that William Bentinck introduced the following reforms :

Factors for introducing financial reforms

Lord William Bentinck appointed two committees to enquire into the expenditure on civil and military affairs of the Company and make recommendations for the reduction of unnecessary expenditure. On their recommendations he abolished many sinecure jobs, cut down the allowances and reduced the salary of civil servants of the Company.

Abolition of siinecure job

The *batta* or allowance of the military personnel posted within 400 miles of Calcutta was also reduced by half. There was a lot of opposition to this measure from the side of the officers but he did not care for that.

Reduction of batta by half

Another important financial reform introduced by William Bentinck was the abolition of the Provincial Courts of Appeal. He considered that these courts served as a "resting place for those members of the servants who were deemed unfit for higher responsibilities. The abolition of these courts brought about a good saving to the treasury.

Abolition of Provincial Courts of Appeal

In order to increase the revenues of the Company, William Bentinck regulated the opium trade. The system of issuing licences to carry opium from Malwa to Bombay was introduced. It considerably added to the revenues of the Company.

Regulation of opium trade of Malwa

There were several revenue free lands and the Company did not get any profit out of them. Several attempts were made to resume these lands but no satisfactory solution had been found so far. Ultimately William Bentinck promulgated the famous Regulation of 1828 by which collectors were asked to investigate such cases and special Commissioners were appointed to hear appeals against the decision of the collectors. The parties concerned pleaded that they could not produce exemption documents on account

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of the passage of time. This argument was not accepted by the Government. Consequently, several such lands were confiscated and rupees 30 lakhs added to the Company's treasury. Another financial reform of William Bentinck was the settlement of North-Western Province. Since its annexation, no permanent settlement had been made and the cultivators were afraid of making any improvements. Bentinck took up the matter boldly in his hands to effect its permanent settlement. After proper survey of the land and classification of soil, the settlement was made for thirty years. It was made either with the cultivators or the zamindars or the village community. The Government's share of revenue was thus fixed.

Resumption of many revenue free lands

Revenue settlement of North-Western Province

These financial measures proved successful and the deficit was transformed into a surplus.

Judicial Reforms

Many defects and abuses had crept into the Judicial System of the country. As Lord William Bentinck found the system, there was "delay, expense and uncertainty." In this field he introduced the following reforms:

Lord William Bentinck realised that the Provincial Courts of Appeal set up by Lord Cornwallis were not functioning properly. So he abolished the Provincial Courts of Appeal. Bengal was divided into 20 divisions and in each division a Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit was posted. These Commissioners performed all the duties which had hitherto been performed by the Provincial Courts of Appeal. They supervised the work of the Collectors of Revenue and the Police within their areas. William Bentinck increased the power of the Magistrates who could imprison a person for two years with labour. The British dominion in Indo-Pakistan had become very extensive by this time and people from distant places had to go to Calcutta to file the appeals. It meant great financial burden on them. Hence William Bentinck set up a separate *Sadar Diwani Adalat* and *Sadar Nizamat Adalat* at Allahabad and these courts started functioning in 1832. A Regulation of 1832 introduced Jury system

Abolition of Provincial Courts of Appeal

Power of the Magistrates increased

Separate Sadar Diwani Adalat and Sadar Nizamat Adalat

in Bengal. It enabled European Judges to take the assistance of respectable Indians in deciding cases. Before William Bentinck the court language was Persian. Now it was replaced by vernaculars. This was a great boon to the litigants who could freely express themselves in vernacular and it led to better administration of justice.

Introduction of Jury system

Abolition of Persian

Administrative Reforms

Bentinck had the courage to reverse boldy the erroneous policy of Lord Cornwallis by entrusting the Indians with responsible judicial and executive posts. The Charter of 1833 laid down rules for the employment of Indians in Government services according to qualifications. It was for the first time that the Indians were appointed as Deputy Magistrates and Subordinate Judges.

Employment of Indians to responsible posts

The Board of Revenue located at Calcutta could not function efficiently. Bentinck set up a separate Board of Revenue at Allahabad for North-Western Province. This had the effect of increasing efficiency in Revenue matters.

Board of Revenue at Allahabad set up

Educational Reforms

The Charter Act of 1813 had provided for one lakh of rupees annually for the spread of education in the sub-continent. This money had not been used so far, as it could not be agreed upon as to whether the money be spent on imparting education to the natives through the medium of English or through the medium of their vernaculars. Thus a hot controversy arose over the medium of education. The amount of money was accumulating every year. In 1823 Adams had appointed a Committee of Public Instruction to make suggestions but nothing could be done one account of the preoccupation of the British Government with the First Burmese War. There were two schools of thought. The Orientalist school of thought led by H. H. Wilson advocated Indian education through vernaculars, while the other school called Anglicist school led by Sir Charles Trevelyan advocated Western type of education through English medium. The cause

Introduction of Western education

of Western type of education through English medium was supported by Macaulay, the historian who was then the Law member of the Governor-General's Council and some educated Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Lord William Bentinck realised the importance of Western education in this country and by a resolution of March, 1835 he declared that the "great *object* of British Government ought to be the promotion of literature and sciences among the natives and that the funds proposed for education should be best employed on English education alone." William Bentinck founded the Calcutta Medical College in order to impart knowledge of Western system of medicine to Indian students. Thus English education had its beginning in the time of William Bentinck.

Foundation of Calcutta Medical College

Social Reforms

It is the social reforms which have immortalised the name of William Bentinck in the history of the sub-continent. His motive in introducing reforms in the social sphere was essentially humanitarian. The most important social reforms introduced by him were the following :

Abolition of Sati

There was a custom prevalent among the *Hindus* of higher castes. According to this custom the *Hindu* widow used to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. Several attempts were made in the previous times to do away with this evil. Akbar the Great had tried to abolish this custom but had not been successful. Albuquerque had made efforts in the same direction but had not met with success. The Peshwas had prohibited this custom in their territories. Lord Amherst had shrunk from prohibiting this custom fearing that it might be considered by the people as an act of religious interference. It was Lord William Bentinck who was successful in abolishing this custom. In 1829 he passed a resolution by which the practice of *Sati* was declared illegal. In this work he was greatly helped by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Darkanath Tagore. This measure of William Bentinck proved of great help to the thousands of widows who were burnt alive every year against their will. The suppression of

Thugee, a system of highway robbery and murder, was another great social achievement of William Bentinck. The *Thugee* was carried on by powerful gangs, who went about the country and killed innocent travellers in lonely places by putting a noose round their necks. Then they made off with their belongings. They bribed local zamindars and chiefs. They thought that their acts please goddess *Kali*. The task of exterminating the *Thuguees* was entrusted to Colonel Sleeman who successfully crushed the power of the gangs within a few years. The killing of daughters was very common among the higher sections of the Rajput society in certain parts of Rajputna. Lord William Bentinck ordered this inhuman practice to be stopped. Some wild tribes of Orissa sacrificed human beings to please goddess *Kali*. William Bentinck made a law that persons guilty of this crime would be given death sentence. According to Hindu law, a person on changing religion was not entitled to ancestral property. The law now changed and a person, even changing religion, was declared eligible to have his share of ancestral property.

Suppression of Thugee

Stopping of human sacrifices

Hindu rule of law modified

Public Works Reforms

William Bentinck undertook the construction of many public works. The Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Delhi was constructed and another from Bombay to Agra was started. Roads were improved, and trade and commerce of the country received a great impetus. The irrigation schemes started in the time of Lord Minto were also taken up. Canals were dug for the distribution of water in the North-Western Province.

Thus Lord William Bentinck introduced reforms in different spheres of administration. These reforms had the effect of improving the condition of the people. Hence it can be said, in the words of a historian that "Bentinck was undoubtedly the first Governor-General to act on the theory that the welfare of the subject peoples was a main, perhaps the primary, duty of the British in India."

His Foreign Policy

Relation with the Native States

Bentinck was the upholder of the "Doctrine of Non-intervention". As a result of this policy, great troubles arose in Gwalior, Bhopal and Jaipur and yet he maintained the policy of neutrality. But the maladministration of Cachar, Coorg and Mysore ultimately compelled him to violate the principle of non-intervention, and annexed these States to the British dominion. He kept on good terms with Ranjit Singh and Amirs of Sind in order to counteract possible Russian aggression.

Charter Act of 1833

Abolition of the monopoly of Chinese trade

In 1833, the Charter Act was renewed for another twenty years. It allowed the Company to retain its territorial possessions but abolished the monopoly of Chinese trade. Thus the Company lost its commercial character. This Act gave the head of the government the title of the Governor-General of India instead of Governor-General of Bengal. The most important principle of the Act was "that no native of Indian nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty should be disabled from holding any office, place or employment by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour". It also required the Governor-General-in-Council to take steps for the betterment of the condition of slaves and the ultimate extinction of slavery. After ten years Lord Ellenborough passed an act prohibiting the legal recognition of slavery in Indo-Pakistan.

Constitutional change

Sir Charles Metcalfe

Lord William Bentinck retired in 1835 and was succeeded by Charles Metcalfe. Charles Metcalfe was one of the ablest members of the Civil Service. His reign is memorable for the withdrawal of all restrictions on the press. His policy was not liked by the Directors and so he resigned.

Lord Auckland (1836-1842)

In 1836, Lord Auckland succeeded Charles Metcalfe as Governor-General of Indo-Pakistan. The

first part of his reign was noted for a few useful reforms. He encouraged education and developed some of the plans of Bentinck 'for the promotion of education and the cultivation of medical science'. He abolised the pilgrimage tax and withdrew the official control from the temple administration. Steps were also taken for the construction of irrigation works.

His reforms

The relation of Lord Auckland with the Native States was not cordial. He suppressed the rising of the Begum of Oudh and deposed the Raja of Satra for his treasonable activities. He annexed Karnul in the Madras Presidency as its Nawab made attempts to wage war against the English.

His relation with the Native States

The Afghan Policy of Lord Auckland

The Afghan policy of Lord Auckland was the outcome of the fear of Russian influence in Central Asia. Russian aggrandisement in Central Asia and her influence at the Persian court became a source of unrest to the British. Lord Auckland got alarmed when a Persian army backed by the Russians captured Herat in 1837. He sent Alexander Burnes, an experienced diplomat, on a commercial mission to Kabul. But the real purpose of the mission was to counteract Russian schemes in Afghanistan. Dost Muhammad, the ruler of Kabul, cordially received the mission and was prepared to conclude an alliance with the British, 'provided the latter should exert diplomatic pressure on Ranjit Singh to restore Peshwa to him'. Lord Auckland swayed for sometime between Dost Muhammad and Ranjit Singh. At last he decided that Sikh ruler would be the better ally and so Auckland refused to put pressure on Ranjit Singh for the restoration of Peshwas. At this Dost Muhammad became disappointed and now began to show more favour to the Russian agent Viktavitch at his court, whom he had so long neglected. Lord Auckland was alarmed by the changed relation of Dost Muhammad with the Russians. He made up his mind to replace Dost Muhammad by Shah Shuja, a grandson of Ahmad Shah Durrani who had been in exile at Ludhiana since his expulsion from the throne. Macnaghten,

First Afghan War

Circumstances leading to war

British mission to Dost Muhammad

A tripartite treaty concluded against Dost Muhammad

Secretary to the Government who played a decisive part in formulating Lord Auckland's Afghan policy, was sent to Lahore. A tripartite treaty was concluded between Shah Shuja, Ranjit Singh and the British Government in June, 1838. This tripartite treaty precipitated the First Afghan War.

Events

Dost Muhammad dethroned

The supreme command of the expedition was entrusted to Sir John Keane. The main portion of the army entered Afghanistan through the Bolan and Khyber Passes. Qandahar was occupied in April, 1839. Shah Shuja entered Kabul in August, 1839 and was placed on the throne. Dost Muhammad surrendered to Macnaghten in November, 1839 and was sent down as a prisoner to Calcutta.

Destruction of British troops

Recall of Lord Auckland

Shah Shuja was not liked by the Afghans who regarded him as a mere tool in the hands of the foreigners. Their discontent was further aggravated by the licentious conduct of Burnes and some other British officers stationed at Kabul. Towards the close of 1841 a serious rebellion broke out in Afghanistan. Burnes and many other British officers were murdered. Akbar Khan, a son of Dost Muhammad assumed the leadership of the Afghans. The British troops were defeated and Macnaghten, while in an interview with Akbar Khan, was slain. Kabul was evacuated in January, 1842 and the British troops on their way were destroyed by snow, storm and Afghan bullets. Only one man— Dr. Brydon survived the catastrophe and conveyed his terrible story to Jalalabad. Qandahar and Jalalabad were, however, successfully defended by Nott and Sale. Before the close of the war (1842) Lord Auckland was recalled to England.

Results of the war

Thus "Auckland's Afghan policy ended in utter failure and disaster." It brought nothing but a serious disaster to the English troops. Innes has rightly described the First Afghan War as 'the most unqualified blunder committed in the whole history of the British in India.' Shah Shuja was killed and Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Muhammad took the leadership of the Afghans and re-established his power in Afghanistan.

The Afghan policy of Lord Auckland was not justified from the political and moral points of view. He shared Palmerston's (the Foreign Secretary) dread of Russian designs in the East. The fear of the Russian aggression 'was nothing more than a bug-bear', because the British frontier was then separated from the influence of Russia's sphere by a ring of powerful States such as the Punjab, Bahawalpur, Sind and the deserts of Rajputana. There was no real necessity for war. An excuse for war may be found in the siege of Herat by the Persians. But this excuse cannot stand in the face of facts. Herat had saved itself and under pressure from London the Russian Government had recalled its agents and the Persians had lifted the siege.

Criticism of Auckland's Afghan policy

Lord Auckland had no moral right to claim that Dost Muhammad, an independent ruler, should not choose the Russians as his ally, specially after the unceremonious rejection of the Amir's offer of alliance with the British. Afghanistan was then the scene of a bitter dynastic struggle between the Durranis and the Barakzai. Under the circumstances the attempt to replace a strong and popular Barakzai ruler like Dost Muhammad by a Durrani exiled like Shah Shuja was a serious political blunder. The conduct of Lord Auckland with Dost Mohammad who had never done any harm to the British Government cannot be supported in the light of the above fact.

His Afghan policy was morally indefensible

Lord Ellenborough (1842-44)

Lord Ellenborough succeeded Lord Auckland in 1842 and he inherited a very complicated political situation. On his assumption of power he took vigorous steps to save the British prestige by conducting war against the Afghans. He made an leaborate arrangement for war and sent a well-equipped army under General Pollock who forced his way to Kabul after relieving Jalalabad. Meanwhile General Nott destroyed the fortifications of Ghazni and met with Pollock at Kabul. They then released all the British prisoners and stormed the bazar of Kabul most relentlessly. At last Lord

The First Afghan War came to a close

Ellenborough decided in favour of the evacuation of Kabul and Qandahar. As a result, Shah Shuja was murdered at Kabul by a Barakzai chief. Dost Muhammad was released and he returned to Kabul to re-establish his authority there.

Annexation of Sind

The annexation of Sind was one of the shameless acts perpetuated by the British in Indo-Pakistan. During the latter part of the eighteenth century and the first-half of the nineteenth century Sind was ruled by a number of Amirs of Talpura tribe who had come from Baluchistan. Their important States were Khairpur, Mirpur and Hyderabad. The Amir of Khairpur claimed nominal sovereignty over the other two States. The relations of the British with the Amirs started in 1809 when the Amirs concluded a treaty with the British promising not to allow the French troops to pass through Sind and not to permit them to settle in their territory.

British relations with Sind

Sind provided a natural field for Sikh expansion. But the British were not ready to tolerate any increase in the power of Ranjit Singh. They wanted to keep the Sikhs at a distance by bringing Sind under the sphere of British influence. In 1832 Lord William Bentinck concluded a treaty with the Amir of Hyderabad by which the rivers and roads of Sind were thrown open to merchants and traders subject to the condition that no military force should pass through the country. During the First Afghan War Lord Auckland violated the treaty by marching British troops through Sind and 'added injury to insult by exacting a large sum of money from the Amirs.' Although the Amirs did not create any trouble even when the British army suffered a disaster in Afghanistan, they were accused of disaffection and disloyalty. Lord Ellenborough was seeking a chance for the annexation of Sindh and with that end in view he sent Sir Charles Napier, a blunt soldier to deal with them. Napier 'conducted his operations on the theory that the annexation of Sind would be a very beneficient piece of rascality for which it was his business to find an excuse. He

Violation of the treaty by Lord Auckland

High-handed acts of Napier

incurred the displeasure of the Amirs by interfering in a succession dispute at Khairpur and also by trying to impose upon them a new treaty which compelled them to cede territories and deprived them of their right of coining money. He also destroyed the strong fort of Imamgarh lying between Khairpur and Hyderabad. These high-handed acts of Napier sorely tried the patience of the warlike Baluchis and in a state of excitement they attacked the British Residency on February, 1843. Napier now got a pretext for war. The forces of the Amirs were defeated at Miani and Dabo. Sind was annexed to the British Empire in 1843 and the Amirs were exiled.

Defeat of the Amirs

The annexation of Sind was not morally and politically justified. The policy of Lord Ellenborough and the high-handed acts of Sir Charles Napier with regard to Sind have been severely condemned by almost all the British writers on Indian history. The Britishers may try to defend the policy on the plea that their rule would deliver the people from the oppression of the Amirs. But it is evident from the British writers that Sind enjoyed peace and prosperity under the Amirs. Napier has himself admitted in his Diary : "We have no right to siege Sind, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it will be." There is no denying the fact that "they acted on purely imperialistic motives and resorted to highly objectionable means to reduce the Amirs, who had inflicted no injury to the British." "If the Afghan episode", writes Innes, "is the most disastrous in our annals, that of Sind is morally even less excusable." Prof. Ramsay Muir says, "Sind is the only British acquisition in India of which it may fairly be said that it was not necessitated by circumstances and that it was therefore an act of aggression."

Criticism of the annexation of Sind

War with Gwalior

War with Gwalior was another important event of this reign. Taking advantage of the internal troubles of Gwalior, Lord Ellenborough attacked the

Gwalior army and defeated it in two battles at Maharajpur and Paniar. A treaty was concluded by which the minor ruler of Gwalior was placed under a council of regency and the Gwalior army was greatly reduced.

Reforms of Ellenborough

The reign of Lord Ellenborough was marked by reforms. He abolished the slavery system in India and created the post of Deputy Magistrates. He also improved the pay and prospects of police *Darogas*. But in spite of these works, he was not liked by the Directors for his aggressive policy and so he was recalled in 1844.

Abolition of slavery

Ranjit Singh

Ranjit Singh was one of those military adventurers who organised several bands of soldiers into a military force and thereby created, out of fragments, a nation able to leave a mark on the page of history. He was the son of the leader of one of the twelve groups or *misls* into which the Sikhs had been divided in the eighteenth century. On the death of his father Maha Singh (1792) Ranjit Singh ascended the *gadi* of his father at the age of twelve. He got an opportunity for distinction during the Zaman Shah's invasion of India. He rendered valuable service to Zaman Shah, the ruler of Kabul and grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali on this occasion in 1799 and in appreciation of his service, the ruler of Kabul appointed him Governor of Lahore with the title of 'Raja'.

Early career

The prevailing chaos in the Punjab afforded Ranjit Singh an opportunity for building up a new power. In 1802, he got possession of Amritsar. He soon threw off the Afghan yoke and gradually brought under his authority all the Sikh *misls* to the west of the Sutlej. With the growth of his power, he was possessed with the idea of Pan-Sikhism. This Pan-Sikhism led him to think of extending his influence over the Sikh States lying west of the Sutlej. After the discomfiture of Sindhia in the Second Anglo-Maratha War, the Cis-Sutlej States (*i.e.*, the

The Sikh *misls* brought under authority

States over which the Sikhs dwelt) had come under British protection. A quarrel between the two local chiefs gave Ranjit Singh the opportunity for interfering in the affairs of the Cis-Sutlej Sikh States. He crossed the Sutlej (1806) and occupied Ludhiana. At this, the Cis-Sutlej chiefs got alarmed and sought the help of the British. It was a matter of serious consideration for the English. Lord Minto wanted to check the advance of the Sikhs to the east of the Sutlej. But at the same time he did not venture to offend the ruler of Lahore, because of the possibilities of a French invasion of India. He sent Charles Metcalfe to Ranjit Singh's court and a treaty of 'perpetual amity' was signed at Amritsar (1809) by which Ranjit Singh agreed not to extend his supremacy on the possessions of the Sikh chiefs beyond the Sutlej. The treaty of Amritsar arrested the advance of Ranjit Singh in the eastern frontier.

His treaty with the British

After the treaty of Amritsar Ranjit Singh directed his activities towards the north and the north-west. He inflicted a terrible defeat on the Afghans at Haidaru in 1813 and captured Attock, the great key to the Frontier. He captured Multan in 1818 and Kashmir in 1819. He next employed European officers to train and organise his army on the western model. Ranjit Singh took advantage of the disorder of the Afghans arising out of the expulsion of Shah Shuja and conquered Peshawar. Thus by 1824 the three Muhammadan kingdoms of Kashmir, Multan and Peshawar were annexed to the dominion of Ranjit Singh. In 1839 he signed the Tripartite Treaty along with the English and Shah Shuja, the deposed king of Kabul, in order to place the latter on the throne. But before the end of the First Afghan War he breathed his last (1839).

The great achievement of Ranjit Singh was to defend his new born kingdom against the warlike Afghans and the turbulent frontier tribes. Regarding his character P. E. Roberts says, "Ranjit Singh is one of the great personalities of Indian history. A born leader of men, gifted with an iron will, selfish, treacherous, crafty, persevering, brave and avaricious he possessed just that combination of virtues and vices which is best adapted for building an orien-

His character

tal empire. Where he differed from many other great eastern potentates, was in his statesmanlike recognition of the East India Company, the reliance he placed on British promises and his loyalty to his word."

During the last year of his reign, Ranjit Singh fell ill and his son Khorak was conducting the administration of the empire. Unlike his father, Khorak was not foresighted and people were not satisfied with his character and conduct. As a result, the crafty courtiers before the death of Ranjit Singh formed factions. Just with his death the discontent of the people increased and mutual dissensions and lawlessness began. Khorak Singh died within a year of the death of his father. He was succeeded by his son whose life was ended by accident on the following day. Sher Singh, another son of Ranjit Singh who ascended the throne was also assassinated. In this way mutual dissensions, distrust and lawlessness precipitated the downfall of the Sikh power.

Mutual dissensions and distrust

Lord Hardinge (1844-48)

Lord Ellenborough was succeeded by Lord Hardinge in 1844. The chief event of Hardinge's reign was the First Sikh War which broke out in 1846. But during the first year of his office he introduced some useful reforms. He took steps for the suppression of *Sutte* and stopped the practice of human sacrific prevalent among the Khonds in the Hill Tracts of Orissa. He made plans of the Indian railway system, 'pushed on the designs for the Ganges Canal' and patronised education by establishing schools and colleges in different parts of the subcontinent. The declaration of Sunday as a holiday was an important reform of Lord Hardinge.

His reforms

The First Sikh War

Ranjit Singh had all along maintained friendly relations with the British. The Sikhs were at the height of their power at the death of this leader, but "then it exploded", as General Sir J.H. Gordon observes, "disappearing in fierce but fading flames". The death of Ranjit Singh gave rise to disorder and anarchy in the Sikh dominions and thereby led to

The death of Ranjit Singh gave rise to disorder

the weakness of the Sikh power. One ruler after another was deposed in quick succession till Dilip Singh, a child of five and son of Ranjit Singh was placed on the throne with his mother, Rani Jhindan as Regent. The chaotic condition of the country resulted in the ascendency of the Khalsa army which grew ungovernable and ultimately became the virtual dictator of the State. The Lahore Darbar, in order to get rid of this disturbing army, 'divised the plan of inducing it to challenge British supremacy in the hope that it would either spend its energy in a career of conquest or it would be totally crushed in the course of its war with the English. So the Lahore chiefs urged the army to invade the British territory.

The army was induced to attack British territory to control it

The Sikh army crossed the Sutlej in December, 1845 and the English hastened to oppose it. The Sikh leaders, Lal Singh and Tej Singh, 'kept up an appearance of devotion to the interests of the State but were anxious to be upheld as the ministers of a dependent kingdom by grateful conquerors.' The Sikhs were defeated in four successive engagements at Mudki Firozshah, Aliwal and Sobraon. But 'it was treachery more than bad leadership that was responsible for this failure.' About the battle of Ferozshah Malleson remarks, "The brave untutored warriors, led by generals who were betraying them, had, if they had only known it, won a victory". The battle of Sobraon was also lost on account of the 'discreet policy and shameless treason' of its leader.

Events

Defeat of the Sikhs

The British occupied Lahore in February, 1846 and after some negotiations a treaty was concluded by which the Sikhs ceded all lands on the British side of the Sutlej as well as the Jullundar Doab. They also consented to pay $1\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling for the expenses of the war and were ready to reduce the strength of the army. As the Sikh *Darbar* was not in a position to pay $\frac{3}{4}$ths of the war indemnity, they surrendered the province of Kashmir which was sold for one million to Gulab Singh. Dilip Singh was acknowledged as the Maharaja with Lal Singh as his minister under the supervision of the British Resident. A British force was allowed to station at

The First Sikh War came to an end by the treaty of Lahore

Lahore till the Maharaja would come of age and twenty-two lakhs of rupees were to be paid by the Sikh Government for its maintenance. Thus the Government assumed 'full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the (Lahore) States'. Lord Hardinge sailed for England on the 18th January, 1848.

Lord Dalhousie (1848-56)

Lord Dalhousie succeeded Lord Hardinge in the Governor-Generalship of India in 1848. His period of administration was one of the most memorable epoches in the history of British India. An industrious administrator and a benevolent ruler, Lord Dalhousie is specially remembered to this day as an annexationist. He extended the British Empire by adopting various methods, namely, by war, by the application of the so-called 'Doctrine of Lapse' and on the flexible ground of misgovernment.

Annexations by War

Lord Dalhousie made three annexations on grounds of war, *viz*., annexation of the Punjab, Pegu and a part of Sikkim.

The Second Sikh War

The arrangement of Lord Hardinge for the Government of the Punjab did not please the Sikhs. The disbanded Khalsa army and the displeasure of the Sikhs at the presence of the British army of occupation constituted the most important factors for the outbreak of the Second Sikh War (1848-49). Mulraj, the Sikh Governor of Multan refused to give accounts to the Government of Lahore, when the former was called upon to do so, and tendered his resignation. A revolt was started by him and two British officers who came to install a new Governor at Multan were killed at the instigation of Mulraj. At this Lord Dalhousie declared war.

Revolt of the Governor of of Multan

Lt. Edwards was sent against the rebellious chief but he failed to capture Multan. As a result there was a general uprising of the Sikh troops against the British. Lord Dalhousie accepted the Sikh challenge. Two battles were fought at Chilianwala (January, 1849) and at Gujrat (Feb. 1849). From the

Battle of Chilianwala

British point of view Chilianwala was 'a dangerous and difficult affair'. It was only technically a British victory. But at Gujrat Lord Gough, the British Commander-in-chief won a complete victory. Chatar Singh and Sher Singh laid down their arms in March, 1849. The Punjab was annexed to the British India by a proclamation on March 30, 1849 and the boy Maharaja was granted a pension of £50,000 a year.

Victory of the British at Gujrat

Annexation of the Punjab

Since the conclusion of the First Burmese War the relations between the Governments of Burma and British were not cordial. In 1850, the Burmese King expelled the British Resident from Ava. In 1851, the British merchants in southern Burma complained of ill-treatment and Lord Dalhousie sent an ultimatum to Ava demanding compensation. As the demand was not complied with, Lord Dalhousie declared war in 1852. After some military operations Rangoon, Bassein and Pegu were captured. As the king of Burma refused to sign a formal treaty, Dalhousie proclaimed the annexation of Pegu in 1852. Thus Lower Burma became a part of the British territories.

The Second Burmese War

Annexation of Pegu

Two British officers had been seized by the Raja of Sikkim. He was asked to release them but he refused to do so. The Raja was defeated after a short war and a part of Sikkim was annexed by Dalhousie.

Annexations by the Doctrine of Lapse

The most important method adopted by Lord Dalhousie to extend the British Empire in Indo-Pakistan was the Doctrine of Lapse. The Doctrine of Lapse meant that in the absence of natural heirs, the dependent States were to lapse to the paramount power, that is, to the Company. It also did not acknowledge the 'right of those States to adopt heirs which had been a long standing practice among the Hindus, without the consent of the ruling authority.' Heirless Hindu rulers used to adopt sons who would succeed them to the thrones. Lord Dalhousie refused to recognise this system and annexed their States to the British Empire. He was

Meaning of the Doctrine of Lapse

inspired by two main objects in applying the principle of lapse, *viz.*, welfare of the subjects of the dependent States and imperialistic considerations. It should be remembered here that Lord Dalhousie was not the originator of the Doctrine of Lapse. It was enunciated by the Court of Directors some years before. But Dalhousie showed too much zeal in enforcing this policy. It suited his imperialistic motives and he applied this policy whenever an opportunity came. Regarding the policy of the Doctrine of Lapse Mr. A.D. Innes says, "There was fully adequate precedent for every one of his annexations. But his predecessors had acted on the general principle of avoiding annexation if it could be avoided; Dalhousie acted on the general principle of annexing if he could do so legitimately." He did not examine the expediency of applying a doctrine which ran counter to the religious sentiments of the Hindus and the traditions of India.

Application of the Doctrine of Lapse

The principality of Satra was the first to fall a victim to the Doctrine of Lapse. The Raja of Satra died without any heir and before his death he adopted a son without the consent of the British Government. Lord Dalhousie, after the death of the Raja, declared the adoption illegal and annexed Satra to the British Empire. He next turned his attention to the Bhonsla State of Nagpur. The Raja died without any male heir and his State was annexed in 1853. Similarly Jhansi, Baghat, a Cis-Sutlej State, Jaitpur in Bundelkhand and Sambalpur in Orissa were annexed, one after another, to the British Empire. The Board of Directors did not approve the annexation of Karauli on the ground that it was a 'protected ally' and not a 'Dependent State.'

Confiscation of titles and pensions

The principle of lapse was to confiscate the titles and pensions of some of the Indian princes. On the death of Baji Rao II, his pension was not continued to his adopted son, Nana Saheb. Dalhousie did not recognise the claim of the Nawab of Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore on the death of its rulers.

It has already been mentioned that the Doctrine of Lapse was not invented by Lord Dalhousie. The Doctrine of Lapse was enunciated by the Court of

Directors in 1834 and it was acted upon on more than one occasion. Lord Dalhousie applied this in order to achieve his imperialistic design. He believed that the incorporation of as many States as possible in the territories of the Company was a measure calculated to promote the happiness and welfare of the people. He also believed that the annexations of Dependent States would add to the convenience of the British Empire. But however advantageous this policy might be, there is no doubt that the existence of all Indian principalities was threatened. While the previous Governor-General, in spite of direction of the Directors, did not proceed to take away the right of the Indian princes in view of their sentiments and the traditions of India, Dalhousie was blind to the application of his policy. It created a state of unrest and suspicion in the minds of the Indian princes and thereby contributed a good deal to the outbreak of the Revolt of 1857. Firstly, the families of the deposed rulers turned against the British and the dispossessed princes took leading parts in the War of Independence. Rani Luxmi of Jhansi turned against the English because her adopted son was not given the throne. She was the leader of the freedom fighters in Central Indo-Pakistan. Nana Saheb, the adopted son of Peshwa Baji Rao II, became an arch enemy of the British because he had not been given his father's pension of eight lakhs of rupees a year and the title of Peshwa. He was the leader of the people at Kanpur. Secondly, many people lost jobs as a result of the annexation of States. They also turned against the British. Thirdly, the armies of annexed States were disbanded and the demobilised soldiers were without employment. They were ready to create trouble. Fourthly, land settlements were carried out in annexed States and many zamindars lost considerable portions of their lands. They took an important part in the Revolt of 1857. This was particularly true in the case of Oudh.

Criticism of annexation

Seeds of Revolt of 1857 lay in Dalhousie's policy of annexation

Annexation on ground of Misgovernment

Oudh was annexed on the ground that its ruler had continuously misgoverned the State. Since the

Internal condition of Oudh

treaty of 1801, Oudh had been kept as a 'protected Feudatory State with the Nawab's control over its internal administration.' The Nawab had practically no power to control the administration. He could not take any important decision without the assent of the British Resident. He was invested with responsibility but without power. As a result, the administration of that province degenerated into an "orgy of massacre and corruption set to music." Lord William Bentinck, Lord Auckland and Lord Hardinge threatened to take over the administration of Oudh if there was no improvement. But none did anything to remedy the evils of Oudh administration.

Annexation of Oudh, 1856

In 1855 it became clear from the reports of Colonel Sleeman and Colonel Outrom, (Residents in Oudh) that the condition of Oudh was deplorable. Lord Dalhousie was inclined to solve the Oudh problem not by annexing it but by merely taking over its administration and by allowing its ruler to retain his formal sovereignty. But the Court of Directors decided in favour of annexation. So Oudh was annexed in February, 1856. Wazed Ali, the last ruler of Oudh, was deported to Calcutta and allowed a pension of twelve lakhs per year.

Criticism of the annexation of Oudh

Colonel Sleeman, a shrewd and experienced officer, considered the annexation of Oudh as a political blunder. Lord Dalhousie was not in favour of annexing Oudh, but he was overruled by the Court of Directors. The annexation of Oudh was made on the pretext of chronic misgovernment and corruption. But it is true that the mal-administration of Oudh was mainly due to the result of the subsidiary system. "The facts furnished by every writer on Oudh affairs, will testify," Sir Henry Lawrence observes, "to the same point that British interference with that province has been as prejudicial to its court and people as it has been disgraceful to the British name." It has also been said that the annexation of Oudh meant a "gross violation of national faith" as it involved the repudiation of treaty obligations. Further, "no consideration was shown for the unflinching loyalty of the ruling house of Oudh to the British Government." Besides other conside-

Breach of national faith

rations, the annexation of Oudh was an impolitic one. In this respect Colonel Sleeman said, "It would cost the British power more than the value of ten such kingdoms and would inevitably lead to a mutiny of the Sepoys."

As the Nizam of Hyderabad had failed to discharge his financial obligations to the Company, the province of Berar was taken by the British Government.

Berar

Lord Dalhousie's Reforms

Lord Dalhousie was not only a great conqueror and annexationist but also a great administrator and reformer. Most of the departments of the Government felt the impress of his master hand. He had two objects in introducing reforms. Firstly, he wanted to improve the condition of the people in Indo-Pakistan. Secondly, he wanted to promote British interests in Indo-Pakistan.

Administrative Reforms

According to Sir Richard Temple, "As an imperial administrator, he (Dalhousie) has never been surpassed and seldom equalled by any of the illustrious men whom England has sent forth to govern India." He was a man of abundant energy and influenced every department of administration. His reforms aimed at centralisation and raising the efficiency of the work of Government. Lord Dalhousie carried out a number of reforms in administration. Firstly, he began to carry on administration on modern lines. Before him the work of Government was not properly distributed in different departments. He properly demarcated the spheres of different departments and began to distribute the work of Government among them. This made the machinery of the Government more workable and efficient. Secondly, till the time of Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India had to work as Governor of Bengal also. The Governor-General had to give prior attention to the work of Government of India. As a result, the efficiency of Bengal administration suffered a lot. Lord Dalhousie appointed a Lieutenant-Governor for Ben-

Demarcation of departments

gal. This appointment raised the standard of administration in the province. At the same time it enabled the Governor-General to devote his whole energy and time to the work of the Central Government. Thirdly, Lord Dalhousie organised the non-regulation system for the provinces. Under this system, the administration was to be carried on by a Commissioner directly under the supervision and control of the Governor-General himself. This system made no distinction between civil and military administration. Its chief merit was economy of personnel. The Punjab, Burma, the Central Provinces and Oudh were non-regulation provinces. Fourthly, the District Magistrate was to exercise executive, judicial and revenue powers. It was against the theory of the separation of powers. It had a demoralising effect on the people.

Introduction of non-regulation system

Concentration of functions in the person of District Magistrate

Military Reforms

Lord Dalhousie carried out several reforms in the military field. In view of the importance of North-West Frontier Dalhousie started the general movement of troops towards the West. The headquarters of the Bengal artillery was shifted from Calcutta to Meerut. The army headquarters was gradually shifted from Calcutta to Simla. He also introduced a policy of better distribution of troops. Gurkha regiments were raised as a counterpoise to the Indian troops. A large number of British troops had been withdrawn from Indo-Pakistan to serve in the Crimean War. He asked the home authorities to increase the number of British troops in this country so that there might not be any possibility of revolt by the Indo-Pakistan troops.

Distribution of troops

Commercial Reforms

Lord Dalhousie wanted to do good to the British manufacturers and followed a free trade policy in their interests. All the ports of Indo-Pakistan were declared free ports. All obstacles in the way of British investment in the sub-continent were removed. The Indian cottage industries suffered heavily due to the competition of machine-made goods.

Social Reforms

Lord Dalhousie undertook some social reforms of great importance. He passed the Widow Remarriage Act which legalised the marriage of Hindu widows. In this reform he was helped by some great Indians like Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Another Act was passed by which the disinheritance for change of religion was removed.

Widow Remarriage Act

Educational Reforms

Lord Dalhousie realised the necessity and importance of education in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. In this field he was helped by Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control who made a scheme popularly known as Wood's Despatch. 'The Educational Despatch forms a landmark in the history of education in modern India, for it supplied the basis of the present system. It made several recommendations. The recommendations were : (1) The Universities were to be set up in the Presidency towns on the model of London University. These were merely to conduct examinations and were not to undertake teaching work. (2) The Intermediate and Degree Colleges were to be affiliated to these Universities. (3) Education was to be provided in vernaculars in the High Schools and Anglo-Vernacular Schools. (4) There was to be a department of education in every province. (5) Training institutions were to be established for training the teachers. (6) Private enterprise in the sphere of education was to be encouraged. The institutions run by private enterprise were to be given recognition if they came up to the said standards. Such institutions were to be given grants-in-aid. (7) There was to be a Director-General of Education for Indo-Pakistan to co-ordinate the educational activities of different provinces.

Wood's Despatch

Lord Dalhousie gave effect to the Educational Despatch of 1854. The Educational Despatch (1854) may be called the great and first Educational Charter of Indo-Pakistan. In pursuance of the Educational Despatch educational departments were established in each of the Presidencies. A Director of

Director of Public Instruction appointed

Public Instruction was appointed for each province with a staff of Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors under him. Lord Dalhousie patronised female education and set up at his own cost the Bethune College of Calcutta which was founded by Drinkwater Bethune, a member of his Council.

Public Works Department

Works of public utility

The Viceroyalty of Dalhousie was marked by many works of public utility. In 1854, he constituted a special department of public works in the Government of Indo-Pakistan. It was under him that the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Peshawar was repaired. He also finished the great Ganges Canal in 1854. The construction of the Ganges Canal and the Bari Doab Canal testifies to his interest in irrigation. Dalhousie had the credit of opening the first Railway line in 1853 and founded the electric telegraph system in India. He introduced a uniform half-anna postage in the sub-continent. These improvements in the means of communication 'served to consolidate' the British rule and to increase the prosperity of the country.

Charter Act of 1853

Privileges of the Company curbed

In 1853 the Charter of the Company was again renewed with further modifications. The power and privileges of the Company were curtailed and the number of Directors was reduced from twenty-four to eighteen. The Act made provision for the Indians to get civil service through competition. But the important administrative change brought about by this Act was the separation of the Bengal Government from the Government of India.

An estimate of Dalhousie

One of the remarkable personalities in Indian history

Lord Dalhousie was one of the remarkable personalities in the annals of British India. He not only extended the British Empire but also consolidated it in the sub-continent. The list of his administrative acts and works of public utility bears ample testimony to his genius as a successful administrator. The remark of a historian is well-justified when he

says, "Some were rulers, some were conquerors, some were builders, while others were reformers, but Lord Dalhousie was all in one". The amount of work done by him personally in initiating policy and supervising every department of administration excites our wonder. But he had defects in him. His autocratic temperament made it difficult for him to work smoothly with others. Some of his works invited severe criticism no dout. But in spite of all defects it can be said in the words of Dr. Smith that "No criticism can alter the fact that Lord Dalhousie must always be allowed a place in the front rank of the Governor-General by the side of Warren Hastings, Wellesley and Marquess Hastings".

His place in history

CHAPTER VIII

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Lord Canning (1856-62)

Lord Dalhousie was succeeded by Lord Canning in 1856. The revolt of 1857 is the chief event of this reign. But before the outreak of the revolt he had to deal with the Persians who were ultimately brought under control.

Introduction

The revolt of 1857 was an important land-mark in the history of the sub-continent. It marked the beginning of the country's struggle for independence after a century of foreign domination. The country witnessed a popular upsurge of deep-seated and widespread discontent against the alien rulers. The revolt of the Sepoys accompanied by the civil population was so ferment that the very foundation of the British rule in Indo-Pakistan was shaken. It appeared for sometime that the Company's Raj had disappeared from the land.

Struggle for Independence

Causes of the Revolt

As regards the cause of this great convulsion, some historians attribute it to the 'greased cartridge.' But it is unbelievable that such a vast and popular uprising could have been brought about merely by the new cartridge. It was the immediate cause and the basic causes of the revolt were many, embracing all aspects of the impact of British rule on Indian policy and society. For the convenience of study it may be discussed under different heads—political, economic, religious, social and military.

Political :

Ever since the battle of Plassey, the territorial power of the Company had been growing very fast and the Indian States began to feel the weight of it. By 1818, when the last Peshwa was dethroned,

practically all the Indian States had either been annexed or had entered into treaty with the Company on humiliating conditions.

Expansion policy of the British

The expansion policy of the British did not stop there. They also annexed some of the independent principalities on the frontiers. In 1843, they attacked Sind and added it to their dominion. It was an act of wanton aggression to cover the terrible disaster which the British armies had suffered in the Afghan War. The rebellion of Diwan Mulraj of Multan was used as a pretext for the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. The rights of the minor Maharaja, Dilip Singh who was under the protection of the British were thrown to the winds. Lord Dalhousie adopted a new policy of annexation. He annexed States after States often in disregard of Indian feelings and susceptibilities. Under the 'Doctrine of Lapse' the princes were denied the long-cherished right of adoption and in this way Dalhousie annexed the Maratha States of Satra, Nagpur and Jhansi and several minor principalities. On the death of Baji Rao II, the pension granted to him was abolished and his adopted son, Nana Saheb was deprived of this right. In 1856, the kingdom of Oudh was annexed. The Nawabs of Oudh had been the faithful allies of the Company for a long time. But this step of the British gave a rude shock to Muslim sentiments.

Annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie

'Doctrine of Lapse'

The result of Dalhousie's policy was such that no Indian prince felt secure and there was widespread resentment. The annexations also caused discontent among the subjects of the dispossessed princes as they were bound to them by old ties of tradition. They might prefer the old tyranny to the oppression of the new rulers.

As time went on, the Company also became cautious and cruel in dealing with the Indians. The administrative reforms of Cornwallis, introduced at the close of the 18th century, meant the virtual exclusion of Indians, specially the Muslims from hight posts. The English believed that the Muslims were sorely aggrieved at the loss of their empire and so they were not put in any important post of the

Exclusion of the Indians from high posts

State. There was perhaps no other case of foreign rule in which the people were "so completely excluded from all shares of the government of the country as in British India". To make matters worse, the English administrators gradually became arrogant and there was a wide gulf of difference between the rulers and the ruled.

Economic :

Agrarian policy of the Company

The land-holding classes became much aggrieved at the agrarian policy of the Company. Many land-owners were deprived of their lands as they failed to establish their proprietary rights by documentary proof. Investigations were even made into the titles of those who had held estates for many generations before the advent of the Company's rule. At the same time, enquiries were held in regard to rent-free tenures. Many failed to satisfy the authorities in regard to the original validity of their titles and their tenures were resumed to augment the government's revenue.

Land-lords & peasants aggrieved as a result of the new system

The grievances of the land-holding classes were further aggravated by the working of the sale law and excessive taxation which ruined the land-lord and peasant alike. Unlike in the old system land was inalienable but now it could be sold in default of payment of rent. In the auctions the states of many landlords were acquired by many money-lenders, whose power was growing under the new system but who were total strangers to the rural population. As a result of this agrarian revolution, village communities were broken up. Zamindars and Talukdars had lost their ancestral lands as well as social status. The peasants did not benefit under the new dispensation and were equally aggrieved. When the revolt broke out, the rural population naturally swelled the ranks of the rebels.

Religious and Social :

In the 18th century the British showed a friendly attitude towards Indian society and religions. They had no particular zeal for their religion and the Company even acted as trustees of some Hindu temples. In the 19th century this attitude underwent a radical change and the British began to interfere with the social and religious usages of the people. Some of the social reforms were indeed introduced with lofty

motives but the feelings of those whom the reforms affected were not taken into consideration. The abolition of "*Satidaha*" and the introduction of widow remarriage were not welcomed by the mass of the people. People thought that their ancestral faith and caste were not safe in the hands of the British. Their fears gradually grew out of their own observations. In the 19th century missionary activity increased and missionaries were to be seen everywhere—in bazars, hospitals, schools and even prisons. They ridiculed in public the tenets of Hinduism and Islam. The teaching of the Bible was introduced in some government schools and orphans and victims of calamities were often converted to Christianity. The missionaries received support and patronage from government officials, and the people naturally believed that the government was in league with them to eradicate their caste and convert them to Chrisitanity. In 1850, Lord Canning passed two Acts which further aggravated the situation. One of these enabled converts to inherit ancestral property. The new law was interpreted as a concession to Christian converts. The introduction of the railway, the telegraph and the English system of education also roused deep suspicion in the minds of the Indians.

Change of British policy in the sphere of religion

Missionary activity marked everywhere

Introduction of western education, railway, telegraph, etc.

The princes lived in an atmosphere of insecurity, the landed aristocracy had been alienated and the mass of the people were dissatisfied. But their discontent would not have led to a serious insurrection so long as the Sepoy Army remained loyal. The Sepoys of the Bengal Army were mostly from Oudh and the North-Western Province. They had fought with unflinching devotion in the most difficult circumstances and won many wars for the Company. In spite of this, they did not get a fair deal. Their salaries were very low in comparison with those of the British soldiers and chances of their promotion negligible. They had also grievances regarding the payment of extra allowances for service in newly conquered territories like Sind, which were foreign lands to them. Their bitterness against the Company was intensified by the arrogant attitude of the European officers and the fellow feeling be-

Difference of salary between the Indian Sepoy & British soldiers

tween Sepoys and officers which had once existed in the Company's Army was a thing of the past. The officials of the British East India Company showed such social aversion to the Indians that the proud Muslims resented their attitude.

Military :

Military reforms outraged the religious feelings of the Sepoys

The loyalty of the Sepoys was further undermined by certain military reforms which outraged their religous feelings. They had an aversion to overseas service, as travel across the seas meant loss of caste for them. Their feelings had previously been respected in this matter. But in the year 1856, an order was passed by Lord Canning that all new recruits for the Bengal Army should be obliged to swear, like the Madras Sepoys, to serve wherever required. The Sepoys construed this order as another attack on their caste and religion.

Immediate cause :

The greased cartridge was the immediate cause

While the country was thus seething with discontent and the Sepoys too were agitated, the affair of the greased cartridge came up. It was the immediate cause of the rising of 1857. One day in January, 1857 a rumour went round at Calcutta that the new cartridges to be used in the Enfield Rifle were greased with the fat of cows and pigs and that this had been done to defile both the Hindu and Muslim Sepoys who would use the cartridges. The news soon spread to all the military stations. This roused a storm of indignation and kindled the embers of disconent. The introduction of the cartridges hastened the revolt which had long been brewing.

The authorities soon realised their mistake and tried to pacify the feelings of the Sepoys. Orders were issued that the new cartridges should not be used by the Indian regiments. But it was too late. Once the suspicions of the Sepoys were aroused, it was not possible to remove them.

Spread of the Revolt and its Suppression

Revolt at Barrackpore

On the 29th March, 1857 the revolt started first at Barrackpore in Bengal and it soon spread to the north. At Meerut the rebellion took a serious turn. Some of the British officers were killed. But the rebels did not stay very long at Meerut. They marched off to Delhi and placed Bahadur Shah II on

the throne. The City of Delhi passed into the hands of the rebels in a few hours. But before the English made an attempt to restore their authority in Delhi, rebellions broke out over a wide area covering the North-Western Province, Oudh, Central India and Western Bihar. There were outbreaks of the Sepoys at Nasirabad and Jhansi on the 5th January, 1857.

Capture of Delhi by the rebels

Delhi, Lucknow, Kanpur and Jhansi were the main centres of the rebellion. At Kanpur the leadership of the rebels was assumed by Nana Dhondupant popularly called Nana Saheb. He established his government there. He was assisted by Azimullah Khan, Tatya Topi, Jorala Prassad and Tiku Singh. In Oudh, Begum Hazrat Mahal, the wife of the ex-king of Oudh led the revolt. Ahmadullah Shah, the Moulvi of Faizabad, was the outstanding leader of the revolt in Oudh. At Bareily Khan Bahadur Khan, a decendant of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, proclaimed himself Viceroy on behalf of the Mughal Emperor. In Allahabad, Moulvi Liakat Ali took over the administration. Rani Lakshmi Bai, the young widow wife of Raja Gangadhar Rao began to rule at Jhansi. All these chiefs professed allegiance to the Mughal Emperor who was the symbolic head of the struggle. But the Punjab, Hyderabad, Gowalior, Nepal and other places did not join the War of Independence.

Centres of rebellion

The rebellion spread very fast and its suppression proved to be a difficult problem. The British took steps to suppress the rebellion. Delhi was recovered by Sir John Shore. Bahadur Shah was taken prisoner and was transported to Rangoon where he died. The two sons of the last Mughal Emperor of Delhi were shot dead.

Suppression of the rebellion

At Lucknow the British General, Sir Colin Campbell brought the situation under control with much difficulty. On the recovery of Kanpur the British soldiers massacred many people there. Nana Saheb was the leader of rebels at Kanpur. He was driven into the jungle of Nepal and nothing was known about him afterwards. It may be noted here that many innocent men, women and children were

Nana Saheb

slaughtered on both sides. But wherever the British forces advanced cities were sacked, villages burnt and people were massacred irrespective of their guilt.

Tatya Topi and Rani of Jhansi

Tatya Topi and the Rani of Jhansi carried on a desperate fight against the British in Central India. Tatya Topi was hanged on charges of rebellion and murder. The Rani of Jhansi fell fighting after a heroic defence. In this war, the British forces suppressed the rebellion and restored order in the country.

Causes of the Failure of the Movement

Absence of unity and purpose among the rebels

There were several causes which led to the failure of the movement. Firstly, the absence of unity of action among rebels was the main cause of the failure of the struggle. The rebels had no common object. With a few honourable exceptions like Ahmadullah and Tatya Topi, most of the leaders took part in the struggle for personal interest. They did not rise against the British till their personal interests had been damaged. Even after the revolt had begun, Nana Saheb declared that if Dalhousie's decisions were reversed and his own demand met, he would be willing to come to terms. The Rani of Jhansi had also her grievances, but once she joined the fight, she never faltered and laid down her life in the cause she had supported. Moreover, the leaders of the revolt were mutually jealous and continually intrigued against one another. When Bakht Khan who assumed the command of Delhi during the last stage of the struggle went out to fight, military leaders gave little or no support. These jealousies and intrigues were responsible for the defeat of the Indians.

Loyalty of the Indians

Secondly, the revolt was confined to a limited area, though it was of a formidable nature. The Punjab, Sind and Rajputana were not affected by the movement and the people of these areas not only remained faithful to the British but also helped them greatly. Besides, the common people had no idea of the true significance of this movement.

Superior war-equipments of the English

Thirdly, the English had better armed troops. They utilized various scientific improvements while the rebels fought out of sheer religious fanaticism.

Fourthly, the Gurkhas and the Sikhs proved to be disloyal to the cause of national independence by helping the British at that period. The British also received invaluable assistance from Indians like Sir Salar Jang, the minister of Hyderabad, Sir Dinkar Rao of Gwalior, the Begum of Bhopal, Sir Jang Bahadur and the ruler of Nepal. Fifthly, the rising of 1857 was followed for sometime by reckless vandalism. As a result, the rebels lost the sympathy of the civil population who were subjected to various sufferings at their hands. The bulk of the population became displeased with the rebels for their nefarious activities and so they sympathised with the British who stood for law and order. Sixthly, Lord Canning adopted a conciliatory policy towards the mutineers. He did much to allay the feelings of the rebels and his policy contributed to the success of the British. Lastly, there was a lack of capable leaders among the rebels. Though the Rani of Jhansi, Tatya Topi and Nana Saheb commanded great respect, most of the leaders of the movement showed indecision and shortsightedness. On the other hand, the British cause was served by a galaxy of outstanding generals, like Lawrence, Outram, Havelock, Nicholson, Niel and Edwards who fought with devotion and loyalty to the Queen.

Lack of popular support

Conciliatory policy of Lord Canning

Want of capable leaders

Nature of the Revolt

There has been a good deal of controversy among the historians regarding the nature and character of the movement. Most of the historians have described it as a "mutiny." According to their opinions, it was never all-Indian in character and was localised, restricted and poorly organised. Most of the Indian princes did not support it. But historians like J.B. Norton, Dr. Duff, Dr. Majumdar, Dr. Sen and others entertain a different view. According to them, the revolt started as a military rising, but soon it turned into a national movement. It is an admitted fact that the revolt drew wide support in Oudh and Rohilakhand. Everywhere in the world it is seen that a great cause was initiated by a small section of the people. The French Revolution was started by a small section of the people of Paris. In this con-

Was the revolt of 1857 a struggle for independence?

nection the remark of Dr. S. N. Sen may be quoted, "In no country, in no age, did any political or religious movement enlist the support of the entire people." So long as a substantial majority sympathises with the main object of a movement it can claim a national status and the 'Mutiny' of 1857 can be called the War of Independence.

War of Independence

There is no doubt that the rapid expansion of the British dominion, the economic exploitation, the destruction of indigenous industries and arts and the attempts of conversion to Christianity produced wide discontent among the Indians against the British rule in the sub-continent. The Bareilly rising of 1816, the Cole outbreak of 1831-32 and other minor risings in Chhota Nagpur and Palamu and the early Muslim movements like the Faraizi Movement under the leadership of Dudhu Mian and Titu Mir and the Wahhabi Movement under Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and his disciples were the results of this discontent and disaffection. The revolt of 1857 which shook the foundation of the mighty British Empire was the last and the most violent one in the history of Indo-Pakistan. Though the revolt had its origin in the sepoy discontent, it derived its strength from the widespread disaffection among the civil population. Syed Ahmadullah Shah, Azmatullah Khan and General Bakht Khan who were the disciples of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and Ismail Shahid were the main heroes of the struggle of 1857. The presence of these trained revolutionists in the struggle proved that the revolt of 1857 was the result of long-standing accumulated attempts of liberation.

The revolt of 1857 was the result of accumulated attempts for liberation

The revolt started as a military rising, but soon it turned into a War of Independence. When the Sepoys placed themselves under the leadership of Bahadur Shah and proclaimed him Emperor of Indo-Pakistan, they began to fight for a political cause. Their struggle was then for their king and country. The Sepoys undoubtedly took up arms against their British masters for the defence of their religion, but they were also figthing for political independence as their religion was threatened by the alien government and they wanted to replace it by a political system indigenous to the soil.

It started as a military rising but turned into a War of Independence

The movement spread outside the Army and assumed the character of a popular struggle which was enthusiastically joined by the civil population against British domination. In many places in the North-Western Province, Oudh and Bihar, the civil population rose independently of the Sepoys. In places where the rising was confined to the Army alone its effects were temporary, but where the civil population joined, the opposition continued for a long time.

In many places civil population rose independently of the Sepoys

In assessing the character of the rising, it would not be proper to judge it in the light of modern concept of nationalism. As the country was then passing through a semi-feudal stage, it would be incorrect to take the existence of such a conception of nationality in 1857. It would also be unfair to judge men of the mid-nineteenth century by the standards of today. Those who actively took part in the revolt had diverse motives but they were all united in their hatred for British rule and in their aim to overthrow it. The struggle was as nearly 'national' as it possibly could be under the condition then prevailing. It was spontaneous and was inspired by a popular impulse to break the shackles of slavery. It brought about the union of different elements and had wide popular support from almost all classes of society.

Conception of Indian nationality was yet in embryo

National character of the war

Though the revolt failed in its immediate object, it had a great lesson for posterity. It was the first large-scale popular uprising against British rule and the first expression of India's urge for freedom. It was the same urge which was realised ninety years later. The heroes of 1857 did not shed their blood in vain.

Effects of the War of 1857

The struggle of 1857, in spite of its failure, forms a significant chapter in the history of Indo-Pakistan. It brought about important changes in the policy and administration of British Government in the sub-continent. The most important one was the end of the East India Company. Indo-Pakistan was brought under the direct control of the Crown by

End of the East India Company

the famous proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858. An Act for the better Government of India was passed and this Act introduced a post of Secretary of State for Indo-Pakistan with a council of 15 members to help him. The declaration of the Queen also assured the Indian princes that all the treaties and engagements with them by the Company were to remain in force. Secondly, the British Government had to change its old policy of annexations. The Queen's Proclamation declared, "We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions." The hated 'Doctrine of Lapse' was once for all abandoned. Thirdly, the Army which took the initiative in the War of Independence was thoroughly organised. The number of European soldiers was increased. In this respect the Commission of Army Organisation of 1879 observed : "The lessons taught by the Mutiny have led to the maintenance of two great principles, of retaining in the country an irresistible force of British troops and keeping the artillery in the hands of Europeans." Fourthly, the policy of centralisation adopted in the Act of 1833 was changed and new principles of decentralisation and 'Indianisation were recognised. The Act of 1861 restored legislative power to the Governments of Madras and Bombay. Similarly Legislative Councils were also established in Bengal, the United Provinces and the Punjab and in any new province that might be created.

Abolition of the Doctrine of Lapse

Organisation of the Army

Constitutional changes

Lastly, there was a change in the attitude of the British towards the Indians. The revolt of 1857 'left in its trail traces of mutual fear and distrust in the minds of the ruler and the ruled.' Formerly the British took the initiative in introducing social and the educational reforms. The *suttee* was abolished and English education introduced in the face of the Indians' opposition. But after the revolt of 1857 the British Government became cautious and reactionary in its attitude towards the Indians. The British believed that the Muslims were mainly responsible for the revolt, because they wanted to restore the right of the Mughal Empire, "whose glories were still fresh in their memories." They further believed that the opposition of the Muslims

Change in the attitude of the British

to their rule was 'both national and spontaneous'. The Hindus, on the other hand, had no such idea for national regeneration. They joined the movement for the sake of local or territorial patriotism. They had their own quarrels with the Company and they wanted to capture certain territories. After the failure of the movement, the indignation of the British fell upon the Muslims. There are plenty of evidences to show that countless Muslims were hanged and their property was confiscated on mere suspicion. The British policy of suppressing the Muslims in different walks of life continued for a period of about fifty years.

Reactionary attitude of the British towards the Muslims

CHAPTER IX

INDO-PAKISTAN UNDER THE CROWN

Lord Canning (1858-62)

After the War of Independence, Indo-Pakistan came under the direct rule of the British Crown and Lord Canning, the last Governor-General under the Company was appointed the first Viceroy. Lord Canning was a man of many virtues. He was just, generous and true to his duty. He adopted a liberal policy towards the Indians who joined the War of Independence. His policy of pacification was not liked by the Europeans who sarcastically called him "Clemency Canning." In spite of criticism against his policy, he stuck to his view and tried hard to restore peace and prosperity throughout the country.

His Reforms

Just after the national movement Lord Canning introduced many reforms in order to ensure good Government. One of the first fruits of the War of Independence was the reorganisation of the Indian Army. The proportion of the English soldiers was increased and the artillery was placed in the exclusive charge of British troops. The Indian Navy was abolished.

Military reforms

The Permanent Settlement of Bengal had left the tenants at the mercy of the landlords who could evict them at any moment. Lord Canning wanted to help the tenants and in 1859 a Rent Act was passed which gave the tenants some protection against the exactions by their landlords. The Penal Code which had been drafted by Macaulay came into force in 1858 and was followed in the next year by the Code of Criminal Procedure.

Rent Act

Penal Code

Another important change during the Viceroyalty of Lord Canning was the abolition of the old Supreme Courts and the *Sadar Adalats* set up under Warren Hastings. In their place High Courts were

Establishment of High Courts

established (1861) one each at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. As a result of the War of Independence, the treasury was depleted. Lord Canning, in order to improve the financial position took the help of financial experts who came from England and introduced an Income Tax and other new imposts.

Financial Reforms

The Viceroyalty of Lord Canning was also marked by the withdrawal of the Doctrine of Lapse and the foundation of three Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

In 1861 the Indian Councils Act was passed by which the nomination of non-official members to the Legislative Council of the Governor-General was introduced. The Act of 1861 was a landmark in the Constitutional history of the sub-continent. Prof. Coupland says, "In admitting Indians to the Councils and restoring powers to the provinces a dual process of 'Indianisation' and decentralisation had been started which was to lead, stage by stage, to Indian self-Government."

The Indian Councils Act, 1861

Lord Elgin (1862-63)

Lord Canning was succeeded by his friend Lord Elgin in March, 1862. But Lord Elgin died at Dharmasala in the Himalayas after a very brief tenure of office (1863).

Sir John Lawrence (1864-69)

On the death of Lord Elgin, his successor Sir John Lawrence came to power in January, 1864 and remained in office till January, 1869. During the War of Independence Lord Lawrence had saved the British interest in the Punjab and recovered Delhi. The war with Bhuttan and famine in Orissa were the chief events of this period.

The Bhutan War

The British relations with Bhutan began in the time of Warren Hastings who sent two commercial missions in order to open up this unknown country. The friendly relation continued up to 1826, but after that the relationship began to cool for obvious reasons. The Bhutanese used to make raids into the

Causes of the war

British territory and forced Ashley Eden to sign a humiliating treaty when the latter was on a mission at their court. Lawrence repudiated this treaty and sent an expedition to Bhutan. The British force was first defeated by the Bhutanese in the battle of Dewangiri, but soon the English recovered their position. At last a treaty was concluded by which the Bhutanese surrendered Duars in return for an annual subsidy.

Famine in Orissa

In 1866, Orissa was visited by a severe famine which caused immense loss of life. The Government failed to make satisfactory arrangement for their relief. To cope with similar calamities in future Lawrence created a department of irrigation and laid down the principle that the officers of the Government were 'bound to take every available means to prevent deaths by starvation.'

Afghan Policy of Lawrence

Policy of masterly inactivity

As regards Afghanistan Lord Lawrence followed a policy of "masterly inactivity" and refused to interfere in the fratricidal war that was going on in Kabul after the death of Amir Dost Mohammad. He clearly declared that the British Government in the sub-continent 'would recognise whichever claimant came out victorious.' Eventually when Sher Ali succeeded in the war of succession, he acknowledged him and sent him a present of arms and money. This policy of Lawrence offended the Afghan chiefs who thought that British recognition was not an asset to be depended upon.

Lord Mayo (1869-72)

The Duke of Edinburgh visited Indo-Pakistan

Lord Mayo, a member of the Conservative Government in English succeeded Lord Lawrence in 1869. He was a man of mild and amiable disposition. He wanted to establish friendly relations with the Native Princes. It was during his viceroyalty that the Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria visited Indo-Pakistan (1869). This was the first occasion when a member of the Royal family visited this country.

His Reforms

Lord Mayo had to face a large deficit left by his predecessor. So he was compelled to start his career as a financial reformer. He increased the income-tax as well as salt duties and introduced a new distribution of income between the Central and the Local (provincial) Governments. Previously, all grants were in the hands of the Central Government. The Local Government had to spend money ear-marked for special purposes. Any amount saved by the Local Government had to be returned to the Central Government. This severe restriction on the discretion of the Government was now removed. A fixed grant was made to the Provincial Governments from the Imperial Treasury and the Provincial Governments were made responsible for their own finance within certain limits. 'The policy of decentralisation thus initiated was continued by Lytton and further developed by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 and the Government of India Act of 1935'. Mayo created an agriculture department and favoured the extension of roads, railways and canals. It was during his administration that the first regular Census of Bengal was taken.

Decentralisation in finances

First regular census of Bengal taken

Afghan Policy of Lord Mayo

Lord Mayo established a friendly relation with Sher Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan who was not satisfied with the attitude of Lord Lawrence. He invited the Amir of Afghanistan to a magnificient *Darbar* at Ambala and entertained him there in a sumptuous manner. He increased his annual subsidy and gave assurance to help him against any possible Russian invasion. The object of this policy was to check the Russian influence in Afghanistan.

Friendly relation with Afghanistan

Lord Mayo was a great patron of education. He founded the Mayo College at Ajmer and encouraged the efforts of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who established the famous Aligarh College.

Patron of education

Lord Mayo was stabbed to death by a frontier Pathan when he was touring the convict settlement of the Andaman Islands (1872).

Lord Northbrook (1872-76)

On the assassination of Lord Mayo, Sir John Strachey and then Lord Napier carried on the administration of Indo-Pakistan till the arrival of Lord Northbrook in 1872. Lord Northbrook was a cold diplomat and a cautious administrator.

Afghan Policy of Northbrook

Deterioration of relation with Afghanistan

During the viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook British relation with Afghanistan began to deteriorate. Sher Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan, being alarmed by the Russian advance, sent an envoy to secure from the Viceroy "an unequivocal guarantee against Russian attack." Northbrook, though in favour of giving a formal guarantee, was directed by the Secretary of States to declare that the British Government would maintain its settled policy towards Afghanistan. This vague declaration naturally disappointed Sher Ali who began to cultivate friendship with Russia.

Deposition of the Gaikwar

In 1875 Malhar Rao, the Gaikwar of Baroda was brought to trial for attempted murder of the British Resident. Though the charge was not proved, Northbrook deposed him on the ground of misgovernment and installed in his place a child, named Sayoji Rao, a distant relative of the family. In his time there was a serious famine in Bihar but it was successfully combated.

Famine in Bihar

Free trade

Lord Northbrook followed a policy of free trade without discrimination. He reduced the import duties on foreign goods and abolished many export duties. In 1875, the Prince of Wales paid a visit to Indo-Pakistan. In 1876, Lord Northbrook resigned and left for England.

Lord Lytton (1876-80)

Royal Titles Act

Lord Lytton, an experience diplomat and a brilliant man of letters succeeded Lord Northbrook in 1876. It was during his viceroyalty that the British Parliament passed the Royal Titles Act giving to the Queen of England the title of 'Empress of India' (Kaisar-i-Hind). On January 1, 1877 Lord Lytton held a magnificent *Darbar* at Delhi where

the assumption of the Royal title by Queen Victoria was proclaimed.

The pomp and splendour displayed at Delhi was darkened by the shadow of a great calamity which visited southern India (Madras, Bombay, Mysore and Hyderabad) in the form of famine. Owing to the mismanagement and the defective relief measures of the Madras Government the death-roll rose to five millions and a quarter. His failure to deal with the famine and his absorbtion in a magnificient *Darbar* at a time when millions of people were dying of hunger and disease, made him very unpopular with the Indians. In 1878 he appointed a Famine Commission which suggested measures to prevent famines in future.

Famine policy

In 1878, Lord Lytton passed the Vernacular Press Act 'which required Vernacular Papers to refrain from publishing articles that might tend to excite feelings of disaffection against the Government. This Act gave rude shock to the Indians as the English papers were exempted from it.

Vernacular Press Act

Lord Lytton wanted to pursue a policy of free trade and with that end in view he remitted many import duties. The policy affected the indigenous industries as they could not cope with the foreign ones. In 1879 the Statutory Civil Service which was intended to give Indians a chance to occupy important posts in the higher administration was created. But the measure ultimately proved a failure.

Statutory Civil Service

Afghan Policy of Lytton

The British Cabinet wanted to keep a firm hold on Afghan affairs in order to prevent the influence of Russia in that region. Lord Lytton came to Indo-Pakistan with instructions to carry out a new policy. So with regard to Afghanistan he had to adopt a policy different from that of his predecessors. He informed Sher Ali that all the terms he had wanted from Lord Northbrook in 1873 might be granted provided he consented to receive a British Resident at Herat. In reply he apprised the Viceroy that the Pathans would not tolerate a British Resident in

Lytton's aggressive attitude towards Afghanistan

their territory. At this Lord Lytton became offended and as a preliminary step to war-like operations occupied Quetta in Baluchistan by an arrangement with the Khan of Kelat. The occupation of Quetta was looked upon by the Amir as a preliminary step to an advance upon Qandahar and then upon Afghanistan itself. It was at the same time that an agreement with the Maharaja of Kashmir was made by which Lord Lytton set up a British agent in Gilgit. This new step created apprehension and resentment among the Afghans.

Occupation of Quetta by the British

In the meantime a Russian mission came to Kabul and concluded a treaty of friendship with the Amir. The reception of the Russian mission in Kabul made the relation between the Amir and the British Government acute. Lord Lytton, with the British Cabinet asked the Amir to receive a British envoy. There was no urgent need to press the matter, for the treaty of Berlin had restored peace in Europe. But with undue haste Lord Lytton sent Sir Neville Chamberlain on a mission to Kabul. But the Afghans did not allow the envoy to enter Afghanistan. Lytton regarded it as an insult and declared war in 1878.

Refusal of a British mission's entry into Kabul

Three British armies advanced into Afghanistan through three routes—the first through the Khyber Pass, the second through the Kurram Valley and the third through the Bolan Pass. Qandahar was easily occupied and Sher Ali fled to Russian Turkistan where he died in February, 1879. The British Government recognised Yaqub Khan, a son of Sher Ali as the Amir of Afghanistan and concluded the treaty of Gandamuk in May, 1879 by which the Amir agreed to receive a British Resident at Kabul and to conduct his foreign policy on the advice of the Viceroy. The Amir also ceded the districts of Kurram, Pishin and Sibi to the British. In return for this the Amir would receive an annual subsidy of six lakhs of rupees and military assistance in case of any foreign aggression. But the freedom-loving Afghans were not pleased with this arrangement and so they murdered British Resident Sir Louis Cavagnari with his party on his arrival at Kabul. This incident led to the renewal of the war. Qandahar was

Treaty of Gandamuk

Renewal of the war after the murder of the British Resident

occupied and the British General Roberts, defeating the Afghans at Charasiab, occupied Kabul. Yaqub Khan who has already taken shelter in the British camp was suspected of conspiracy in the plot and so he was removed to Indo-Pakistan as a prisoner. Lord Lytton decided to disintegrate Afghanistan by establishing a Chief at Qandahar. But the change of Ministry in England led to his resignation before the plan was executed. The new Government sought to reverse the whole Afghan policy of the past. Lord Ripon was accordingly sent as Viceroy to carry out the new policy.

British relation with Afghanistan

Lord Ripon, successor of Lord Lytton came to establish friendly relation with the Afghans by recognising Abdur Rahman, a nephew of Sher Ali, as the Amir of Kabul. But soon new complications arose as Ayub Khan, another son of Sher Ali and a rival of Abdur Rahman defeated a British army at Maiwand (1880) and compelled the vanquished army to take shelter in Qandahar. General Roberts marched from Kabul to Qandahar and completely routed Ayub Khan's army. Ayub Khan was finally defeated by Abdur Rahman who became the undisputed master of the land. Lord Ripon now recognised Abdur Rahman as the Amir of Afghanistan and withdrew all British forces from the country. In return for an annual subsidy of 12 lakhs of rupees the Amir agreed not to have any political relations with any foreign power except the British.

Criticism of Lytton's Afghan policy

The Afghan policy of Lord Lytton was a failure. Neither his plan of splitting up Afghanistan by separating Qandahar from Kabul nor his plan of placing a British Resident at Kabul was fulfilled. According to Gladstone, leader of the opposition party in the British Cabinet there was no necessity of the Second Afghan War and in calling it Lord Lytton gave the proof of his lack of farsightedness. Of course, as a result of this war Quetta was occupied and British suzerainty over the Bolan Pass established. But this was incidental and not the main aim of his policy.

Lord Ripon (1880-84)

Lord Ripon, 'a true Liberal of the Gladstonian era' succeeded Lord Lytton in 1880. He had a strong belief in the virtues of peace, *laissez faire* and self-government. Till then the Indians had no voice in the governance of the local affairs. He wanted to train the Indians to take an active part in the administration of their country and with that end in view he devoted himself to the task of liberalising the Indian Government. His sympathetic attitude towards the Indians and his encouragement of their legitimate aspirations earned for him an affectionate place in the hearts of the Indians.

His Afghan policy

Lord Ripon was essentially a man of peace. On the assumption of power he brought an end to the Second Afghan War by recognising Abdur Rahman, a nephew of Sher Ali, as the Amir of Afghanistan. His Afghan policy saved Indo-Pakistan from another war and it strengthened the relation between the two States.

Reforms of Lord Ripon

Lord Ripon is especially remembered for his reforms in the history of Indo-Pakistan. For the convenience of discussion his reforms may be divided under six heads, *viz.*, (1) Tariff and Revenue; (2) Local-Self Government; (3) Freedom of the Press: (4) Education; (5) Social Reforms and (6) Treatment of the Native States.

Tariff and Revenue

Free Trade Policy

Land revenue

When Lord Ripon came to Indo-Pakistan as Governor-General and Viceroy, financial circumstances were very favourable to experiments in internal reform. He completed the Free Trade policy inaugurated by Lord Northbrook and developed by Lord Lytton. With the exception of a few, such as salt, liquor, etc., the import duties on various goods were abolished. He even reduced the salt tax throughout Indo-Pakistan. He wanted to change the system of the permanent settlement to some extent. He suggested that the Government should not increase the revenue except on the sole ground of a rise of prices. But his proposal was not accepted by the Secretary of States.

The greatest claim of Lord Ripon to fame chiefly rests on the introduction of local-self government. The idea of local-self government was not a new one. Municipalities had already been established in Calcutta, Madras, Bomaby and certain other cities, but the public had no control over them. The Goverment was all in all in the affairs of the Municipality. In rural areas there were committees to manage the local affairs, such as sanitation, construction of roads, etc. Lord Ripon sought to introduce self-government in the local bodies. By the Bengal Municipal Act of 1884 he increased the powers and responsibilities of the Municipalities. He laid emphasis on the principle of election. The Municipalities were divided into three classes of which the first and second classes had two-thirds of their members elected by the rent payers, while the third class had all the members nominated by the Government. District Councils which had been established in rural areas for the promotion of education, health and communication during the time of Lord Mayo were now replaced by District Boards in districts and Local Boards in subdivisions. Members of these representative institutions were partly elected and partly nominated. The boards primarily dealt with local roads, education, sanitation, famine, relief, etc. It was provided in the Act that the Chairmen of these institutions should be non-official and elected whenever possible. Lord Ripon's object was to train the Indians to manage their own affairs. All the representative institutions (boards) were given certain financial powers, but the Government 'retained powers of inspection, of providing for neglected duties and even of suspension in case of gross default'.

Local Self-Governmen-ment

Munici-palities

District Boards and Local Boards established

One of the beneficial measures he introduced was the restoration of the freedom of the Press. He repealed the Vernacular Press Act passed by the Government of Lord Lytton and thus placed the journals and newspapers written in Oriental languages on a level of equality with the rest of the Indian Press in dealing with the social and political questions.

Repeal of Vernacular Press Act

With regard to education Lord Ripon appointed a commission under the presidency of Sir William

Education : Hunter Commission

Hunter to enquire into the condition of education. This commission is known as the Hunter Commission. As a result of the enquiry made by the commission, rules and regulations were framed for the increase and improvement of primary and secondary schools which were hitherto neglected by the State.

Social reforms

Ilbert Bill

Before Lord Ripon no Indian magistrate or session judge (except in the presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras) could try European convicts. Having pressed by the Indians Lord Ripon wanted to remove 'judicial disqualifications based on racial distinctions'. Sir Ilbert, Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council prepared a Bill for the purpose known as the Ilbert Bill after his name and introduced it. At this, the European community started a violent agitation and it took such a turn that Lord Ripon had to modify the bill. As a result of this modification, it was decided that an English accused could claim to be tried by a Jury at least half of whose members should be Europeans.

Factory Act

Census

Lord Ripon had a sympathetic heart for the welfare of the masses. He prepared a plan of the Tenancy Act to improve the lot of the ryots in Bengal and this Act was finally passed in the time of Lord Dufferin. In 1881, Lord Ripon passed Factory Act which 'restricted the hours of employment of children to nine hours a day and required that the dangerous machinery should be properly fenned.' It also provided for the appointment of Inspectors to see that these instructions were carried out. To collect accurate information about the people and their social conditions, a general Census was taken for the first time in 1881. Since then it has been taken every ten years.

Treatment of the Native States

One of the popular measures of Lord Ripon was the 'rendition' of Mysore by which Mysore was restored to the Hindu ruling family. In 1831, Lord Bentinck had deposed the Maharaja of Mysore for misgovernment and since then the administration of Mysore had been under a British Commission.

Lord Ripon retired from office in 1884. Though he failed to satisfy the people of his own country,

he won a lasting place in the hearts of the Indians as the champion of their cause. His short period of administration which had been marked by many liberal and beneficial reforms formed one of the brightest chapters in the annals of British India.

Ripon, a great champion of the Indians' cause

Lord Dufferin (1884-88)

Lord Ripon was succeeded by Lord Dufferin in 1884. Before assuming his new office Lord Dufferin had to his credit a long experience as a politician and a diplomat. He had been Under Secretary of States for India for long twenty years, Governor-General of Canada, Ambassador of Russia and Turkey and British Commissioner in Egypt. His experience in various fields was an asset to him for his high office. He was a man of great tact and personal charm. He quickened down the bitterness aroused by the controversy over the Ilbert Bill.

His past experience

Foreign Policy

During the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin the foreign problem of Indo-Pakistan in the north-west and east frontiers took a complicated turn. Immediately on his assumption of office he was confronted with these problems.

His Afghan Policy

The Afghan policy of Lord Lytton, though unsuccessful, had the effect of arresting Russian advance upon Afghanistan. The Amir of Afghanistan had also agreed to be guided in foreign affairs by the British Viceroy. But the occupation of Merv in 1884 by the Russians aroused the suspicion of the British. In order to allay the suspicion of the British the Russians 'proposed a joint Commission to demarcate the northern boundary of Afghanistan.' Lord Ripon accepted the proposal and Commissioners on both sides were appointed. It was during the time of Lord Dufferin that the Boundary Commission was engaged in delimiting the Afghan frontier. But in the meantime there was a skirmish between the Russian and the Afghan troops at a village called Panjdeh in which the latter were beaten back and

The Panjdeh incident

Panjdeh was occupied. At this Anglo-Russo War became inevitable as England was pledged to defend the integrity of Afghanistan. But the war was averted by the good sense of Abdur Rahman, the Amir of Afghanistan who thought that in case of war his country would be the battle-field. So he waived his claim on Panjdeh and the line of demarcation between Afghanistan and Russia was amicably settled by an agreement in 1887. Lord Dufferin strengthened the friendship of the Amir by entertaining him at a *Darbar* held at Rawalpindi.

Good relation with the Amir

The Third Burmese War (1886)

Lord Dufferin had to wage an unpleasant war against the Burmese. Burma was ruled by king Thebaw. There were causes which led to the Third Burmese War. Firstly, Thebaw, the king of Burma had concluded a commercial treaty with France and the French influence was on the increase at the court of Thebaw. The French influence in Burma was detrimental to the interest of the British. Secondly, the king of Burma imposed a heavy fine on the "Bombay-Burma Trading Company" on a charge of theft of wood. Lord Dufferin became much mortified at the behaviour of Thebaw and he sent an ultimatum imposing certain terms including British control of Burmese foreign policy. These terms were rejected and so Lord Dufferin declared war against Burma.

Causes of the war

Within a short time the British defeated the Burmese and occupied Mandalay. Thebaw soon surrendered and was deported to India. The whole of Upper Burma was annexed to the British Indian empire (1886).

Annexation of Burma

Internal Affairs

A notable event of this period (1886) was the restoration of Gwalior to the Maharaja Sindhia in exchange for Jhansi. It was during the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin that the Bengal Tenancy Act was passed to protect the interest of the tenants against unjust eviction and enhancement of rent.

The Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885

The establishment of the Indian National Congress was an important event during the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin. The first session of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay under the presidenship of Mr. W. C. Banerjee. The object of the Congress 'was to press for the introduction of democratic institution into the country.' At first the attitude of the British Government towards this political institution was sympathetic. But later on the Government changed its attitude.

Indian National Congress

In 1887, Queen Victoria had completed the fiftieth year of her reign and the Jubilee was celebrated with great pomp throughout Indo-Pakistan.

Lord Lansdowne (1888-94)

Lord Lansdowne succeeded Lord Dufferin in 1888. He had, like his predecessor, won experience as Governor-General of Canada. He gave much attention to the problem of the frontiers and adopted a 'forward policy' in regard to the frontier tribes. It was during his Viceroyalty that British influence spread over Sikkim, the Lushai Hills (Assam) and the Shan States (Burma).

Lord Lansdowne interfered in the affairs of the State of Manipur situated on the south-eastern border of Assam, when a dispute arose over the question of succession. In 1890, Mr. Quinton, Chief Commissioner of Assam was sent to settle the dispute. But the people of the State of Manipur did not like this undue interference of the British. The people were also displeased with the behaviour of the Chief Commissioner. As a result, the Chief Commissioner and three other officers were murdered. At this the British force was sent and Tikendrajit Singh, the *Senapati* of the State, was defeated and hanged. A boy Raja was placed on the throne under a British political agent who acted during the minority of the Raja. Lord Lansdowne also interfered in the internal affairs of dependent States like Khelat and Kashmir.

Relation with the State of Manipur

Khelat and Kashmir

Lord Lansdowne was very particular about the frontier defence and took some measures to prevent further troubles. He increased the annual subsidy

of the Amir of Afghanistan from twelve lakhs to eighteen lakhs. In 1892, he sent Sir Morlimer Durand as an ambassador to the court of Abdur Rahman to settle the question of Afghan-Indian border. Many frontier problmes were settled and a boundary line known as the 'Durand Line' after the name of the envoy was demarcated between India and Afghanistan. By the Durand Agreement the Amir of Afghanistan agreed not to interfere in the affairs of Swat and Chitral. The British set up a permanent military station at Chaman.

Afghan affairs

The Durand Line

Internal Reforms

The Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne has been marked by several measures of political and social reforms. A Factory Act which amended Lord Ripon's Factory Act of 1881 was passed. This Act limited the hours of employment for women. A weekly holiday for all factory workers was also introduced. The Age of Consent Act raised the limit from ten to twelve years.

A Factory Act

Age of Consent Act

The Indian Council Act of 1892

In 1892, Lord Cross, the Secretary of State for Indo-Pakistan, passed an Act which marked a remarkable advance on the Act of 1861. It increased the non-official members both in the Imperial and the Provincial Legislative Councils. The Universities, the District and Municipal Boards, Chambers of Commerce, etc., were given the right to send representatives to these Councils. This Act also provided the members of these Legislative Councils with the new powers of putting questions in and discussing the budget.

Main provisions

Lord Elgin (1894-99)

Lord Lansdowne was succeeded by Lord Elgin, the son of the second Viceroy Elgin I. His period of administration was one of great difficulty in the history of British India. On his assumption of power he had to face various problems, such as, deficit of budget, famine, plague, frontier wars, etc. To fill up the enormous deficit due to the fall in exchange, Lord Elgin had to revise the policy of

Fiscal policy

free trade and to impose a duty of three and a half per cent. on all imports. At the same time an excise duty was imposed on the products of the Indian mills. This placed the Indian manufacturers under a heavy disadvantage in their competition with Lancashire.

In 1896, the Indo-Pak sub-continent was visited by severe famine and pestilence. As a result, thousands of people lost their lives. The plague broke out in Bombay and it soon spread throughout the country. The measures taken by the Government to check the spread of the disease 'in utter disregard for Indian sentiments led to some unfortunate incidents.

Famine and plague

Foreign Affairs

During the viceroyalty of Lord Elgin, Russia wanted to establish her supremacy in the Palmirs. In order to avoid the trobules England concluded an agreement with Russia in 1895. By this agreement the southern boundary of the Russian empire was fixed and this 'ended the long standing rivalry between Russia and British over their respective spheres of influence over Central Asia.'

Boundary agreement with Russia

The steady expansion of the British sphere of influence was looked upon with suspicion by the turbulent tribes of the frontier. The construction of roads and railways up to the limits of their territory aroused the suspicion of the frontier tribes. The matter came to a head when the British Resident at Gilgit had gone to Chitral to interfere with a disputed succession. A number of local chiefs besieged the British Resident at Chitral. The siege continued for a month and the Resident was rescued by a relieving force sent from Gilgit. In 1897, the whole frontier was ablaze. The Afridis attacked the British positions in the Tochi Valley, Malakand and other places and closed the Khyber Pass. An expedition was sent to the Tirah Valley and severe fighting was fought before peace was established in 1898.

Risings of the frontier tribes

Troubles in Chitral

The army organisation was the most important reform of Lord Elgin. The old system of military organisation was changed and in place of three

separate armies under three Commanders-in-Chief of the three Presidencies (Bengal, Bombay and Madras) there was to be one Commander-in-Chief of the whole army and under him four Lieutenant Generals were appointed in Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the Punjab.

Military reforms

In 1897, the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated with great pomp.

Lord Curzon (1899-1905)

Introduction

Lord Curzon, a man of masterful nature with a brilliant academic and political record came to succeed Lord Elgin in 1899. Prior to this he gave the proof of his ability as a member of the House of Commons and Under-Secretary of State for Indo-Pakistan. Besides, before assuming the charge of his new office Lord Curzon had widely travelled in different parts of Asia. He had the fortune to visit Indo-Pakistan four times and thus he acquainted himself with the problems of this country before he became Viceroy. He was one of the ablest Viceroys sent by England to govern Indo-Pakistan. P. E. Roberts remarks, "Lord Curzon's viceroyalty was destined to stand out with special prominence. For good or ill no Governor-General since Dalhousie so deeply impressed his personal mark upon the whole framework of Indian administration."

Foreign Policy

Lord Curzon's foreign policy 'was mainly concerned with the North-West Frontier tribes, with Afghanistan, with Persia and with Tibet.'

The frontier policy

Immediately after assuming the charge of administration, Lord Curzon devoted himself to the settlement of the North-West Frontier problem. He abandoned the 'forward policy' of his predecessors and pursued a policy of peace and friendship with the frontier tribes. During the time of his predecessors frequent expeditions were sent to suppress the frontier tribes. It not only proved fruitless, but also involved costly expenditure. In consideration of this, Lord Curzon gave up the policy of sending punitive expeditions. He withdrew British troops

from the frontier outposts and replaced them by forces raised from local tribesmen commanded by British officers. They were responsible for maintaining peace and order in the country. But within the British sides of the lines, forces (British) were increased and concentrated. Railway lines were built up to Jamrud at the entrance to the Khyber Pass and Thal, the gate of the Khurram Valley, so that in times of necessity armies might be sent there.

Withdrawal of British troops from the frontier out-posts

In 1901, Lord Curzon separated trans-Indus district of the Punjab and the political agencies of the Malakand, the Khyber, the Khurram, etc., and formed a new province called the North-West Frontier Province. This new province with its headquarters at Peshawar was placed under a Chief Commissioner.

Creation of North-West Frontier Province

There is no doubt that Lord Curzon's North-West Frontier policy worked well for the time being. It saved much money and ensured peace in the country. There occurred only one little frontier war during his time. But it did not finally solve frontier problem. This was best proved during World War I when there had been constant unrest in that region.

Criticism

After the demise of Abdur Rahman (1901) his son, Habibullah Khan, became the Amir of Afghanistan. Lord Curzon had some trouble with the new Amir over the renewal of the treaty which the latter's father had concluded with the British Government. In 1904, Lord Curzon went on leave and Lord Ampthill, the acting Viceroy, sent a mission to Kabul and the matter was peacefully settled. The title of 'His Majesty' was conceded to Habibullah and at the same time the Viceroy gave him a promise to continue the allowance granted by Lord Lansdowne. Thus friendly relations were re-established between the British and the Amir of Afghanistan.

Friendly relations with Afghanistan

From the political and commercial points of view it was of great necessity for the British to have control over the Persian Gulf. But during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon Turkey, France, Russia and Germany were trying to secure a foothold in the Persian Gulf. So in 1903, Lord Curzon himself visited

His Persian policy

the region and took effective steps to protect the British interests there.

Tibetan policy of Curzon

The most notable incident of Lord Curzon's foreign policy was the Tibetan expedition of 1903-04. His Tibetan policy was guided by the fear of Russian influence. Tibet was nominally a Chinese dependency but actually it was an independent country. 'The Tibetans had an aversion to foreigners' and so they ignored the trade agreements made with the British in 1890 and 1893. About the same time they wanted to free themselves from Chinese sovereignty and to welcome Russian friendship as a counterpoise. The Dalai Lama, their king, entered into negotiations with the Court of Russia through a Russian Buddhist and though it was of a religious nature, the British Government got alarmed. Lord Curzon thought that a secret treaty had been signed between Tibet and Russia. He, with the approval of the Home Government, sent an expedition to Tibet under Colonel Younghusband who without much difficulty captured Lhasa in 1904. A treaty was concluded by which the Tibetans agreed to open trade marts and to pay a war indemnity. It was also agreed that 'no portion of Tibetan territory was to be alienated to any foreign power, nor was any agent of such power to be admitted into the country.'

A treaty concluded with the Tibetans

Criticism

Historians differ in their opinions about the Tibetan expedition of Lord Curzon. Dr. Smith says, "It is unnecessary and all fruitless", while according to another historian, it was 'a triumph of organisation and daring.'

His Internal Administration

The Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon was specially famous for his internal administration. P. E. Robetrs says, "Internally Lord Curzon's period of office was made specially notable for a drastic overhauling of the whole machinery of administration." He 'appointed committees to enquire into the defects and anomalies of the existing systems of administration and promptly gave effect to their recommendations.'

Lord Curzon gave due attention to the problem of land revenue and to the condition of the cultivators who formed the backbone of Indo-Pakistan population. He introduced a system of revision and reduction in the assessment and collection of the land revenue in the changed circumstances. The Land Resolutio of 1902 laid down the principle that the Government demand was to vary according to the character of the season. If the assessment has to be increased it should be done step by step.

Land reforms

Lord Curzon adopted several measures in order to better the lot of the peasants. He saved them from the hands of the money-lenders by establishing Co-operative Credit Societies which provided the cultivators with necessary capital at a low rate of interest. He passed the Punjab Land Alienation Act by which he sought to free the tillers of the soil from the clutches of the money-lenders. The cultivators used to borrow money, failing which their lands were acquired by the money-lenders. By this Act 'no non-agriculturist can buy land from an agriculturist, nor can he keep land in mortgage for more than twenty years, nor can the land of an agriculturist be attached for non-payment of debts.' He established the Imperial Agricultural Department to encourage the application of scientific methods to agriculture and placed it under an Inspector-General. He improved the irrigation system and new impetus was given to the improvement of railway lines.

Measures for the betterment of cultivators

Lord Curzon created a new department of Commerce and Industry to foster trade and industry and placed it under the supervision of a sixth member of the Executive Council. To ease the financial crisis in the country he made gold a legal tender and the rate of exchange was fixed at fifteen rupees to the sovereign. The most important of Lord Curzon's financial reforms was the reduction of salt tax and the revision of the scale of taxable income. The salt tax was reduced to one-half and the limit of taxable income was raised to one thousand instead of five hundred.

Department of commerce and industry

Financial reforms

In 1904, Lord Curzon passed the Universities Act which 'reorganised the constitution of the Syndi-

cates, provided for the official inspection of the colleges and placed the final decision regarding the affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges in the hands of the Government. It also took steps to develop the Universities from examining to teaching bodies. This Act became unpopular with the intelligentsia of the country as it increased the Government control over the educational institutions.

University Act of 1904

Lord Curzon is ever remembered by the students of history for establishing the Archaeological Department for the preservation of ancient historical monuments and excavation of burial sites. He passed the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act by which all the historical monuments and buildings were placed under the supervision of the Government. It has not only saved ancient historical buildings from destruction but also promoted the growth and development of historical research and archaeological study in Indo-Pakistan.

Preservation of ancient monuments

Lord Curzon took steps to improve the police department. He increased the salaries of policemen and established training schools for the recruits. For better administration of the police department Criminal Investigation Department was organised.

Police reforms

Lord Curzon brought a significant change into the military administration. He founded the Imperial Cadet Corps to give military training to the sons of the ruling families. He also compelled the native rulers to maintain a force at their own expenses in order to meet an emergency.

Military reforms

Partition of Bengal

The partition of Bengal was the most important event during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. It was done mainly for administrative reasons. Bengal in those days was a big province consisting of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa with a population of 70 millions. It was difficult to administer such a big area for one Lieutenant-Governor. Secondly, the agrarian economy of Bengal was dominated by the capitalists of Calcutta and as a result, millions of inhabitants living in the under-developed areas were deprived of their due shares in the production. It also hindered

Causes of the partition of Bengal

local initiative for progress and industrialisation. The partition of Bengal was thus "calculated to restore better efficiency in the Government administration on the one hand and encourage local initiative for progress and industrialisation on the other." With this end in view Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal and formed a new province called "Eastern Bengal and Assam" with Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong divisions. The new province was placed under a Lieutenant-Governor with Dacca as its capital. The other portion of Bengal (Bihar and Orissa) constituted a separate province called "West Bengal".

Advantages to the Muslims for partition of Bengal

The creation of Eastern Bengal and Assam into a separate province with Dacca as its capital "brought to the Muslim population the promise of social and economic emancipation". The Muslims welcomed the partition of Bengal for certain reasons. Firstly, the city of Dacca where the Muslims were in majority was a centre of Muslim culture. Here the Muslims had a great chance of success for social and cultural advancement than in Calcutta. Secondly, the partition of Bengal relieved the Muslims from competing with the Hindus of Calcutta who were more advanced both culturally and economically.

Reaction of the partition of Bengal on the Hindus and Muslims

This administrative measure of Lord Curzon provoked violent opposition from the Hindus of Bengal who looked upon it as a threat to their interest. They had been holding a privileged position in the socio-economic life of Bengal. They interpreted the partition of Bengal as an attempt to weaken and divide the Bengalee Nation. The Hindus made it an all-India issue and started an agitation generally known as the *Swadeshi* Movement throughout the country for the annulment of the partition. The English statesmen and the Press were so much impressed by the agitation of the Hindus that they were thinking in favour of annulling the partition in order to pacify the Hindus. The violent protest of the Hindus in the Congress "convinced the educated Muslims that they could be redeemed only if they created their own political force and their own leadership."

The agitation of the Hindus took such a serious turn that during the time of Lord Minto "there were

a few bomb outrages." At last the British Government under the pressure of circumstances annulled the partition and made fresh arrangement in 1911.

Resignation of Lord Curzon

There was a difference of opinion between Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief on th question of military administration. As the Secretary of State did not support his views, Lord Curzon resigned in 1905.

Estimate of Lord Curzon

Achievements of Curzon

Lord Curzon was one of the greatest Governors-General of Indo-Pakistan and was the greatest that England had sent since Lord Dalhousie. He left his impression on every department of administration. He introduced many useful reforms. P.E. Roberts says, "Lord Curzon's name will stand amongst the foremost of those that make the illustrious role of the Governors-General of India." But Lord Curzon's attitude and some of his acts were anti-Indian and caused great discontent. He believed that the Indians were unfit for jobs of responsibility and the English had the inherent right to rule over them. It irritated the Indians. The Universities Act of 1904 which officialised universities and the partition of Bengal made him unpopular with the Indians. The Calcutta Corporation Act practically put an end to the system of self-government in Calcutta. Thus Lord Curzon by his anti-Indian measures made the people turn against him and the British. He was great as an administrator, but failed as a statesman.

CHAPTER X

LORD MINTO II TO LORD MOUNTBATTEN

Lord Minto II (1905-10)

Lord Curzon was succeeded by Lord Minto II, the great grandson of Minto I. The new Viceroy had a chequered career. He had fought in the Second Afghan War, and had been the Governor-General of Canada from 1898 to to 1904. He held the office of the Viceroy and Governor-General of Indo-Pakistan from 1905 to 1910.

Political unrest

On becoming the Governor-General of Indo-Pakistan Lord Minto II found himself in an awkward position. The Congress had developed into a political organisation and the Muslims had founded the Muslim League (1906). The partition of Bengal had created a grave situation in Indo-Pakistan. The British goods were boycotted and many attacks were made on policemen, magistrates and Government officials. The Government passed repressive laws but the wave of violence continued.

Anglo-Russian Convention

One of the most important events of the time of Lord Minto II was he Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. By this Convention the outstanding differences of these two countries were settled. Russia agreed not to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan and Tibet. Persia was divided into spheres of influence between England and Russia. The rivalry between Russia and England came to an end and the Indian Government heaved a sigh of relief.

Opium trade with China

The Chinese Government had always objected to the export of opium from Indo-Pakistan to China. But the Indian Government did not stop it as the opium trade was a very profitable one. However, on further representations the Indian Government agreed in 1907 to stop the export of opium by stages.

In order to pacify the political movement in the country, Lord Minto recommended reforms to the British Parliament in the field of politics. The

British Parliament, therefore, passed the Indian Councils Act of 1909. It is popularly known as the Morley-Minto Reforms. This Act increased the number of members in the Councils and they got enchanced powers. The system of Separate Election for the Muslims was introduced.

Morely-Minto Reforms (1909)

Lord Hardinge (1910-16)

After Lord Minto II, Lord Hardinge became the Governor-General of Indo-Pakistan in 1910. He had a good deal of diplomatic experience but Hardinge had no experience in the field of administration.

The most important event of Hardinge's time was the visit of His Majesty, George V to Indo-Pakistan and the holding of a *Darbar* at Delhi. At the *Darbar* two important announcements were made by His Majesty. The one was the transfer of capital from Calcutta to Delhi and the other was the cancellation of the partition of Bengal. The united Bengal was placed under a Governor. Assam was placed under a Chief Commissioner.

Delhi Darbar (1911)

A bomb was thrown at Lord Hardinge in Chandni Chowk on the occasion of his State entry to Delhi in 1912. He received injuries and one of his attendants was killed.

In 1914, the First World War broke out and England joined the war against Germany. The Indians helped the British Government in every way. The Indian troops fought in the battle fields of France, Begium, Egypt, Africa, Palestine, Mesopotemia and Mecedonia.

Outbreak of World War-I

Lord Chelmsford (1916-21)

Lord Hardinge was succeeded by Lord Chelmsford in 1916. The First World War was going on and the political agitation in the country for self-government was growing at that time.

The Indians had rendered great services to the British Government during the war. In recognition of their services, Lord Montague, the Secretary of State for India, made his famous declaration in the Parliament in August, 1917 in which he said that the policy of the British Government was of

increasing association of the Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of the self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Commonwealth.

To make this declaration a success, Lord Montague himself came to this country and after studying the political situation he in collaboration with Lord Chelmsford, submitted a report which formed the basis of the Government of India Act of 1919. The reforms introduced as a result of this Act were called the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. The Act of 1919 introduced dyarchy at the centre and added to the powers of Central legislature.

Government of India Act (1919)

In 1919, the Government passed the Rowlatt Act to take action against criminal conspiracies. This Act gave extraordinary powers to the Government to deal with the terrorists. But the people were not satisfied with the Act. It spread a wave of discontent throughout the country.

Rowlatt Act, 1919

Non-co-operation Movement under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi was started against the Rowlatt Act. Meetings were held all over the country and *hartals* were organised. The movement became violent and Martial Law was proclaimed in the Punjab. General Dyer fired without warning on the non-violent people who had assembed in a meeting at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar. Several hundred people were killed and many received injuries.

Non-co-operation Movement

The Muslims of Indo-Pakistan organised a movement known as *Khilafat* movement against the shabby treatment meted out to Turkey. The Turkish territory was greatly reduced after the conclusion of the First World War. This was in violation of the promises made by the British Government to the Indian Muslims during the war that Turkey would be well-treated afterwards. The Khilafat Movement stood for the territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire, the retention of Khilafat at Constantinople and the creation of a Muslim State in Palestine. Moulana Mohammad Ali and Moulana

The Khilafat Movement

Shawkat Ali were the leaders of the Khilafat Movement. Mr. Gandhi supported the demand of the Muslims and tried to unite the Hindus and Muslims to fight against the British Government.

The Third Afghan War, 1919

The Afghans did not like pro-British policy of Amir Habibullah and so they murdered him in 1919. His son Amanullah became the ruler of Afghanistan after the assassination of his father. The new Amir was a patriotic youngman. He wanted to be free from the British influence. In those days there were disturbances in the Punjab due to Rowlatt Act. The Amir thought that it was a fit moment to invade Indo-Pakistan, when there was agitation in the country. The Afghans were defeated and the Treaty of Rawalpindi was made on the 8th of August, 1919. By the Treaty of Rawalpindi, Afghanistan became free in matters of foreign policy. The Government of India was not to pay subsidy to the Afghan ruler.

Lord Reading (1921-26)

Lord Reading was the next Viceroy who came to Indo-Pakistan at a time when the Non-co-operation Movement was very active in the country. Even at some places people became violent and attacked a police station and murdered the policemen. In view of the unpleasant incident at Chawri Caura, Mr. Gandhi suspended the movement. Lord Reading took the advantage and arrested Mr. Gandhi and other leaders of Indo-Pakistan.

Imprisonment of Gandhiji

The Moplas, a Muslim community of Malabar rose in revolt in 1921 for the independence of their homeland. Their revolt was ruthlessly crushed by the Government.

Mopla rebellion, 1921

Lord Reading became very unpoplular for his repressive measures. He had, however, some salutary measures to his credit. He repealed the Rowlatt Act and the duties on textiles manufactured in Indian Mills were abolished. A few seats were reserved for the Indians in the Military College at Sandhurst in England and steps were taken to create a Royal Indian Navy.

Some measures of Lord Reading

Lord Irwin (1926-31)

Lord Irwin came to Indo-Pakistan as Viceroy in 1926. During the term of his Viceroyalty political activity in the country was becoming very vigorous and was dominating the scene of administration. The British Government announced the appointment of the Simon Commission in 1927. The Commission came to Indo-Pakistan in 1929 but was boycotted by the Congress and some other political organisations as there was not a single Indian member in that Commission.

Simon Commission

The Congress at its Calcutta Session in December, 1928 passed a resolution asking the British Government to grant Dominion Status within a year. The Congress at its Lahore Session in December, 1929, under the Presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru passed a resolution for complete independence of undivided India. Mr. Gandhi led the second Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930. Thousands of people were thrown into prisons.

Civil Disobedience Movement

It was in this atmosphere that the British Government announced a Round Table Conference in London. The first Conference met in 1930 with the representatives of the Congress under Gandhiji. But nothing came out of it.

First Round Table Conference (1930)

However, a settlement was made with the Congress in 1931. It is popularly known as Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Gandhiji called off the Civil Disobedience Movement and political prisoners were released. Gandhiji agreed to attend the Second Round Table Conference.

Gandhi-Irwin Pact

Lord Willingdon (1931-36)

Lord Willingdon succeeded Lord Irwin as the Governor-General of Indo-Pakistan in 1931. He had been the Governor of Bombay and Madras from 1919 to 1924 before his appointment as the Viceroy of this country. He had also acted as the Governor-General of Canada. During the period of Lord Willingdon's Viceroyalty the Second Round Table Conference was held in London. Mr. Gandhi attended the Conference as the sole representative of the Congress but he had come back without achieve-

Second Round Table Conference

ing anything. He was put behind the bar on his return to Indo-Pakistan and this led to a serious political movement in the country. Strong measures were taken to suppress the movement. But the repression could not crush the spirit of the people.

Communal Award and Poona Pact (1932)

In August, 1932, the British Prime Minister, Ramsay Macdonald announced the famous Communal Award. It granted separate electorates to the depressed classes and Gandhiji observed fast unto death. Poona Pact was made by the representatives of caste Hindus and scheduled castes. It assigned some seats to scheduled castes out of general seats. It was accepted by the British Government.

The Third Round Table Conference was held in 1932. It was not attended by the representatives of the Congress. In 1933, the Government announced its proposals for the new Act. The Government of India Act was passed in 1935 and it gave provincial Autonomy to Indo-Pakistan.

During the Viceroyalty of Lord Willingdon severe earthquakes took place in Bihar and Quetta and these caused great loss of lives and properties.

Lord Linlithgow (1936-44)

Govt. of India Act (1935)

Lord Linlithgow had a brilliant academic and administrative career before he came to Indo-Pakistan as the Viceroy. He was specially sent to this country to soothe the political atmosphere in Indo-Pakistan and to put the Act of 1935 into operation, in the drafting of which he too had a hand. The Act of 1935 had given Provincial Autonomy to the Indian Provinces. The Act was enforced on 1st Aril, 1937 and the Congress Party formed governments in eight provinces after protracted negotiations with the Governor-General.

The World War II came in September, 1939 and the Congress demanded the right of self-determination for the Indians. On the refusal of the British Government the Congress ministries in the provinces resigned.

During this period there was a split in the Congres. Subhas Chandra Bose was elected President of the Congress in 1938 and 1939. He differed with

Gandhiji and many other Congress leaders regarding the attitude towards the British Government. He resigned from the Congress and formed the Forward Bloc to press more vehemently the national demand for freedom.

Split in the Congress

In 1940, Lord Linlithgow made his famous August offer to solve the constitutional tangle in Indo-Pakistan but it was rejected by the Congress.

August Ofiei

In March, 1942 Sir Stafford Cripps came to Indo-Pakistan with some proposals from the British Government to settle the Constitutional problems. His proposals were rejected. The Congress passed the Quit India Resolution in 1942 asking the British to leave Indo-Pakistan. Many Indians were arrested and they remained in prison throughout the World War II.

Cripps' proposals

Quit India Resolution

Lord Wavell (1944-47)

Lord Wavell was sent to Indo-Pakistan as the Viceroy to crush the Indian freedom movement. The World War II came to a successful conclusion and the new Viceroy called a conference of the leaders of the different political parties at Simla in June, 1945 to solve the constitutional problems. The conference failed. Meanwhile the political power in England changed from the Conservatives to the Labour.

End of the World War II

Simla Conference

The Labour Party came to power and Prime Minister Atlee made up his mind to make India a free country. A Cabinet Mission consisting of Lord Pathic Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A. V. Alexander was sent to Indo-Pakistan. This is known as the Cabinet Mission Plan. It provided for an Interim Government and laid down the procedure for the framing of a constitution for Indo-Pakistan and also of groups into which the provices were to be combined. The Muslim League accepted the plan but the Congress rejected it. Some changes in the plan were made which favoured the Congress to accept the plan. But this time the Muslim League rejected it.

Cabinet Mission Plan

In September, 1946 Pandit Jawharlal Nehru formed the Interim Government. The Constituent

Interim Government

Assembly met in December, 1946 at New Delhi. The Muslim League joined the Interim Government but boycotted the Constituent Assembly. The political situation of the country became very critical.

Lord Mountbatten

Division of the country into two dominions—India and Pakistan

Lord Wavell was replaced by Lord Mountbatten in March, 1947. The new Viceroy took a realistic view of the situation and put up new proposals known as the June 3rd Plan. It was accepted by all the parties. The Indian Independence Act was passed in 1947 to give effect to June 3rd Plan. The country was divided into two dominions—India and Pakistan and this division took place on the 15th August, 1947.

Lord Mountbatten was made the first Governor-General of India and he continued to occupy that position till June, 1948.

CHAPTER XI

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT
(1773-1947)

The Regulating Act, 1773

The Regulating Act was an episode in the history of British rule in Indo-Pakistan. According to Dr. V. A. Smith, "It may be regarded as the starting point of the modern constitutional history of India". There were several factors which led to the passing of the Regulating Act of 1773.

Circumstances leading to the passing of the Regulating Act

Firstly, the Company had been established to carry on trade with Indo-Pakistan and had acquired considerable territories in the sub-continent by 1773. The British Parliament now wanted to have a hand in controlling its affairs. Secondly, the condition of the people under the Company's rule had become very bad. Clive's system of Dual or Double Government proved a total failure. The servants of the Company became corrupted and they cared more for their own interests than for the interests of the Company. There was a severe famine in Bengal in 1769-70 and about one-third of the population perished. It shocked the conscience of many Englishmen and they felt the necessity of interference in Indian affairs. Thirdly, the servants of the Company made huge profits and on their return to England they lived like princes. It roused the jealousy of the people and the members of the Parliament. Lastly, the servants of the Company became rich but the financial condition of the Company had become very bad. The Company was at last forced to apply for loan to the Government of Lord North. The Parliament appointed a Secret Committee to investigate into the affairs of the Company and submit its report. The Committee submitted its report in May, 1773. It was then that the British Parliament passed two Acts. The first Act sanctioned a loan of £ 1,400,000 to the Company. The other Act was the Regulating Act of 1773 which came into force in 1774.

Main provisoins of the Regulating Act

(1) The Regulating Act gave the right to vote for the election of Directors of the Company to the share-holders holding shares worth £ 1,000 for twelve months preceding the date of election. (2) The Directors of the Company were formerly elected by the Court of Proprietors for one year. Now the Act laid down that the Directors were to be elected for four years and one-fourth of them were to retire every year. (3) The Act required the Directors to submit to the Treasury copies of all correspondences regarding the revenues of Indo-Pakistan. All despatches relating to the civil and military affairs were to be submitted to a Secretary of State. (4) The Governor of Bengal was made the Governor-General of Bengal. (5) A Council was created consisting of the Governor-General and four other members whose names were mentioned in the Act in the first instance. Warren Hastings was made the first Governor-General of Bengal and the other members of the Council were Francis, Clavering, Monson and Barwell. They were to hold office for five years and could be removed before the expiry of the term only by the King on the representation of the Court of Directors. The Governor-General was bound by the decision of the majority and had a casting vote in case of a tie. (6) The Governor-General of Bengal was given the power of superintending and controlling the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. If the Governors of these Presidencies did not carry out the orders of the Governor-General of Bengal-in-Council or did not perform their duties properly, they could be suspended by the Governor-General-in-Council. The Governors of Bombay and Madras, however, could act without consulting the Governor-General-in-Council in times of emergency. (7) The Act created a Supreme Court of Justice in Calcutta and this Court consisted of a Chief Justice and three puisne Judges. Sir Elijah Impey was its first Chief Justice. It had jurisdiction over all the British subjects in Indo-Pakistan. (8) The Governor-General-in-Council was given the power to make rules and regulations and these had to be registered in the newly created Supreme Court. (9) The Act provided high salaries for Governor-General, members of the Council and

Judges of the Supreme Court. The servants of the Company were not to receive presents nor to carry on private trade.

Criticism of the Regulating Act

The Regulating Act was meant to improve the administration of the Company but it had serious shortcomings. Dodwell calls it 'a medley of inconsistencies'. P. E. Roberts has also regarded the Act as "a half-measure and disastrously vague in many points." Some of the defects of the Act were as follows :

Defects of the Regulating Act

(1) The Act did not clearly define the relations of the Supreme Court with the Governor-General-in-Council. The Supreme Court took the view that the Governor-General and the members of his Council were subject to its jurisdiction. The latter took the view that the Supreme Court had no jurisdiction over them.

Complications produced by the Act

(2) The relations between the Supreme Court and the Governor-General-in-Council were never happy. The Act did not define the relations of the Supreme Court with the Company's Courts. The Supreme Court thought that the Company's Courts were subordinate to them but the latter denied this view. As a result, there were frequent tussels between the two judicial authorities. (3) The Supreme Court claimed jurisdiction over the zamindars and other revenue collectors but the Governor-General-in-Council denied it. It led to open conflict in Cassijurah case. (4) The Act did not specify as to which law was to be administered by the Supreme Court. The Judges were learned in English law and stepped in English tradition. Neither they knew the Indian system of law, customs and traditions nor did they make any effort to acquire the knowledge of that system. The result was that they applied the English law in which the Indians of the day were mostly ignorant. This had very bad results on the inhabitants. (5) The Act made the position of the Governor-General very awkward. It placed him at the mercy of his councillors. Three out of four councillors or members were against him

from the very beginning. Warren Hastings had generally to carry out the wishes of a hostile majority. (6) The Act raised the qualifications of voters from £500 to £1000. The ultimate control of the affairs of the Company passed into the hands of rich persons. The raising of voting qualifications thus converted the Court of Directors into a sort of oligarchy. (7) The Governor-General of Bengal-in-Council was given control over the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, and yet an exception was made to it. The Governors of Bombay and Madras could act without consulting the Governor-General-in-Council in times of emergency. This created complications with the Marathas when the Bombay Government made the Treaty of Surat with Raghaba without consulting the Governor-General-in-Council, while the hostile majority in the Council forced the Governor-General to conclude the Treaty of Purandhar with the party of infant Peshawa Madhav Rao Narayan led by Nana Franavis.

Merits of the Act

Thus the Regulating Act was highly defective. The authors of Montague-Chelmsford Report rightly remarked, "The regulating Act created a Governor-General who was powerless before his own Council and an Executive that was powerless before a Supreme Court, itself immune from all responsibility for peace and welfare of the country—a system that made workable by the genius and fortitude of one great man."

The Regulating Act, however, marked the beginning of a written constitution for British India and asserted the right of Parliament to interfere in Indian affairs and to legislate for this country. It was also the first attempt to apply regular law to the Indians.

The Amending Act of 1781

It has been discussed before that the Regulating Act suffered from certain glaring defects and had resulted in grave injustice. In order to remove these defects the Amending Act of 1781 was passed.

The new Act provided that the Governor-General and the members of his Council were not

to be subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court for all acts done in their public capacity. The employees of the Company's Court were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court for acts done by them in their official capacity. Matters concerning revenue collection were declared outside the purview of the Supreme Court. The revenue collectors and the judicial officers were not to be subject to the authority of the Supreme Court for their official works. The Supreme Court was to have jurisdiction over all persons residing in Calcutta. It was to apply personal law of the defendant. The Governor-General was to enjoy the power to make rules and regulations for the Provincial Courts and Councils and it was no longer necessary to get them registered in the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court was to take into consideration the religious and social customs of the people in enforcing its decrees. Appeals against the decision of the Company's Provincial Court were not to be heard by the Supreme Court but to be heard by the Govenor-General-in-Council. Appeals could be taken to King-in-Council, if the amount was 5,000 rupees or more.

Removal of defects of the Regulating Act

The Charter Act of 1793 authorised the Governor-General to override his Council on his personal responsibility.

Pitt's India Act of 1784

The Regulating Act of 1773 did not give a satisfactory solution of setting the affairs of the Company in order. It did not provide adequate control to the British Government over the Company's afairs in England and in Indo-Pakistan. The control of the Governor-General over the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras was inadequate. Wars were declared and peace was made with the Indian States without reference to the Home Government. It was further felt that the remedy lay in increasing the control of the British Government over the Company's possessions in the sub-continent. The Amending Act of 1781 did not remove all the defects of the Regulating Act. So the British Parliament seriously gave its attention to providing relief to,

Circumstances leading to the passing of Pitt's India Act

and reforming, the Company. The first move for reforms made by Dunda ended in failure. The Indian Bill of 1782 introduced by Fox was passed by the House of Commons but was rejected by the Lords due to the intervention of King George III. Pitt the Younger succeeded Fox and introduced a new bill which was passed in 1784. It came to be called Pitt's India Act.

Dunda's Bill

The Act made the following changes in the Constitution of the Company in England and in Indo-Pakistan :

(1) The Act set up in England a Board of Control consisting of a Secretary of State, the Chancellor of Exchequer and four other Privy Councillors. They were called "the Commissioners for the Affairs of India." They were to be appointed by the King and were to hold office during his pleasure. (2) The Board of Control was given comprehensive powers of supervision and control over the Indian administration. All the despatches from Indo-Pakistan were to be placed before the Board of Control by the Court of Directors. It could modify the instructions to be sent to Indo-Pakistan by the Court of Directors. (3) The Act set up a Committee of Secrecy consisting of three persons chosen by the Directors from among themselves for the transmission of secret instructions to their servants in Indo-Pakistan. These instructions were not to be disclosed to other Directors. This weakened the general body of Directors, for the Board of Control could in agreement with the Committee of Secrecy safely ignore it. However, the Court of Directors retained the right of making appointments to most of the officers in Indo-Pakistan. The Crown could recall any one of them. (4) The Court of Proprietors was deprived of the right of overriding the decisions of the Court of Directors. The reason was that the Court of Directors was in many respects under the Board of Control and could not be expected to have another master in the Court of Proprietors. (5) The Secretary of State was the Chairman of the Board of Control. The Chancellor of Exchequer was to act as Chairman in his absence. If both were absent,

Provisions of Pitt's India Act

Changes in England

the senior most Commissioner was to preside at its meetings. (6) The expenses of the Board of Control were to be met out of Indian revenues, provided the charge did not exceed £16,000 a year.

Changes in Indo-Pakistan

The Act introduced important changes in the constitution of the Government in Indo-Pakistan: (1) The number of members of the Governor-General's Council was reduced from four to three and the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in Indo-Pakistan was to be one among them. (2) The Governor-General was to be appointed by the Court of Directors with the approval of the Crown. The Act provided that only covenanted servants of the Company were to be appointed members of the Governor-General's Council, because the experiment of sending men from England had proved a failure. The approval of the Crown was not required for their appointment. (3) The Governor-General-in-Council was empowered to superintend, control and direct the Presidency Governments. If the Governments of Bombay and Madras did not carry out the orders of the Governor-General-in-Council, these could be suspended by the latter. It increased Central control and made it possible to have a uniform policy. (4) The Act laid down the policy of non-intervention. "To pursue scheme of conquest and extension of dominion in India" were measures repugnant to British honour and policy. The Governor-General was required to take the permission of the Directors or the Committee of Secrecy before making any declaration of war. He could not be a party to any war alliance without their approval.

Though there were certain defects in the Pitt's India Act, it was an improvement upon the Regulating Act of 1773 in many ways. Firstly, the Regulating Act consisted of Governor-General and four other members. The Governor-General had a casting vote in case of a tie. Three out of four members were always hostile to him and overruled him on almost every matter. The Pitt's India Act reduced the number of members from four to three including the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in Indo-Pakistan. The Governor-

General still had a casting vote. He was now in a position to have his way with the support of one member only. Thus the Act strengthened the hand of the Governor-General. Secondly, according to the Regulation Act, three out of four members were without experience of Indian administration and as such they had continuously opposed Warren Hastings. But in the case of Pitt's India Act, only the covenanted servants of the Company were to be appointed members of the Councils, because they were familiar with Indian affairs. Thirdly, the Regulating Act had established control of the Govnernor-General of Bengal over the Governors of Bombay and Madras with an exception that they could act without consulting the Governor-General in case of emergency. This had created difficulties when Bombay Government without consulting the Governor-General had made the Treatay of Surat with Raghoba, while the hostile majority in the Council forced the Governor-General to conclude the Treaty of Purandhar with the party of Nana Farnavis. But according to Pitt's India Act, the Governor-General was given full power of supervision, direction and control. The Presidences were not to declare war, make peace and conclude treaty without the consultation of the Governor-General-in-Council. Thus Pitt's India Act tightened the control of the Governor-General over the Presidencies. Lastly, Pitt's India Act tightened the control of Home Government over Indian administration. The Governor-General-in-Council could not declare war or make peace without the permission of the Court of Directors.

Pitt's India Act was an improvement on the Regulating Act

Charter Act of 1786

On the departure of Warren Hastings Sir John Macpherson officiated as Governor-General for some months. It was then decided to send Lord Cornwallis. The British Parliament passed the Act of 1786. The Act of 1786 authorised Lord Cornwallis to override his Council on his own responsibility. It also made him the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian forces. This Act gave these privileges specially to Lord Cornwallis.

Charter Act of 1793

The East India Company was granted a monopoly of eastern trade for 20 years and it was to expire in 1793. Hence it was necessary to renew the Charter. There were two factors favourable to the renewal of the Charter. Firstly, the Company had improved its position since 1773. Secondly, Englang was fighting against Revolutionary France and the attention was pinned upon the struggle. So there was not much opposition to the renewal of the Charter.

Circumstances favourable to the renewal

The Charter contained very few new provisions. Most of the provisions were repetition of clauses of the previous Acts. The most important provisions of this Act were as follows :

(1) The Company was granted monopoly of trade with the East for 20 years (2) The payment of the members of the Board of Control and their staff was to be made out of Indian revenue. This system continued up to 1919. (3) The Commander-in-Chief ceased to be a member of the Council unless so appointed by the Director. (4) The Governor-General and the Governors could override the majority decision of their Councils. (5) The control of the Governor-General over the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay was emphasised. When the Governor-General went to the Presidency of Bombay and Madras, he was to preside over the meeting of the Presidency Councils. (6) The Governor-General was authorised to appoint a Vice-President of his Council to officiate during his absence. (7) No leave of absence from India was to be granted to the Governor-General or Governors or Commander-in-Chief during his tenure of service. (8) The admiralty jurisdiction of the Calcutta Supreme Court was to extend to high seas. (9) The Governor-General-in-Council was empowered to appoint justices of peace in any Presidency. (10) The policy of non-intervention was emphasised once more. (11) The Act reduced the strength of the Board of Control from 6 to 5. The junior members who were now to be three only, were not required to be members of Privy Council. (12) The Act laid down

Provisions of the Charter

that a part of the profits of the Company was to be utilised to clear the debt of the Company and a part of it was to be used in increasing the dividend from 8 per cent. to 18 per cent.

Charter Act of 1813

When the Charter Act of 1793 came up before the Parliament for renewal in 1813, there was a good deal of controversy. Firstly, the people demanded the abolition of the trade monopoly of the Company. This was partly due to the prevalence of Adam Smith's theory of free trade. Secondly, England was at war with Napolean and the Continental System of the latter had adversely affected England's trade. As a result of this system, most of the European markets were close to English merchants. The trading classes of England now clamoured that the Company's monopoly of trade with India should come to an end and they should be allowed to trade with India. Thirdly, the Englishmen wanted that they should be free to go to India but the Company took the view that it would affect its relation with the natives, because the new comer would not be familiar with Indian conditions. Lastly, the missionaries wanted that the Company should take active steps for the propagation of Christianity. The Company was prepared to appoint a Bishop but was not prepared to go further on the ground that it would cause alarm among the natives and would endanger the stability of the British dominion in the sub-continent.

Circums tances leading to the passing of the Act

The ceaseless agitation of the people for the abolition of Company's monopoly called for immediate parliamentary action and it was under these circumstances that the Charter Act of 1813 was passed.

Main provisions of the Act

(1) The Charter of the East India Company was renewed for 20 years. (2) Trade with India, excepting in tea, was thrown open to all the British subjects. The monopoly of trade with China was, however, retained by the Company. (3) The British merchants, missionaries and others could come to India only with licence. The persons who tried

to go to India without a licence were liable to punishment. (4) The Company was to maintain its territorial and commercial accounts separately. (5) The Company was to appoint a bishop at Calcutta with three archdeacons under him. (6) The Act provided for the education of the people of India. A sum of one lakh a year was to be set apart for the "revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." (7) The writers of the Company should be trained persons from Haileybury. (8) The Company laid down certain rules for the realisation of the Indian revenues. The maintenance of forces was to be the first, the payment of interest the second, and the maintenance of civil and commercial establishments the third charge on the revenues of the Company. (9) The powers of superintendence and direction of the Board of Control were clearly defined and enlarged. (10) The Act laid down that not more than 29 thousand troops were to be maintained in India out of the revenues of the Company. The Company was, however, authorised to make rules and regulations for the Indian troops and also to hold Court-martial to punish the offenders.

Importance of the Act of 1813

The Act of 1813 was significant for several reasons. Firstly, the subjects of His Majesty could trade with India, except in tea. It gave a great impetus to British trade with India. It rose from thirteen million sterling in 1813 to one hundred million sterling in 1860. Secondly, the Act marked the victory of the public opinion and defeat of the defenders of the Company's privileges. The policy of free trade heralded the ruin of Indian textile industry. The country-made coarse cloth could not compete with the fine mill-made cloth of Lancashire. Free trade proved a boon for British trade. Thirdly, provision for spending one lakh of rupees a year on the promotion of Western education in India became a blessing in disguise for the British Government. It not only revealed the desire of the British Government to work for the uplift of the Indians

by making arrangement for their education but also it enabled the British rulers to get cheap clerks for their works. The Indians educated in English schools began to hate their own culture and admire everything that came from the west. Lastly, a good number of missionaries began to come to India. They started hospitals and missionary schools. Their activities in due course proved detrimental to the interest of this country, because many of the ignorant Indians embraced Christianity.

Charter Act of 1833

Circumstances leading to the passing of the Act

The critics of the Company opposed the renewal of the Charter on the ground that the Government of a big country like India should not be in the hands of a trading Company. Macaulay on behalf of the Company pleaded for the renewal of the Charter on two grounds. Firstly, the Company and not the English Government, possessed the knowledge of Indian affairs. Secondly, the patronage of India would be used by the party in power in England. The party would use India in its interest and the interest of this country would be ignored. However, the Act was passed after a good deal of controversy.

Main provisions of the Act

(1) The Company was deprived of its commercial privileges. The debts of the Company were taken over as a charge on the revenues of India. A dividend of 10½ per cent. was to be paid to the shareholders from revenues of India for 40 years. The Company's monopoly of trade with China came to end. (2) The territory and the revenues of India were granted to the Company for 20 years. (3) The designation of the Governor-General of Bengal was changed to Governor-General of India. The Governor-General was given greater control over the Presidency of Bombay and Madras. (4) The number of the members of the Councils of the Governors of Bombay and Madras was reduced from three to two. (5) The Act increased the legislative powers of the Central Government. Prior to this enactment provincial governments enjoyed a large measure of freedom in matters of making laws for their territories. There was no uniformity of legislation. The Act of 1833 empowered the Gov-

ernor-General to make laws for the whole of India. The Governors-in-Council of Bombay and Madras lost all legislative powers. The utmost they could do was to draw up drafts for laws and send them to the Governor-General-in-Council together with the reasons for proposing them. But though the Governor-General could make laws for the whole of the country, he would not pass any laws which were against customary law of England. (6) The laws were not codified so far. The Act of 1833 provided for the codification of laws in India. A Law Commission was appointed under Macaulay. It submitted many reports, the most important of which was Penal Code. It remained in draft form for a long time. This was enacted into law in 1860. (7) A Law Member was added to the Council of the Governor-General. He was to do no executive work. His duty was to advise the Governor-General in making the laws of the country. The first law member was Lord Macaulay. (8) Europeans were allowed to come to India without licence and they could get lands and settle down permanently in India. (9) There were to be bishops at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The bishop of Calcutta became the metropolitan bishop of India. (10) The Act of 1833 threw open Government services to all irrespective of religion, place of birth, descent or colour. Fitness was henceforth to be the criterion of eligibility for any Government job.

Significance of the Act

The Act of 1833, as remarked by Lord Moreley, 'was the most important Act passed by the Parliament till 1909'. Firstly, the Act tightened the control of the Central Government over the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. It brought about a strong centralised government for the whole of British India in place of too much of local autonomy. Secondly, the Governor-General-in-Council was to make laws for the whole of India and it ensured uniformity of laws in the country. Thirdly, State services were thrown open to all irrespective of caste, creed and colour. Fourthly, the codification of laws became a blessing for the people of India.

The Act of 1833 was not without demerits. It introduced over-centralisation. The Presidency

Demerits of the Act

Government lost all legislative powers. The services were thrown open to the Indians but the qualifications were not within their reach.

Charter Act of 1853

Circumstances leading to the passing of the Act

The Act of 1853 was the last in a series of the Charter Acts. There were several factors that led to the passing of the Act. Firstly, the Indians felt that they were not given good jobs in spite of the Charter Act of 1833 which threw open jobs to them. Secondly, the spread of Western education in India after 1833 widened the mental horizon of the Indians. They became familiar with the various institutions of the West and wanted to have the same in India also. Thirdly, the Presidencies wanted some autonomy.

Main provisions of the Act

(1) The Company was to govern its territories in India on behalf of His Majesty until the Parliament should direct otherwise. Thus the Parliament reserved its rights to relieve the Company of its political functions at any time it liked. (2) The number of Directors was reduced from 24 to 18, and 6 of them were to be nominated by the Crown. The quorum for the meeting of the Court of Directors was also reduced from 13 to 10. It made it possible for the nominees of the Crown to have majority in a thinly attended meeting of the Court of Directors. (3) The patronage of the Court of Directors was taken away. Posts were to be filled up by competitive examinations. Recruitment to the Superior Service of the Company through competitive examinations lessened the possibility of personal considerations governing the Directors in making appointments. (4) The Act made provision for the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor for Bengal. It was meant to relieve the Governor-General of the work of administration of Bengal. (5) Power was given to the Court of Directors to create a new province and to alter the boundaries of the provinces. (6) The Law Member was made a full-fledged member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. (7) The Act created a Legislative Council for India. It was to have 12 members. The Le-

gislative Council could discuss the policy of the Executive. (8) The Governor-General was empowered to veto any bill passed by the Legislative Council.

The Act of 1853 is of great significance. It gave indications of the fact that the Company's rule would soon come to an end. The Charter was not renewed for a definite period. The Company was to hold and govern its possessions in India as trust for His Majesty till Parliament should direct otherwise. The Act gave another kick to the dwindling power of the Directors. It reduced their number from 24 to 18, 6 of whom were to be nominated by the Crown. The quorum was also reduced from 13 to 10 and it could enable the Directors nominated by the Crown to have a majority in a meeting of the Court of Directors.

Significance of the Act

(1) The Act marked the beginning of a Parliamentary structure of Government for India. The Legislative Council was clearly distinguished from the Executive Council. Discussion in the Legislative Council became oral, bills were referred to Select Committee instead of a single member and legislative business was conducted in public. (2) The Act deprived the Directors of their power to make nomination for Indian Services. Heneceforth the candidates were to be selected through competitive examinations, open to all British subjects. (3) The Act also relieved the Governor-General of much of his burden. With the appointment of a separate Lt.-Governor for Bengal, the Governor-General could devote more time to problems of all-India nature. The appointment of a Lt.-Governor increased the administrative efficiency in Bengal. (4) The Act made provision for better legislation by including a nominee of each of the Presidencies and Provinces in the Legislative Council.

Merits of the Act

There was practically no autonomy for the Presidencies and the Provinces. The Legislative Council was created but it had no Indian members. According to Sir Syed Ahmed, this system depriv-

Demerits of the Act

ed the Indians of the means of registering protest against any unpopular measures. This Act had another defect. The competitive examinations were held in England and not in India. Hence it was not possible for a large number of Indians to sit for the competitive examinations.

Government of India Act, 1858

Circums-tances leading to the passing of the Act

The dual system of Government introduced by the Pitt's India Act of 1784 was defective. There were frequent bickerings between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. A strong feeling had developed among the British people and British Parliament that the Indian territory should not be in the hands of a trading Company whose main business was profit. The Queen herself was of the same opinion. The revolt of 1857 totally discredited the rule of the Company and demanded its abolition. The Company protested against this but in spite of its opposition, the Act of 1858 was passed by the British Parliament.

Main provisions of the Act

(1) The most important feature of the Act was the transfer of the control of the Indian Government from the Company to the Crown. The Governor-General of India was to be called Viceroy and he, on behalf of the Queen, was to carry on the Government of India. The armed forces of the Company were also transferred to the Crown. (2) The Act of 1858 abolished the Board of Control and the Court of Directors and substituted for them a Secretary of State for India with a Council of 15 members to assist him. (3) The Secretary of State for India was to have the powers of superintendence, direction and control over Indian affairs. (4) The Indian Council was to consist of fifteen members and out of these, seven were to be elected by the Court of Directors. The remaining eight were to be nominated by the Crown. The members must have lived in India for ten years and must not have left the country more than ten years before the date of appointment. (5) The Secretary of State for India could override his Council by giving reasons in matters of services and appropriation of

Indian revenues in England. (6) The Secretary of State for India could send and receive messages from the Governor-General without disclosing these to his Council. (7) The Secretary of State for India was declared to be a corporate body which could sue and be sued in India as well as in England. (8) The assumption of the Government of India by the Crown was to be announced to the princes and the people of India by Queen's Proclamation. The Queen's Proclamation was read at a *Darbar* held at Allahabad by Lord Canning, the Viceroy of India.

Significance of the Act

The Government of India Act, 1858 has great significance in the history of modern India. According to G. N. Sinha, 'the Act closed one great period of Indian history and ushered in another great era—the era of direct rule of the Crown. It abolished the dual system of Government established by the Pitt's India Act. The control of the Secretary of State for India over Indian administration increased and it was more rigid than the control of the former Board of Control. The Policy of Lapse and Annexation was discarded and a new policy of subordinate union was adopted towards the Indian States.

The Act of 1858 had its dark side too. The control of the Secretary of State for India and his Council was bureaucratic in nature. Moreover, the expenses of the Secretary of State for India and his Council became a burden on Indian revenues. This defect was removed by the Reforms of 1919.

Indian Council's Act, 1861

The Indian Council's Act of 1861 was destined to be landmark in the constitutional history of India. It was the first Act which made the constitutional changes in India after the transference of territory from the Company to the Crown. There were several factors which led to the passing of the Indian Council's Act of 1861.

(1) There was dissatisfaction with the existing legislative arrangement. The Legislative Council of the Governor-General had to legislate for the whole

country. The legislative centralisation had been introduced by the Charter Act of 1833 but it had proved highly defective. It was not possible for the Central Government to know about the condition and needs of the Presidencies in detail. (2) The Government itself was feeling dissatisfied with the working of the Legislative Council, because it had not proved subservient. (3) The non-association of Indians with the work of the Government was one of the causes of the revolt of 1857. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, one of the British loyalists, pointed out in 1858 that the outbreaks of the preceding year would not have occured if the natives have been associated with the legislative work. Under the existing system it was not possible for the Government to know about the advisability of passing any law. (4) The Government wanted to have some Indians, after the revolt of 1857, in the legislative to know the views of the people in matters of making laws.

Circumstances leading to the passing of the Act

(1) The Executive Council of the Governor-General was enlarged by the addition of a fifth member. It was now to consist of Governor-General and four other members. (2) The Governor-General's Legislative Council was enlarged by the addition of not less than six and not more than twelve members, and half of these members were to be taken from non-officials. (3) The Legislative Councils were established for Madras and Bombay. (4) The Governor-General-in-Council was empowered to establish similar Councils for North-West Province and the Punjab. (5) The powers of the Legislative Councils were strictly limited to legislation. (6) Every Bill passed by the Governor-General's Legislative Council required his assent to become an Act. All measures passed by the Legislative of a Presidency or a Province required the assent of the Governor and the subsequent assent of the Governor-General. Any Act of Legislative Councils in India could be disallowed by Her Majesty. (7) The Act empowered the Governor-General, in case of emergency to issue ordinances for the peace and good government of British India.

Provisions of the Act

The Act of 1861 allowed the Indians for the first time to have a share in the Government of the

country. The inclusion of Indians in the Council was, no doubt, a forward step but it was done only to keep the Government informed of popular discontent before it took a serious turn. Mr. G. N. Sinha observes, "The Indian Council's Act, 1861, is important in the constitutional history of India for two reasons. Firstly, it enabled the Governor-General to associate the peoples of the land with the work of legislation, and secondly, by vesting legislative powers in the Governments of Bombay and Madras and by making provision for the institution of similar legislative councils in other provinces, it laid the foundations of the policy of legislative devolution which resulted in the grant of almost complete internal autonomy to the provinces in 1937".

Importance of the Act

The next important step in constitutional development was the Indian Council Act of 1892. It enlarged the Legislative Councils, both Central and Provincial, by increasing the number of additional members. In the Central Council the maximum number of members was raised to 16 and in the Provincial Councils to 20 in the major provinces and to 15 in the minor ones. At the same time the proportion of non-official members was increased. The members of the Councils were given the right to discuss the budget and to criticise it. It should be noted that both in the Supreme and in the Provincial Legislatures the official majority was still retained.

Indian Council Act of 1892

Minto-Morley Reforms, 1909

The Indian Councils Act of 1909, also called the Minto-Merley Reforms after the names of its authors, is an epoch in the history of Indo-Pakistan. There were several factors that led to the passing of the Government of India Act of 1909.

Firstly, the people of India were not satisfied with the reforms of 1892. The Imperial Legislative Council or the Provincial Legislative Councils had not been given enough power. So the Indians demanded a new set of reforms. Secondly, the administrative policy of Lord Curzon had alienated the

sympathy of the people. His autocratic attitude had caused resentment among the Indians. He believed that the Indians were unfit for governing and gave all good jobs to Englishmen. He was opposed to local self-government. His amendment of Calcutta Corporation Act had crushed the local self-government in case of Calcutta. The Indian Universities Act of 1904 by changing the composition of the Senates and Syndicates officialised universities in the country. The partition of Bengal in 1905 had caused great indignation throughout the country. Thirdly, the prices were rising and the middle class people were hard hit. This had caused still more discontent in the country. Fourthly, the Indians were ill-treated in Ceylon, Malaya and South Africa and it was felt that the Government was not taking proper steps to secure proper treatment for the Indians abroad. Fifthly, the great victory of Japan over Russia in 1905 had created great hope in the minds of the Indians that the East was rising. It was felt that even Asia could hope for political resurrection. It was also felt that England was declining. This encouraged the Indians who were now thinking of securing more rights for themselves. Sixthly, the All-India Muslim League was founded in 1906 and a delegate of leading Muslims under H.H. Agha Khan waited on the Governor-General of India and requested that separate electorates should be granted to the Muslims in the coming reforms. Lord Minto agreed to look into their demands with favourable consideration. Lastly, some of the dissatisfied Indians turned to the cult of bomb and revolver. They advocated use of force to extort concessions from the Government. The Government adopted repressive measures but the political unrest continued.

Circumstances leading to the passing of the Govt. of India Act of 1909

Separate electorates demanded by the Muslim League

However, in view of the growing unrest and discontent among the Indians Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India and Lord Minto, Governor-General of India were convinced of the necessity of reforms in favour of the Indians. They recommended certain constitutional changes and on the basis of their report the Indian Councils Act of 1909 was passed by the British Parliament.

Features of Minto-Morley Reforms

The Indian Councils Act of 1909 (Minto-Morley Reforms) is very important in the constitutional history of India. It introduced some important changes. The following were the most important changes or features of the Indian Councils Act of 1909.

Expansion of the Imperial Legislative Council

The Act of 1909 enlarged the size of the Legislative Councils. The number of additional members of the Governor-General's Councils was raised to sixty and of the Bengal, Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa Councils to fifty, and of the Punjab, Burma and Assam Councils to thirty. The Act laid down that the members of the Council were to consist of elected and nominated persons. Out of the members of the Governor-General's Council 37 were to be officials and 31 non-officials Out of 37 official members, 28 were to be nominated by the Governor-General and the rest were to be *ex-officio*. These *ex-officio* members were to be the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, the Governor of the Province where the meeting took place (extraordinary members), and 6 ordinary members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Out of the 31 non-official members, 27 were to be elected and 5 nominated officials. Of the 27 elected members of the Legislative Council, 13 were to be elected by the General Electorates, 6 by the Landlords, 6 by the Muslims from their separate constituencies and 2 by the Chamber of Commerce. The official majority was retained at the Centre.

Expansion of Provincial Legislative Councils

The size of the Provincial Legislative Councils was enlarged. The maximum number of members was fixed at 50 in case of Madras, Bengal, U. P., Bombay, Bihar and Assam, while it was fixed at 30 in case of Punjab, Burma and Assam.

The functions of the Legislative Councils were increased. Elaborate rules were made for the discussion of the budget in the Imperial Legislative Council and in the Provincial Legislative Councils. The members could move resolutions on the budget and on any other matters of general interest within

the competence of the legislative body. They could also divide the Council on any issue. The resolutions took the form of recommendations, which did not have any binding effect on the Government. The Government could deal with them as it liked. The members were given the right to ask questions and supplementary questions but the members in charge of the department concerned could refuse to answer the supplementary questions off-hand. He could ask some time for the same.

Enlargement of functions

The Act of 1909 raised the number of members of the Executive Council in Bombay, Bengal and Madras from two to four. It also empowered the Government to constitute an Executive Council for Lt.-Governors' provinces.

Increase in the number of members

The franchise was neither wide nor uniform. It was highly restricted and discriminatory. The property qualifications were very high and differed from place to place.

Restricted franchise

The Act introduced the system of communal and class representation. It was for the first time that the Muslim demand for 'separate electorates' was accepted. Such concession was not made to other minority communities.

System of communal and class electorates

The Indians were appointed to the Executive Councils. Mr. S. P. Sinha was the first Indian to join the Governor-General's Executive Council as the law member. But the Act did not introduce responsible Government as no high offices were given to the Indians.

Appointment of Indians to Executive Councils

The Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 marked an important step in the introduction of Representative Government. But it could not satisfy the political aspirations of Indo-Pakistanis and even the moderates, who welcomed the reforms at first, were soon disillusioned. The reforms have been criticised on the following grounds :

Criticism of the Act

(1) The people of India demanded responsible government but it was denied to them by the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. Only minor changes were made in the powers of the Legislative Councils. The reforms introduced only change of degree and

No responsible government

not of kind. The power essentially remained in the hands of the Government. (2) The structure of the Parliamentary form of Government was introduced but its essence, the responsibility of the Executive to Legislature, was absent. (3) The Act gave undue importance to vested interests, like landlords and chambers of commerce by giving them special representation. (4) The system of election was introduced, but the franchise was restricted and discriminatory. The number of voters was very small. They could be easily purchased. (5) The indirect methods of election were undemocratic. They prevented the growth of the bonds of connection that exist in democracies between the elected and the electors. (6) The Act did not enfranchise woman. They were not given any political status. (7) There was official majority at the Centre and non-official majority in the province. But the non-official majority did not mean that the power had come into the hands of the representatives of the people. The elected members were still in minority. They could be outvoted by the official and nominated non-official members. (8) Racial discrimination continued as usual. The Indians were prevented from holding high posts, because they were Indians and a subject people.

No responsibility of the executive

Special representation

Indirect methods of election

Elected majority not created

Racial discrimination

Thus we find that the Act of 1909 was highly defective and failed to satisfy the Indians. It led to the demand for further reforms. This demand gathered momentum with the passing of time.

The Government of India Act, 1919

The Government of India Act of 1919 was passed after the World War I. The following circumstances led to the passing of the Act :

The reforms introduced by the Act of 1909 failed to satisfy the people of India. These did not give enough powers to the Indians. The structure of Parliamentary form of Government was introduced but the Executive was not made responsible to the Legislature. Official majority was retained in case of the Imperial Legislative Council and non-official majorities were introduced in case of the Provincial

Disappointment of the reforms of 1909

Legislative Councils. It meant that the power was not in the hands of the representatives of the people.

Dissatisfaction of the Muslims over the policy of the Government

The Muslims were at first friendly to the Government, because separate electorates had been granted to them. They also began to feel dissatisfied after a short time. The annulment of the partition of Bengal at the time of Delhi *Darbar* came as a shock to them and they began to lose faith in the British Government. They interpreted the action of the Government as a concession to the Hindus who had agitated the Government. Besides, Britain did not help Turkey against Italy during the Turco-Italian War and the Indian Muslims resented this policy of the British Government of leaving Turkey alone. All these factors made the Indian Muslims feel dissatisfied with the British Government.

Impact of the First World War

The World War I started in 1914. The Indians, in spite of their grievances, helped the British with men and money during this War. About one million Indians went overseas to fight for the British. They fought in France, Belgium, East Africa and Mesopotemia and gave a proof of their gallantry and loyalty. In return for their services the Indian expected self-government.

Home Rule Movement

The war prolonged and the Indians felt that the British Government was not making any promise of granting self-government to the Indians. Mrs. Annie Besant started the Home Rule Movement. She declared that self-government was the birth-right of the Indians. A large number of Indians sympathised with the Movement. The Congress President of the Bombay Session, Mr. S. P. Sinha, popularly known as Lord Sinha, advised the British Government to make a declaration of their goal in India with a view to pacifying the Indian youths, who were inspired with the ideas of nationality and self-government.

The British Government realised that something should be done for the Indians. Lord Montague, Secretary of State for India, made a declaration in the British Parliament on August 20, 1917. He declared, "The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Governmet of India are in com-

plete accord, is the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-government institution with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire". It was further stated that His Majesty's Government and the Government of India would be the judges of the time and measure of each advance. The declaration stated in clear terms that the goal of the British Government was to grant self-government to India.

August Declaration

Lord Montague visited India and in consultation with the Governor-General, Lord Chelmsford, drafted a scheme of reforms. It was submitted to the British Parliament and on the basis of this report the British Parliament passed an Act in 1919 which is popularly known as the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms.

Features of the Government of India Act, 1919

The Government of India Act, 1919 was based to a great extent on the Montague-Chelmsford Report. The following were the most important features of the Act of 1919.

(1) The Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919 contained a clear list of the objects of the Act. These were the same as contained in the Declaration of August 20, 1917. India was to remain an integral part of the British Empire and responsible government was to be given by stages. The British Government was to be the judge of the measure of each province.

Embodiment of aims in the preamble

(2) The Act of 1919 aimed at introducing partially responsible government in the provinces. This necessitated the division of subjects. The subjects were divided into two—Central and Provincial. Defence, Foreign and Political Relations, Customs, Posts and Telegraphs, Currency, Communications, etc., were the Central subjects. The list of the Provincial subjects included Local Self-Government, Public Health, Sanitation, Education, Public Works Irrigation, Agriculture, etc.

Change in the position of Secretary of State for India and the Indian Council

(3) The Act brought about some reduction in the powers of the Secretary of State for India. Some of his powers were transferred to the Governor-General-in-Council. The number of subjects, for which reference had to be made to him for legislation, was reduced. The number of Provincial subjects was also reduced. The composition of Indian Council also underwent some change. The salary of the Secretary of State for India and the members of his Council was henceforth to be a charge on the British Exchequer. The number of members of Indian Council was reduced. It was to be composed of not less than 8 and not more than 12 members. At least half of these members were to be persons who had put in a minimum of 10 years' service in India. Their term was reduced from seven to five years but their salary was raised from £ 1,000 to £ 1,200 a year.

Creation of the office of High Commissioner for India

(4) The Act created the office of High Commission for India for the first time. The work of making purchases of stores and machinery in England for the Indian Government was now transferred from the Secretary of State-in-Council to the High Commissioner for India. He was also to look after the welfare of the Indian students in England. The High Commissioner for India was directly under the Governor-General-in-Council. His term of office was normally six years and he was to be paid out of Indian revenues.

Bicamerial legislature at the Centre

(5) The Act set up a bicameral system of Legislature at the Centre. The two Houses were known as Legislative Assembly and Council of State. The Council of State was the Upper Chamber. It consisted of 60 members, of which 33 were elected and 27 nominated. It's life was five years but could be extended by the Governor-General-in-Council. The Legislative Assembly was the Lower House consisting of 145 members. Out of these 145 members, 41 were nominated and 104 were elected. Its life was three years but could be extended by the Governor-General-in-Council. The Governor-General had the power to summon, prorogue and dissolve the Chambers. He could also address the members of the two Houses.

The Central Legislature could make laws for the whole of British India but there were some restrictions of its powers. No Bill could be introduced in the Legislature without the previous sanction of the Governor-General on matters relating to defence, foreign relations, ecclesiastical affairs and the public debt.

Irresponsible Executive at the Centre

(6) It is evident from the checks on the powers of the Central Legislature mentioned above that the Central Executive could overrule it almost on every point. The members of the Executive were not chosen out of the Legislature and were not responsible to it. The Central Legislature was helpless before the Central Executive. Thus there was irresponsible Executive at the Centre.

Changed position of Provincial Legislature

(7) The Provincial Legislative Councils had non-official majorities under the Morley-Minto Reforms. The Act of 1919 introduced elected majorities in all the provinces. About 70 per cent of their members were now elected.

Defective system of election

(8) The electoral system was defective. The property qualifications were high and were not uniform throughout the country. The system of communal electorates was not only retained for the Muslims, it was also extended to the Sikhs.

Dyarchy in the provinces

(9) The system of Dyarchy was introduced in the provinces. The provincial subjects were divided into Reserved and Transferred ones.

Dyarchy and its working

Meaning of Dyarchy

The word 'dyarchy' is a compound of 'Di' which means 'two' and 'Archia' meaning 'rule'. The word means rule by two authorities or double Government. It was for the first time under the British rule that the Indian provinces under the Act of 1919 were considered the fit domain where the beginnings of the responsible system of government were to be made. But it was considered inadvisable by the authors of the Act to transfer all the provincial departments into the hands of the Indians. So certain departments were so transfer-

red, while other provincial subjects were kept reserved for administration by the Government with the help of an Executive Council. As the Provincial Governments were to be divided into two parts, one in charge of Ministers and the other in charge of Executive Councils, this system of Government came to be known as 'Dyarchy'.

Under the system of Dyarchy the Provincial subjects were divided into two parts—Reserved and Transferred. Subjects like Police, Law and Order, Justice, Irrigation, etc., were reserved and these were administered by the Governor with the help of an Executive Council. The number of members ranged from two to four in different provinces. Each member was in charge of one or more departments. The members of the Executive Council were nominated by the Governor and were responsible to him. They were not responsilbe to the legislature and could be removed by its adverse vote. The Transferred departments were to be administered with the help of ministers. Their number could vary from province to province and from time to time. Each minister was in charge of one or more departments. The ministers were appointed by the Governor from among the elected members of the Legislature. They had double responsibilities. They were responsible to the Governor as well as the Legislature. Some of the Transferred departments were Local Self-Government, Public Health, Education, Agriculture, Co-operative, etc. If no minister was in charge of a Transferred department at any time the Governor himself assumed temporary charge of it till a minister was appointed. The Governor-General-in-Council with the previous sanction of the Secretary of State-in-Council could revoke or suspend the transfer of any or all subjects in the province and in that case these would relapse into the position of Reserved subjects and be administered by the Governor-in-Council.

Causes for the Failure of Dyarchy

The system of Dyarchy was in operation from 1921 to 1937, but experience shows that it did not

work satisfactorily. The failure of the system was due to several factors.

(1) The very principle of dyarchy was defective. The division of administration into two parts, each independent of the other, is opposed to political theory and the practice of Government. The Government is an organic whole and cannot be divided into two water-tight compartments. This division was bound to make the system a failure.

Water-tight division of subjects

(2) The division of the provincial subjects into Reserved and Transferred was not done on a scientific basis. Agriculture was a Transferred subject but Irrigation was a Reserved subject. Education was a Transferred subject but education of the Anglo-Indians fell in the Reserved sphere. This unscientific bifurcation of departments was responsible for the failure of the experiment. How could a Minister for Agriculture administer his subject without control over Irrigation ? Sometimes it was very difficult to say to which department a particular department belonged. C.Y. Chintamoni, a minister of U.P., gave some examples in this respect. In 1921, an inquiry was started in the Department of Agriculture on the question of the fragmentation of land. A report was submitted in 1921 and then it was felt that the question should have been dealt with by the Revenue Department and the case was transferred to that Department. It was decided in 1924 that the case should have been dealt with by the Co-operation Department.

Unscientific division of subjects

(3) Efficient working of governmental system demands that there should be co-operation between the different departments. This was lacking in the case of Dyarchy. The Executive Councillors were the members of bureaucracy, while the ministers were the representatives of the people. There was no co-operation between the members of the Executive Council and the ministers and sometimes they publicly criticised each other.

Non-co-operation between the two parts

(4) The Governors sometimes consulted the Executive Councillors jointly but they never consulted the ministers jointly. The Governors consulted the ministers individually. The ministers

Joint responsibility not encouraged

themselves were several times at variance with each other. The Governors never held joint consultations of the two branches of government, *i.e.*, Executive Councillors and the Ministers.

Double responsibility of the ministers

(5) The position of the ministers under the system of Dyarchy was very precarious. They had to serve two masters, the Governor and the Legislative Council. A minister was appointed by the Governor and could be dismissed by him at will. Thus he had to please the Governor. Moreover, the ministers were responsible to the Legislative Council for the administration of their departments. The Legislature could pass a vote of no-confidence. They had to get their policy approved by the Council. The result was that in their efforts to please both, they pleased none. Usually they cared more for the Governor than for the Legislature. The reason was that there was no strong party alignment in the Provincial Council. Their followers might go over to some other party. They could not depend on them. But if a minister was on good terms with the Governor, he was sure of the support of the official block, *i.e.*, 30% nominated members of the Legislative Council.

No ministrial control over the superior services

(6) The position of the members of All-India Services created difficulties for the ministers. Most of the key positions in the provinces were held by the members of All-India Services. The ministers had no control over their appointment, suspension or dismissal. They were under the Secretary of State-in-Council and tried to put into practice the wishes of the Governors and not of the ministers. They did not care for the ministers. They sometimes put difficulties in the way of the enforcement of the policies of ministers.

Direct access of Secretary to the Governor

(7) According to the rules of business, cases in which the minister differed with the Secretary of the Department had to be referred to the Governor. The Secretary had a direct access to the Governor and also had a weekly interview with him. Thus he could influence the Governor against minister and put forward his view. This stood in the way of proper functioning of Dyarchy.

(8) Another important reason for the failure of Dyarchy was the lack of adequate financial resources and the control of the Finance department. Finance was a Reserved department and the Honourable Minister for Finance was liberal in meeting the demands of other members. He would give money for the needs of the Transferred departments only after meeting the demands of the Reserved departments. Thus the nation-building Transferred departments were starved of finances. The ministers could not put their schemes into practice for want of money.

Finance belonged to Reserved Department

(9) The system of Dyarchy was introduced at a time when the political atmosphere in the country was of suspicion and distrust because of the happenings in the Punjab like Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy and the attitude of the British Government towards Turkey. There was slum in the market after the First World War and the provincial finances were in a disorganised condition. The provincial government 'under the scheme of Meston Award' had to make financial contributions to the Centre. Thus the system of Dyarchy was introduced in a politically and economically hampering atmosphere and this contributed to the failure of Dyarchy.

Introduction of Dyarchy at unfavourable time

Describing the utter failure of Dyarchy, Sir H. Butler said that it had almost become a term of abuse. He said that he had heard street boys shouting to each other : "You are a Dyarchy". This Dyarchy was a colossal failure and was abolished in 1937 with the promulgation of the Government of India Act, 1935.

The Government of India Act, 1935

The Act of 1919 did not make important changes at the Centre. The bicameral system of legislature was introduced at the Centre but there was no appreciable increase in the powers of the legislature. In the domain of provinces, Dyarchy was introduced but it was unsound in principle and unworkable in practice. The Indians felt that the Reforms of 1919 had not given them enough powers and they were dissatisfied with them. The Rowlatt Act, the

Circumstances leading to the passing of the Act

Jallianwala Bag Tragedy, Martial Law and other sad happenings added to the resentment and bitterness of the people.

The Simon Commission

In 1927, the British Parliament appointed a Commission, with Sir John Simon as its chairman, to report on the working of Dyarchy in the provinces. The major Indian parties and influential sections of people in the country boycotted the Commission because all its members were Englishmen. The Commission studied the situation with the help of official and nominated members of provincial Legislatures and submitted its report in 1930. It came to the conclusion that the system of Dyarchy should be abolished and autonomy introduced in its place. It further recommended that the constitutional problem of India should be discussed at a Round Table Conference.

The Round Table Conferences

The First Round Table Conference, consisting of the representatives of India and the British Government was held in London in 1930. The Conference recommended the establishment of an All-India Federation. The Congress did not participate in its session and no steps were taken to give a practical shape to the proposal of the Federation. Gandhi-Irwin pact was made in 1931 and the Second Round Table Conference was held in 1931-32. Mahatma Gandhi attended the Conference as the sole representative of the Congress but the question of communal representation could not be reached as he refused to recognise the standing of the minorities' representatives. After the Conference the British Government announced a Communal Award in 1932.

Mahatma Gandhi was arrested on his return to India for expressing his desire to start Civil Disobedience Movement. The Third Round Table Conference was held in the end of 1932 but in the absence of the Congress it could not achieve much success.

The White Paper

In 1933, the British Government issued a small document known as the White Paper containing proposals for a new constitution of India. These proposals were referred to a Joint Select Committee

of the British Parliament. It was on the basis of the report of the Joint Select Committee that the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act, 1935.

Salient Features of the Act

The Act of 1935 was a lengthy and detailed document. It had 32 sections and 10 schedules. It partly came into operation in 1936 when the general elections in the country were held on the lines prescribed by it. It was fully enforced in April, 1937. The following were the salient features of the Government of India Act, 1935.

(1) The Act provided for the creation of two new provinces of Sind and Orissa. These new provinces, together with the N.W.F. Provinces, formed the Governor's provinces making eleven in all.

Provincial autonomy

(2) The most distinctive feature of the Act of 1935 was the introduction of Provincial Autonomy. The system of Dyarchy or the division of subjects into Transferred and Reserved was abolished. All the provincial subjects were transferred to the charge of ministers who were made responsible to the legislature.

Proposed Federation of India

(3) The Act proposed to set up All-India Federation comprising of the British Indian Provinces and the Indian States. The constituent units of the Federation were 11 Governor's Provinces, 6 Chief Commissioner's Provinces and all those States which agreed to join it. The States were absolutely free to join or not to join the proposed Federation. At the time of joining the Federation, the ruler of the State was to execute an Instrument of Accession in favour of the Crown. On acceptence of that Instrument, the State was to become a unit of the Federation. The ruler was, however, authorised to extend the functions of the Federal authority in respect of his State by executing another Instrument. Every unit enjoyed full autonomy in its internal affairs.

(4) The scheme of Federation and the introduction of Provincial Autonomy necessiated proper division of subjects between the Centre and the

Provinces. The division had been made under the Act of 1919 but it was now revised. There were only two lists of subjects under the Act of 1919 i.e., Central list and Provincial list. The Act of 1935 divided the subjects into three lists i.e., Federal, State and Concurrent.

Division of subjects

(5) The Act of 1935 which abolished dyarchy at the Provincial level, introduced it at the Centre. The Federal subjects were divided into two categories—the Reserved and the Transferred. The Reserved subjects included Defence, Ecclesiastical Affairs, External Affairs and the Administration of the Tribal Areas. These were to be administered by the Governor-General with the help of Executive Councillors not exceeding three in number. The rest of the subjects were Transferred ones. These were to be administered by the Governor-General with the help of a Council of Ministers. The number of ministers was not to exceed 10. The ministers were to be responsible to the Governor-General and the legislature. The Governor-General, by his special powers and special responsibilities, could dominate the ministers.

Dyarchy at the Centre

(6) A very significant feature of the Act was the provision of safeguards and protective armours for the minorities. The reason given for it was that the minorities needed protection from the dominance of the majority community. The nationalists, however, saw no sense in this agreement. They knew that the so-called provisions in the Act relating to the safeguards were merely a trick to empower the Governor-General and the Governors to override the ministers and the legislators.

Safeguards and reservations

(7) The size of the legislature was enlarged. The proposed Federal legislature was to consist of the Council of State or the Upper House having 260 members and the Federal Assembly or the Lower House having 375 members. Six out of eleven provinces were given bicameral system of legislatures. The Act not only enlarged the size of the legislature, it also extended the franchise. About 10% of the population got the right to vote in case of elections to Provincial legislatures.

Increase in the size of Legislatures and extension of franchise

(8) The Act provided for the establishment of a Federal Court to adjudicate inter-State disputes and matters concerning the interpretation of the constitution. It was, however, not the final court of appeal. In certain cases the appeals could be made to the Privy Councils in England. Federal Court was actually established in 1937.

Establishment of Federal Court

(9) The Act of 1935 abolished the Indian Council of the Secretary of the State for India which was created in 1858. The Secretary of State was to have advisers in its place. With the introduction of Provincial Autonomy, the control of the Secretary of State over the Transferred subjects was greatly diminished. His control, however, remained intact over the powers of the Governor-General and the Governors.

Abolition of Indian Council

(10 The Act of 1935 not only retained communal electorate but also enlarged its scope. The Anglo-Indians and the Indian Christians were given separate electorates.

Extension of Communal Electorates

(11) The supremacy of the British Parliament remained intact under the Act of 1935. No Indian legislature whether Federal or Provincial was authorised to modify or amend the constitution. The British Parliament alone was given the authority to make changes in it. The Indian legislatures could at best pray for a constitutional change by submitting a resolution to His Majesty's Government.

Supremacy of the British Parliament

(12) Another important feature of the Act was that Burma was separated from India with effect from April, 1937. Aden was also transferred from the administrative control of the Government of India to that of the Colonial Office. Thus Aden became a Crown Colony.

Separation of Burma

Provincial Part of the Act

The provincial part of the Act came into force on April 1, 1937. But the federal part was never brought into operation and so the Central Government remained as it was under the Government of India Act, 1919. The following were the main provincial changes introduced by the Government of India Act, 1935.

(1) The Act provided for the creation of two new provinces—Sind and Orissa. There were now 11 Governor's Provinces.

Main Provincial changes introduced by the Act

(2) The Provincial Legislature consisted of the Governor as His Majesty's Representative, and one or two chambers or houses. The provinces of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar and Assam had each two chambers known as the Legislative Council (the Upper Chamber) and the Legislative Assembly (the Lower Chamber). The Punjab, the Central Provinces and Bihar, Orissa, Sind and N.W.F. Provinces had each one chamber known as the Legislative Assembly. (3) In the case of the Legislative Council, the Governors were given the power of nominating a few members, while the Legislative Assembly was to be entirely elected bodies. The Legislative Council was a permanent body, but one-third of its members were to retire every third year. The Legislative Assembly was to sit for five years, but it might be dissolved earlier by the Governor. (4) The representation in the legislature was to be made in accordance with the 'Communal Award' as modified by the Poona Pact. (5) In the provinces, dyarchy was abolished. There were no Reserved subjects and no Executive Councils in the Provinces. The Council of Ministers was to administer all the provincial subjects except in certain matters like law and order, etc. for which the Governor had special responsibilities. The Ministers were chosen from among the elected members of the Provincial Legislature and were collectively responsible to the Provincial Legislature. (6) The Provincial Governments were made autonomous in so far as the Provincial subjects were concerned or in other words 'Dyarchy was replaced by Autonomy.' (7) The Act of 1935 gave the Governors some extraordinary powers to issue ordinances and enact Acts. (8) The franchise was extended i.e., the number of voters was increased and special seats were alloted to women in the Legislatures.

Federal Part of the Act

The main provisions of the federal part of the Act were as follows :

Main provisions of the Federal part of the Act

(1) The Act proposed to give a federal form to the Indian Constitution. Even the Indian States were expected to join the Federation. The All-India Federation would thus have comprised British India and Indian States. (2) The proposed Federal Legislature was a bicameral body consisting of the Council of States (Upper House) and the Federal Assembly (Lower House). (3) The Council of State was to consist of 260 members. Out of these 260 members, 104 nominated by the rulers were to represent the Indian States, 6 were to be nominated by the Governor-General and 150 were to be elected. The Council of State was a permanent body and its members were to be chosen for nine years, one-third retiring every three years. (4) The Federal Assembly was to consist of 375 members. Out of these, 250 members were to be representatives of British India and 125 of the Indian States. The members for British India were to be elected indirectly through the electoral colleges composed of the members of the Lower Houses of Provincial Legislatures but were to be nominated by the rulers in the case of Indian States. Its life was fixed at five years, unless dissolved earlier by the Governor-General. (5) Dyarchy was to be introduced at the Centre. The Federal subjects were to be divided into two parts—Reserved and Transferred. Defence, Foreign Affairs, etc., were to be treated as Reserved subjects and were to be governed by the Governor-General. He was to be assisted in that work by a body of three Councillors. The Transferred subjects were to be controlled by ministers responsible to the Legislature. (6) The division of legislative power is essential in a Federation. The Act contained three lists—(i) the Federal Legislative list, (ii) the Provincial Legislative list and (iii) the Concurrent Legislative list. (7) The Governor-General was to be given special powers and responsibilities and discretion to act on his own authority. (8) A Federal Court of India was to be established to decide the disputed points concerning the federation and also to hear appeals against the decisions of the courts if important points of law were involved.

Prof. Coupland described the Government of India Act, 1935 as "a great achievement of constructive political thought". According to him, "it made possible the transference of Indian destiny from British to Indian hands.' But the Indians thought it otherwise. They were not satisfied with the Act so far as its federal part was concerned. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League described it as "thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable". According to C. Rajagopalachariar, "The new Constitution is worse than dyarchy". Pandit M. M. Malaviya remarked, "The new Act has been thrusted upon us. It has a somewhat democratic appearance outwardly, but it is absolutely hollow from inside." Mr. Nehru condemned it as "a new chapter of slavery. It was a sort of machine with strong brakes and no engine". Thus the Act was received with a chorus of condemnation from all sides. The criticism was made specially on the system of putting the nominees of the native rulers in the Federal Legislature, 'special responsibilities' and discretionary powers of the Governor-General and the Governors, addition of Second Chambers to Provincial Legislatures, and absence of any provision for 'automatic growth or development of self-government.' Thus though the Act was an important step towards Dominion States, it fell far short of the expectation of the Indians.

Criticism of the Act of 1935

Constitutional Development from 1937 to 1947

The whole of the Government of India Act of 1935 was not introduced. Only the part dealing with the provincial autonomy came into force in April, 1937. The Congress participated in the elections and got a clear majority in six provinces. The Congress ministries were formed in these provinces. The Congress was in office till 1939 when the World War II broke out. The Congress ministries resigned on account of differences with the British Government. Throughout the war, attempts were made to solve the constitutional tangle.

August Offer (1940)

Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India made an offer to the Indians in

August, 1940. This is popularly known as August Offer. It was in the form of a statement made by the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government. The following were its main points : (1) The Executive Council of the Governor-General should be expanded in order to include a certain member of representatives of all political parties. (2) The Governor-General should also establish a War Advisory consisting of the representatives of various political parties. (3) The position of the minorities should be safeguarded in any future constitutional change. The British Government would not transfer its responsibilities for India's welfare to any other major group in India's national life. It meant that the Muslim League was to have its way in the matter of the partition of the country. (4) The framing of the new constitution would be primarily the responsibility of the Indians. (5) The Constitution-making Body would be set up after the war. (6) The British Government hoped that in the meantime the parties and communities would co-operate in war effort.

Important features of the August Offer

However, nothing came out of the August Offer as it was rejected by the Congress.

Cripps' Plan

Japan joined the war against the Allies in 1941, and her success in conquering one country after another disturbed the pleasure of the British statesmen. The armies of Japan occupied Burma and threatened India. Both England and the U.S.A. began to feel the necessity of changing their policy towards India. In March, 1942 the British Government sent Sir Stafford Cripps, the leader of the House of Commons, with certain proposals which are popularly known as Cripps' Plan. The important terms of the proposal were as follows : (1) A Constitution-making Body would be set up immediately after the war. (2) There would be provision for the participation of Indian States in the Constitution-making Body. (3) If any province did not like to accept the new constitution, it could retain its existing constitutional position. It could later on join, if it so deci-

Terms of proposal

ded at later date. (4) There would be provision in the constitution for the protection of racial and religious minorities. (5) The members of the Constitution-making Body were to be elected by an electoral college consisting of the entire membership of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies. The strength of the Constituent Assembly was to be about one-tenth of the membership of the electoral college. (6) His Majesty's Government would retain control of Defence during the critical period of the war.

Criticism of proposals

The Congress rejected the Cripps' proposals because he (Cripps) did not give assurance that the Governor-General would act as a constitutional head in case of all the departments except Defence. Moreover, the Congress was opposed to the principle of non-accession of the provinces, because it virtually meant acceptance of the idea of Pakistan. The Hindu Mahasabha rejected the proposals because of the clause of non-accession of the provinces and the communal system of the election of the members of the Constitutent Assembly. The scheme was opposed by the Muslim League because the proposals held out the prospects of a single Union of India. Thus the proposals were rejected by all the parties. The scheme failed because it was to be accepted or rejected as a whole.

The Congress passed the Quit India Resolution after the failure of the Cripps Plan. The Government threw Congress leaders and many Congress workers into prisons.

The Wavell Plan (1945)

The British Government offered new proposals to India in 1945. The offer was made through Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India. These proposals, known as Wavell Plan, proposed the following changes :

(1) The Governor-General's Executive Council was to be enlarged with immediate effect. (2) All the members of Governor-General's Executive Council, except the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, were to be Indians. (3) The Executive Council of the Governor-General was to contain

equal number of caste Hindus and Muslims. (4) Responsible Government was to be restored in the Provinces.

A conference of the leaders of different political parties was held at Simla to discuss the proposals. The Congress accepted the proposals. But the Muslim League objected to the inclusion of a Nationalist Muslim in the Executive Council, because it claimed to be the sole representative of the Muslims. Hence the scheme failed.

Simla Conference

The Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)

The Labour Party came to power in 1945 and C. R. Attlee became the Prime Minister. He sent a mission of three Cabinet members to India to solve the constitutional tagle. It came to be called Cabinet Mission. The Cabinet Mission consisted of Lord Pattrick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A. V. Alexander. It met the leaders of different parties in India but the Indian leaders could not agree among themselves. Then it offered its own plan which is known as Cabinet Mission Plan. It made the following proposals: (1) There should be a Union of India consisting of British India and the Indian States to deal with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. (2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature. The communal problems should be decided by a majority of the total membership in the legislature and a majority of of the members of each of the two communities. (3) All other subjects and residuary powers should be with the provinces. (3) The provinces should be free to form groups with executives and legislatures, and each group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common. (5) The constitution of the Union and the Groups were to contain provisions for safeguarding the rights of minorities. (6) The members of the Constituent Assembly were to be elected by the Legislative Assembly of the provinces on the basis of one representative for one million population. The Sikhs and the Muslim legislators were to elect the quota of their communities on population basis. Others were to elect

Proposals of the Cabinet Mission Plan

the representatives for the rest of the population. The representatives from the provinces were to divide themselves into three sections which were as follows :

Section A—Madras, Bombay. U.P., Bihar, C.P. and Orissa.
Section B—Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Sind.
Section C—Bengal and Assam.

The provinces in each group were then to meet and decide about the Union Constitution. (7) The paramountcy over the Indian States was to come to an end.

The Mission Plan stated that until the new constitution was framed, the administration should be run by an interim Government having the support of all the major political parties.

The Indian Independence Act of 1947

The Congress and the Muslim League accpted the Cabinet Mission Plan and the members went back to England. But before they left India, the members regretted that an interim Government could not be formed on account of certain difficulties. Mr. Jinnah was much dissatisfied with the decision to postpone the formation of the interim Government. So when Lord Wavell asked Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to form the interim Government, the Muslim League under his leadership decided not to join it. It condemned the British Government for breach of faith with the Muslims and observed August 6, 1964 as the Direct Action Day. On that day, Hindu-Muslim fracas broke out in Calcutta and there was an enormous loss of life and property. Pandit Nehru formed the interim Government on September 1, 1946. But the Muslim League refused to participate in the interim Government. Later on it decided to join the interim Government and five of its nominees were included in the interim Government on October 15, 1946.

Circumstances leading to the passing of the Indian Independence Act

The Constituent Assembly met for the first time in New Delhi on December 9, 1946, but the Muslim League refused to participate in its deliberations. Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister of England, declared

on February 20, 1946 that the British Government would leave India by June, 1948 even if no agreement was reached between the Congress and the Muslim League.

June, 3 Plan

The situation was deteriorated in the country. In March, 1947, Lord Mountbatten was sent as the last Viceroy and Governor-General of India. He held discussions with the Congress and the Muslim League leaders and announced his plan on the 3rd of June, 1947. This is popularly known as June Third Plan. It announced the following decisions :

Features of June, 3 Plan

(1) India was to be partioned into two Dominions—India and Pakistan. (2) Bengal, Assam and the Punjab were to be partitioned. (3) Referendum was to be held in North-West Frontier Province to decide whether the province would like to join Pakistan or India. The need arose because of the fact that North-West Frontier Province had a Congress Ministry. (4) The Muslim majority district of Sylhet in Assam was to decide by referendum whether it was to join East Pakistan or remain in Assam. (5) The Native States were to be free to join either of the two Dominions or to remain independent. (6) The transfer of power was to take place by the 15th of August, 1947, instead of June, 1948, as declared earlier.

The plan was accepted by the Congress and the Muslim League in view of the conditions prevailing in the country. The British Parliament then passed the Indian Independence Act on July 18, 1947.

Important provisions of the Act

The important provisions of the Act were as follows : (1) The Act of 1947 provided for the creation of two independent Dominions, India and Pakistan. The legislative supremacy of the British Parliament over India came to an end. The legislatures of the two countries were to have full powers of legislation. (3) Till the framing of the new constitutions by the Constituent Assemblies of these two Dominions, their Governments were to be governed in accordance with the Act of 1935 with necessary modifications. (4) The title of Viceroy was to be

dropped and henceforth he was to be called only Governor-General. (5) The British Government was to have no control over the Dominions, Provinces or any part of the Dominions after 15th August, 1947. (6) The paramountcy of the Crown over the Native States came to an end. All treaties and agreements between the Crown and the Native States were to lapse with effect from the date of the transference of power. The Act also provided that the existing arrangements between the Government of India and the Indian States were to continue pending the detailed negotiations between the India States and the new Dominions concerned. (7) The post of the Secretary of State for India was to be abolished and the works relating to India and Pakistan were to be taken over by the Secretary of the Commonwealth Relations. (8) The Emperor of Great Britain ceased to be the Emperor of India. The British Government no longer possessed the right to disallow laws passed by the Legislatures of the new Dominions. The Governor-Generals became the constitutional heads. They were authorised to give their consent to any ordinary bill, on behalf of the Crown. (9) The army, stores and other assets as well as liabilities of India were to be divided between the two Dominions. (10) The Dominions were free to leave the Commonwealth, if they so liked.

The Act of 1947 was a great landmark in the history of the Anglo-Indian relations. It marked the end of the British rule in the sub-continent.

CHAPTER XII

THE IMPACT OF BRITISH RULE ON INDO-PAKISTAN SUB-CONTINENT

Political Impact of the British Rule

The British took the empire of Delhi from the hands of the Muslims. So their policies were based upon deeper calculations and thoughts in their treatment towards the Muslims. They were fully aware that the Muslims, in spite of their degradation, could not reconcile themselves to their rule. They also believed that the Muslims would not desist from making attempts to regain their lost empire. This belief led them to adopt a policy of distrust and discrimination towards the Muslims. That was why the Muslims received only abuse and ill-treatment even in the heyday of British rule in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. This attitude of the British lasted long after the Mutiny. The Muslims were looked upon as the natural enemies of Christianity and Britain.

Policy of the British towards the vanquished

The first impact of British rule upon the Muslims was in the political field. With the loss of political power, the Muslims had lost higher posts in the State. 'The British entrusted men of their own nationality with important posts and the Hindus with lower posts.'* Soldering was a popular profession with the Muslims and they occupied higher posts in the armed forces under the Muslim rulers. No Indians were given higher posts in the military department during the British regime. In the beginning of the East India Company the Muslims were appointed for the convenience of their administration to advise the Court on law which was based on the Islamic *Shar'*. But with the growth of the power of the East India Company the system of Islamic

* Orme R.—History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in the Indostan.

Shar' was discarded and the Muslim legal advisers were not wanted. The loss of employment and the replacement of their law gave a rude shock to the Muslims. The establishment of British rule, though it gave India political unity, administrative efficiency and a modern system of education, crushed the Muslims and inflicted such injuries on them that it would take time to recover from them.

Economic life

The Indo-Pakistan sub-continent is primarily an agricultural region and the majority of its people live in the villages. The various kinds of artisans, such as weavers, blacksmiths, potters, oil-pressers, etc., also live in the villages. The village was self-sufficient economic unit. It produced its own food and imported a few commodities such as salt or metal. The villagers lived an independent life. With the coming of the new masters, the condition of the villagers was not improved, rather their life became miserable at the hands of the servants of the East India Company and their agents. Regarding the plight of the peasants William Bolts in his treatise, 'Considerations on Indian Affairs', writes, "The Ryots who were generally both land-holders and manufactures, by the oppression of the *Gomashtahs* in harassing them for goods, are frequently rendered incapable of improving their lands, and of paying their rents ; for which on the other hand, they are again chastised by the officers of the revenue, and not infrequently have by those harpies been necessitated to sell their children in order to pay their rents, otherwise obliged to fly the country." The people under the British dominion groaned everywhere and were reduced to poverty and distress. 'Dacca muslin' and 'Kashmiri shawls' were the finest qualities of textile woven by Muslim craftsmen. The manufacture of carpets was the monopoly of the Muslims. Under the British, all these suffered a set-back. Industry was ruined and trade was destroyed by the methods employed by the servants of the Company and their agents. The British Government encouraged British manufactures at the cost of Indian industry.

Towards the end of the 18th century, 'new forces caused a gradual breaking up of the self-sufficiency

of the villages.' The volume of foreign trade increased and with it improved means of communication were strongly felt to be necessary for connecting rural areas with towns and towns with ports. The railways were introduced to solve these problems about the middle of the 19th century. With the introduction of the railway system, the villagers became dependent on the outside world. The introduction and extension of railways, the acquirement of a taste for western products and the western way of living by the upper class and the competition from imported machine-made goods dealt a death-blow to handicrafts in the towns. In the West, scientific methods were applied for bettering the condition of the agriculturists ; but 'the peasants in this sub-continent remained as ignorant as ever.' The occasional famine throughout the country created a havoc in the economic life of the agriculturists. The peasants were heavily in debt and the burden of indebtedness increased so much that they were often compelled to give up the proprietary rights in their land to the *mahajan* who provided them with easy credit and thus became landless labourers.

Introduction of railways

There came a change in the economic life after 1857. The extension of railways and the construction of metalled roads and canals had its own effects on the economic life of the people. The construction of canals along with that of railways and roads reduced the intensity of famines and the extent of damage done by them.' At the same time, new and large scale industries of modern type were coming into being. With the progress of industries the hitherto unemployed artisans and landless labourers began to move into the industrial towns. Modern banking, co-operative societies and other semi-governmental and purely governmental agencies were established in the country to do good to the people. But these agencies, till 1947, achieved very little success due to various factors.

Economic life after 1857

In fine, we can say that the attitude of the British Government towards the economic development of the sub-continent was indifferent and their policy was to treat the sub-continent as the producer of

raw materials. The British rulers were made to understand the folly of their policy during the two World Wars.

Socio-religious conditions

The impact of western culture roused the Indians from their medieval numbness and dealt a severe blow to their cherished ideas and institutions. Being influenced by the western culture they began to change their old ideas and adopt western customs and manners which proved pernicious to the eastern society.

In the 19th century the missionary activity of the Christians became so ardent that it soon bore its desired fruits. The Hindu society was profoundly influenced by the western culture and the English liberal movement which gave religious freedom to the Catholics. A large number of Hindus, especially the lower classes were converted to Christianity. The conversion to Christianity produced serious reactions in the society. It irritated the brains of many thoughtful men who, in order to give a check to it, wanted to reform the society and started movements which took the shape of the *Brahmo Samaj*, the *Prarthana Samaj*, the *Arya Samaj* and the Ramkrishna Mission. Raja Rammohan Roy, the pioneer of the socio-religious movements in the 19th century was a brilliant product of the impact of the western education upon Indo-Pakistan culture. Another social movement was led in the 20th century for the abolition of untouchability. Being down-trodden by the caste Hindus a section of lower class people escaped themselves by embracing Christianity. Mahatma Gandhi gave to the social uplift of the *Harijans* a prominent place in his programme of social reform.

The Muslims also led movements to reform the society. The movements led by Shah Waliullah, Hazi Shariatullah, Syyid Ahmad Shahid, Shah Ismail Shahid, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and many others may be specially mentioned here. Details of their reforms have been discussed elsewhere.

The gravest injury which the British had inflicted upon the Muslims of the sub-continent was in the field of education. With the introduction of English

as the official language, the economic value of Persian was gone and a large number of persons who were well-educated but ignorant of English were thrown out of employment. It struck at the root of Muslim influence in the court and at the same time made the English language popular. The benefits of the people being brought into touch with western culture cannot be ignored : but the loss in many respects has surpassed the benefit. People of the sub-continent have been seeking knowledge for generations through a language which majority of them even to-day fail to understand perfectly. They are not as advanced as the Japanese 'who never felt called upon to leave all their academic and cultural traditions.'

Educational condition

The British took positive measures to destroy the educational system of the Muslims. With the rapid deterioration in the economic position of the Muslims and the loss of territories, it became difficult on their part to maintain the educational institutions. The establishment of educational institutions was considered by the Muslims as an act of piety and they looked upon it as their religious duty to make endowments for the purpose. The Government had also spent large sums of money for maintaining these educational institutions. But the Government grants were now stopped and the Company further struck a heavy blow at the educational institutions by resuming a large portion of rent-free lands. In certain cases the Government also took over the Muslim endowments and diverted the funds 'to purposes which were not in accordance with the wishes of the doners.' The resumption of rent-free lands and the diversion of Muslim funds gave a severe stroke to the educational organisations of the Muslims. As a result of these, "the percentage of literacy," says W. Hunter, "was reduced drastically among the Muslims under British rule." An educated community was soon 'turned into one of the most illiterate ones in the world.'

British educational policy

It has been said by the British writers that the condition of the Muslims in the sub-continent was the result of their own perversity. They did not pay heed to the signs of time and remained indiffe-

rent towards the western education. It should be remembered that none of the new educational institutions were for the benefit of the Muslims, though large sums of money had been spent for the purpose. All the forces of discrimination were used against the Muslims and no steps were taken to make the educational institutions so much attractive for them to go there. Appointment of Hindu teachers who had little regard for Muslim culture and susceptibilities and their teaching of the Hindu language and culture in the elementary classes were another cause for which the Muslims remained away from the Government institutions. The Muslims did not like to allow their children to learn a Hinduised local dialect. Hindu learning and philosophy were patronised by the British, while they were averse to encouraging anything Islamic. The Muslims had been the rulers of Indo-Pakistan for several centuries and 'were prosperous and wealthy' when the British first came to this land and established their rule. They were politically, economically and educationally more advanced than any community in the land. But towards the end of the 19th century they were sunk, in the words of Mr. Ambedkar, author of 'Thoughts on Pakistan,' into the lowest depths of broken pride, black despair and general poverty. Illiteracy, poverty, the loss of skill and cultural stagnation were the impact of the British rule in Indo-Pakistan. Attempts were made to popularise the Government by giving so-called education to the Indians but the injury they had already made will take time to heal it.

Causes of rejecting English Education by the Muslims

CHAPTER XIII

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE MUSLIMS

Condition of the Muslims after 1857

Since the battle of Plassey the fortune of the Muslims in the sub-continent was clouded with darkness and despondency. They could not forget the loss of their empire and so they disassociated themselves with the English who also could not believe them, because they thought that the Muslims might try to regain their lost empire. They not only disbelieved the Muslims but also considered them as their enemy in the conquered land. The Hindus adapted themselves to the new regime easily and began to co-operate with the foreign rule. They soon won the favour of the new master who gave all sorts of privileges to them. As the British feeling towards the Muslims was one of misunderstanding and distrust, every action of the Muslims was looked upon with an eye of suspicion. They adopted a policy of oppression and repression towards the Muslims. After the revolt of 1857 the wrath and calamity fell on the Muslims with glaring example. They not only punished the persons who were connected with revolt but also the innocent people received severe punishment. Whenever any disturbances occured in the country, the Muslims were held responsible for it and punished accordingly. In this connection Sir Syed Ahmed Khan says, "There was no calamity in these days which was not attributed to the Muslims and there is no doubt that any calamity which fell from the firmament might not have come straight to some Muhammadan houses bringing ruin and destruction."

The British policy towards the Muslims was one of distrust and enmity

Educational Policy

With the establishment of their empire in the sub-continent the English changed the existing educational system and introduced a new policy and system in its place. The Muslims could not

accept the English system of education as it was considered un-Islamic and so they kept themselves aloof from it. The Hindus whole-heartedly accepted this education and learnt English. It was nothing new to them. It was simply a change of master. As a result, they began to occupy posts in the offices of the new master. Under the Muslim rule, education was not compulsory, yet there was no illiteracy. At that time there were *maktabs* (schools) attached to every mosque and house of a respectable man. The country was covered with thousands of schools. These schools were run by the help of the Government and the charity of the generous public. There were many rent-free lands for these schools. Education was not only free, but sufficient allowance was provided for the indigent scholars. The English masters first stopped the Government help and then confiscated the estate of charitable trusts and resumed the 'free grants of these humanitarian institutions. The teachers under pangs of starvation were obliged to take to other occupations. The public schools disappeared, the flourishing system of education met with total extinction and the anti-literary campaign against the Muslims very soon bore the desired fruits.' Dr. W. Hunter says, "Hundreds of ancient families were ruined and the educational system of the Musalmans, which was almost entirely maintained by rent-free grants, received its death-blow. The scholastic classes of the Muhammadans emerged from the eighteen years of harrying absolutely ruined....The panic of those days (Resumptions) is still remembered and it has left to us a bitter legacy of hatred. Since then the profession of a man of learning, a dignified and lucrative calling under Native Rulers, has ceased to exist in Bengal....There can be no doubt whatever that from those Resumptions the decay of the Muhammadan system of education dates."

Muslim educational system replaced by English one

There were religious endowments made by Muslims of position for the education of the Muslims. These endowments were in many cases taken over under the false pretences of 'just administration' and these funds were misappropriated. As for

example, Haji Muhammad Mohsin of Hugli district left on his death (1806) a vast estate for the pious uses of Islam. On the pretext of a quarrel arisen between his two Trustees, the English Government assumed the management of the estate and misappropriated the funds to the erection of an English College (now known as Hugli Mohsin College). The new educational system did not contemplate for the education of the Muslims. On the other hand, it was designed to lock up the doors of learning against the Muslims and thereby to reduce them into lifeless husk. It was meant for training up the Hindus in order to enable them to serve in the European offices. Sir W. Hunter rightly observes : "The truth is that our system of public instruction, which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries and quickened their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of nation, is opposed to the tradition, unsuited to the requirements and hateful to the religion of the Musalmans."

Religious endowments taken over by the British for self-interest

Policy of State Service

During the Muslim rule, Persian was the State language. But the new masters soon replaced it by English and as the Muslims did not accept it, they were deprived of State service. In the days of Muslim rule the common soldiers were taken from the lower strata of society, 'while civil honours in the public administration were held by men of virtue and learning'. The British Government excluded the Muslims from the civil and military honours with the 'stigma' of "disdainful unfitness". Dr. Hunter writes, "In fact, there is now scarcely a Government office in Calcutta in which a Muhammedan can hope for any post above the rank of a porter, messenger, 'filler of ink-pots' and 'mender of posts.' Hunter also writes, "It was not that Musalmans were inferior to Hindus. It was the British rule that had descended upon them as blight when the country passed under our rule, the Musalmans were the superior race and superior not only in stoutness of heart and strength of arm, but in power of political organisation and in the science of practical

Exclusion of the Muslims from State service

government." It was the policy of the Government not to appoint Musalmans in the State service. When several posts fell vacant in the office of Sundarban's Commission, it was notified in the then Government Gazette that the appointments would be given to none but Hindus. "In short," says Hunter, "the Musalmans have now sunk so low that even when qualified for Government employment, they are studiously kept out of it by Government notifications."

Muhammad Norman, in his book entitled 'Muslim India', says, "The British had decided that for the expansion of the new power and its continuance, the only course was to crush the Musalmans and had deliberately adopted policies which had for their aim the economic ruin of Muslims and their intellectual stagnation and general degeneration."

Economic Policy

The economic policy of the English was detrimental to the economic position of the Muslims who were robbed of their private and public wealth. The 'Permanent Settlement' took away from the hands of the Muslim landowners their lands and gave it to the Brahmanic revenue collectors. Regarding the result of the Permanent Settlement Sir William Hunter says, "A hundred and seventy years ago it was almost impossible for a well-born Musalman in Bengal to become poor; at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich."

Effects of the Permanent Settlement on the Muslims

The policy of trade and commerce was one of self-aggrandisement. It was diverted or utilised in the interest of national welfare. The Muslim traders controlled the exchange of the Indian manufactures with the produce of the foreign world. But the exploiters soon wiped out those links of trade and commerce. All professions of honourable living were thus denied to the Muslims.

When the Muslims of this sub-continent were thus suffering politically, economically and cultur-

ally in the hands of the British, and the existence of the Muslims was at stake, a band of Muslim leaders appeared on the horizon of Indo-Pakistan to save the ruling race. They made movements and compelled the British to change their policy towards the Muslims.

CHAPTER XIV

FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

Muslim Movements in the 19th Century

The history of the Muslims in the 19th century is the history of struggle for freedom. Since the loss of independence, the Muslims were not only hovering in the domain of uncertainty but also many un-Islamic ideas which sapped their moral strength were taking its place in the minds of the Muslims. It was at that time that some Muslim thinkers thought that unless the Muslims were brought back to the teachings of the Quran and the Hadith, it would not be possible to save the Muslims from the impending ruin. They started movement throughout the country in order to raise the moral strength of the Muslims and thereby to prepare them for political make-up. One of the earliest reformers who led the movement in the 18th century was Shah Waliullah. The early movements were religious and political in nature.

Faraizi Movement of East Bengal

The first-half of the 19th century witnessed a movement known as *Faraizi* Movement in East Bengal. The founder of this movement was Haji Shariatullah. Haji Shariatullah was born in the district of Faridpur in 1768. He became the master of various subjects at an early age and made a deep impression upon the minds of men as a great scholar. The condition of the Bengalee Muslims in the sub-continent was very miserable. The British policy of distrust and repression towards the Muslims rendered them economically and educationally crippled, and the oppression of the zamindars made their lives unbearable. They had also gone far away from the paths of true religion. Being influenced by the Hindus, they were sunk in various superstitions.

Condition of the Muslims in Bengal

Haji Shariatullah was deeply moved at the prevailing condition of the Muslims of Bengal. He dedicated himself to reform the cankerous social evils and to improve the condition of the Muslims. The aim of his life was to establish the ideal of Islam and to awaken the political consciousness in the minds of the Muslims.

His aim of life

At the age of eighteen he went on pilgrimage to Mecca where he received his training under Sheikh Tahir, a famous scholar of Arabia. After 20 years he came back to his country and started his reform movement, known as *Faraizi* Movement among the most depressed classes of the Muslims. He asked his people to give up un-Islamic customs and practices and they began to act upon the commandments of religion called *Faraiz* or duties. Hence his followers came to be known as *Faraiz*. His simplicity of character and sincere devotion to faith changed the outlook of the Muslim masses. He established the common relation of *Ustad* and *Sagrid* in place of *Pir* and *Murid*. He forbade *Tazia* on the occasion of Muharram and dancing and singing at the time of wedding ceremonies. His movement was also directed against the oppression of the zamindars. He declared the country as *Darul Harb* (land of the infields) where Eid and Friday prayers could not be offered. The movement of Haji Shariatullah was a direct Jihad against the then religious oppression and superstition. It infused a new life and brought a great agitation among the Bengalee Muslims—specially among the peasants who were imbued with his doctrines. He sowed the seed of independence in Bengal. He thus brought a renaissance in the history of Bengal and prepared the ground of his successors for future works. He died in 1840.

His reforms

Dudhu Mian

Haji Shariatullah was succeeded by his son Muhammad Mohsin, better known in history as Dudhu Mian. Dudhu Mian made the movement of his father strong and popular by organising it in a systematic way. Born in 1810, he went on pilgrimage to Mecca at a very young age. He turned the move-

ment of his father into a political one. He was a man of dashing spirit and had the power of organisation. He showed exceptional qualities of leadership and acquired a great influence among the Muslim peasants and craftsmen of Bakerganj, Dacca, Faridpur and Pabna districts. He divided the whole of East Bengal into several circles which were placed under *Khalifahs* who kept him informed of all occurrences in their jurisdictions. As a result, he became an object of dread to the Hindu zamindars and the European-planters. They began to oppress the followers of the Faraizi Movement. Dudhu Mian vehemently opposed the cesses imposed by the landlords on the Muslim ryots for the decoration of the image of *Durgah*. He asked his followers not to pay any tax to the Hindu landlords. On the other hand he encouraged them to settle in the *Khas Mahal* lands managed by the Government. A conspiracy was set in to arrest the progress of his movement and a group of self-centred Muslims joined the landlords. He organised the peasants of Faridpur district and wanted to declare *Jihad* against the British. That was why he was put under arrest during the revolt of 1857. It dealt a death-blow to the movement. He died in 1860.

His movement was of political one

His opposition against the zamindars

Titu Mir

Mir Nisar Ali, popularly known as Titu Mir was another important figure who was moved with the sufferings of the Muslims of Bengal during this period. While Sayyid Ahmad Shahid was fighting against the Sikhs in the N.W.F.P., Titu Mir was carrying on the work of reformation among the Muslims of Bengal.

Titu Mir was born in 1782 in the district of 24-parganas. His physical structure gave the indication of his military genius. He had the highest regard for Islam. From his early life he began to think over the political condition of the Muslims. His aim of life was to revive the past glory of the Muslims and for this he was preparing himself from the very beginning of his career.

His aim of life

In 1819, Titu Mir visited Mecca on pilgrimage. It was at that time that he came under the spiritual

influence of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid who inspired him with his Doctrine of Independence. On his return to Bengal, Titu Mir devoted himself to the cause of his country. Within a short period a large number of people became his followers and Narkelbaria, a village near Calcutta was made the centre of his activities. Gradually the number of his followers began to increase and he declared himself independent. He also constructed a fort of bamboos at Narkelbaria. In order to strengthen his power, he collected war materials and appointed Masum Khan commander of his forces and Miskin Shah his adviser.

Influence of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid on Titu Mir

The peasants of Bengal were much aggrieved at the oppression of the Hindu zamindars. Their unmitigated poverty and grievances moved the heart of Titu Mir who with a view to removing their grievances wanted to wage war against Krishna Rai, a big zamindar of Purnia and Kaliprasanna Mukherjee of Gobardanga. Krishna Deva Rai showed a policy of high-handedness by imposing on all his Muslim tenants, a special 'tax on beards'. The tenants refused to pay this hateful tax and united in their resistance under Titu Mir. Krishna Deva Rai with his men was defeated in the hands of Titu Mir and the zamindar of Gobardanga who sought the help of Davis, the chief officer of the Kuthir of Mollarhat to crush the power of Titu Mir was also discomfited. The influence of Titu Mir grew rapidly and he was able to set up a Government of his own. The zamindars of Bengal and the Government of East India Company got alarmed at the growing power of Titu Mir. The British sided with the Hindu zamindars and sent a force under the command of Mr. Alexander, the Magistrate of Barasat against Titu Mir. Masum Khan commanded the army of Titu Mir and compelled Alexander to flee from the battle-field.

His wars against the zamindars of Bengal

William Bentick, the then Governor-General of Indo-Pakistan marked the growing influence of Titu Mir and so he paid his attention to the affairs of Bengal. He realised that Titu Mir was not a man to be so easily defeated. In 1830, he sent an army consisting of one hundred English soldiers, three

hundred sepoys and few guns to Bengal under Colonel Stuart. On reaching Narkelbaria, Colonel Stuart ordered the unconditional surrender of Titu Mir. But Titu Mir refused to surrender unconditionally. In 1831, he met the British soldiers and fought bravely and with firm determination to save his country but he was overwhelmed by superior equipment. He fell fighting and with his death his men were dispersed. The fort of bamboos was razed to the ground, many of his soldiers were put into prison and Masum Khan was sentenced to death.

Fight between Titu Mir and the British soldiers

The main cause of Titu Mir's defeat was his want of proper war-equipments. His only equipment was the clubs of bamboo, while the British soldiers had fire-arms with them. The *mujahids* were not disheartened at this failure, rather the example of Titu Mir for the cause of the country was to become a source of inspiration to them in the years to come.

Cause of Titu Mir's defeat

Sayyid Ahmad Shahid

Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, the disciple of Shah Abdul Aziz and the founder of the religio-political movement known as Wahhabism was the first popular political leader in this sub-continent. It has become a subject of controversy regarding the origin of Wahhabism in Indo-Pakistan. W. Hunter and other writers are of opinion that Sayyid Ahmad Shahid derived his doctrines from Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab of Arabia who, in order to save the Muslims from the moral and spiritual degradation, started a movement in Arabia in the later part of the 18th and the first part of the 19th centuries. This argument is not tenable in the face of facts. The teachings of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid differed considerably from those of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab, from whom Wahhabism derived its name. Sayyid Ahmad Shahid had already formulated his ideas of reform before his departure for Arabia. Moreover, the Wahhabis had been disloged from Hejaz before his arrival in Mecca. He might have come across the Wahhabis and Wahhabism but the movement as a political force was at the lowest ebb while he was in Arabia. So it is wrong to say that

Difference of opinion regarding Sayyid Ahmad Shahid as founder of Indian Wahhabism

he was influenced by the Wahhabism of Arabia. Over and above, there were many important points of differences between the two schools of thought. The Sayyid's moderate views on *Taqlid* and his attitude towards *Sufism* may be cited as examples. The former followed middle course regarding *Taqlid* and *Sufism* while the latter rejected both absolutely. The teachings of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid may be classified into four heads :

1. Fight against corrupt practices and innovation.
2. Attitude towards *Taqlid* and *Ijtihad.*
3. Reforms of *Sufism.*
4. Political aims and objects.

The teachings of Sayyid Ahmad had an indigenous origin. He was influenced in his ideas by Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani and more particularly by Shah Walilullah of Delhi and his school. Sayyid Ahmad Shahid himself was a pupil of Shah Abdul Aziz, and his two principal lieutenants, Shah Ismail Shahid and Shah Abdul Hye, belonged to that family.

His birth and education

Sayyid Ahmad Shahid was born in 1786 in Rai-Bareli (U.P.). He possessed a most attractive personality and was destined to leave a permanent mark on the history of the Muslims in Indo-Pakistan. In his early life he showed little interest in reading and writing. But he was very much interested in sports and games. On the death of his father he was thrown into the world of earning. After a few years he came to Delhi and became the pupil-disciple of Shah Abdul Aziz. After nearly two years of study under Shah Abdul Aziz he left Delhi for his home. During his stay at Delhi he had acquired the essential knowledge of the Quran and the Hadith and picked up Persian. The academy of Shah Abdul Aziz produced a passionate believer in the teachings of the Quran and Hadith.

His reforms

In 1821, Ahmad Shahid Barelvi went to Mecca from Calcutta to perform Haj and stayed there for two years. During his stay in Arabia he came into contact with many scholars and acquired a knowledge of the various movements of the world of Islam. He was inspired with new thoughts and ideas.

On his return to Indo-Pakistan, he devoted himself to the religious and social reforms. The practice of making visit to the tombs of saints, the preparation of *Halwa* during *Shab-i-Barat*, the heavy expenditure on the occasion of marriage, birth etc., attracted his attention. He condemned all these and asked the Muslims for the abandonment of those harmful and extravagant social practices. Ceremonial observances, such as *Giarhwin* and *Bibi-ki-Sahnak* were declared as innovations and as such aberrations.

Founder of a movement called Mujahideen

Sayyid Ahmad Shahid was a sufi. But 'unlike most sufis of the sub-continent he did not exclusively belong to one or the other of the well-known schools—*Qadriyah*, *Chistiyah*, *Naqshbandiyah* and *Mujaddidyah*. He had the initiative in all these schools and was glad to admit followers into any one or all of them. In addition to these, he was the founder of a movement called *Mujahideen*.

Political object of his movement

The movement of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid aimed at the renaissance of Islam in Indo-Pakistan in the religious as well as political spheres. According to European historians, the political part of his movement was directed against the British. But others are of opinion that the movement was exclusively led against the Sikhs who had forbidden the call of *adhan* and who used to interefere with the Muslim religious practices in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. When Sayyid Ahmad Shahid heard of the ill-treatment of the Muslims at the hands of the Sikhs, he at the instance of Shah Abdul Aziz decided to wage a holy war (*Jihad*) against the Sikhs. He made necessary preparations for the *Jihad*. In order to popularize the movement he with his party visited Gwalior, Tonk, Ajmer, etc. He proceeded to the sceen of action *via* Panipat, Karnal, Thaneswar, Sind, Baluchistan and Afghanistan. In a word, his journey from Rai-Bareli to the Frontier was meant to enlist the support of the people of these places for his cause. Velayet Ali, Inayet Ali and Keramat Ali in the Central Province and Shah Ismail Shahid and Adul Hye in the North-West Frontier Province joined his party and strengthened his hands.

In 1826, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and the *Mujahids* made an attack on the Sikh forces which were led by Budh Singh, a cousin of Ranjit Singh. Budh Singh was defeated and a large number of Sikhs were killed. The *Mujahids* attained a series of success in the beginning. Peshawar was captured by the end of 1830. But later Ranjit Singh sent Ventura, the French General against the *Mujahids* and also tried to create disruption in the camp of the *Mujahids* through his agents who described the reforms of the Sayyid as un-Islamic. The Pathan leaders misunderstood the Sayyid and left his party. The machinations of the Sikh propagandists were successful for the time being. But yet Sayyid Ahmad Shahid did not lose heart. He met the Sikhs courageously at Balakot (in the Abbottabad district of the North-West Frontier in West Pakistan) in 1831 and a severe battle was fought in which Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, Shah Ismail Shahid and many other leaders of the movement died a martyr's death. Their death for the cause of the country inspired the Muslims to fight the battle of independence for many years to come. In the opinion of Dr. Sachin Sen, author of the 'Birth of Pakistan', the movement led by Barelvi is the precursor of the later Muslim National Movement in Indo-Pakistan. This statement deserves a critical study in the interest of the truth.

Capture of Peshawr, 1830

The movement failed due to the absence of cooperation between the Hindustani followers of the Sayyid and the local populace, lack of proper funds, poor war equipment and want of proper military training, the sectarian propaganda against the reforms introduced by the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and the dissension created by Ranjit Singh among the Pathans.

Causes of the failure of the movement

Though the movement received a great set-back at Balakot, the political work of the Sayyid was carried on by Vilayet Ali of Patna. The subsequent extension of the British power over the Punjab brought the *Mujahids* into direct conflict with the British who fought against the Muslims many a battle and brought the movement to an end.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-98)

Syed Ahmed Khan appeared on the horizon of Indo-Pakistan at a time when the existence of the Muslims in the sub-continent was at stake. In the 19th century the conditions of the Indian Muslims, from the political, social, educational and religious points of view, were at the lowest ebb. Syed Ahmed could not put up with these pitiable conditions of his Muslim brethren. He came forward to save them from the impending destruction and started a movement known as the Aligarh Movement.

Syed Ahmed Khan's early career

A great thinker and reformer, Syed Ahmed Khan 'shaped the destiny of Muslims in the sub-continent and galavanised a frustrated mass of people into a nation with a future'. This illustrious son of Muslim Asia was born in 1817 A.D. in a distinguished Muslim family of Delhi. He lost his father Mustaki Khan early in life and so he had to struggle with various adverse circumstances. As his financial position was not sound, he had to join Government service as *Serestadar* and in course of time he was raised to the rank of Sub-Judge. In leisure hours he used to serve his country and nation through writings.

Conditions of the Muslims after the War of 1857 brought him to the political field

The political career of Syed Ahmed Khan began after 1857. The War of Independence left permament scars on his sensitive soul. The Muslims were the chief fighters in the War of Independence and had, therefore, to bear the entire burden of the revengeful policy of the British whose attitude towards the vanquished was by no means fair. Syed Ahmed was an eye-witness to the events of the great national tragedy. Some of the members of his family perished in the struggle. He was greatly shocked at the destructions of the Muslim families of Delhi, Moradabad and Bijoypur. The Government began to doubt the allegiance of the Muslims. The English newspapers daily brought out articles against the Muslims. "The condition had become so bad," says Maulana Hali, "that there was no need of condemning a Muslim. His being a Muslim was enough crime". The Hindus had also participated in the war, yet they had consolidated themselves in such a manner as not to give rise to any suspicion. They

had lost nothing ; moreover the English wanted to counter-balance the power of the Muslims and therefore they enhanced the position of the Hindus. The Hindus, specially of Bengal had adopted the English language for getting good posts in the offices and thus they were in touch with the English. The Muslims ignored the English language and their apathy to the English language was misunderstood and it strengthened suspicions. The misfortune was firstly due to the British Government's prejudiced policy towards the Muslims and secondly to the latter's neglect of modern education. The Muslims were not only economically crushed but also educationally and socially their position was deliberately depressed by the Government. It was in such circumstances and precarious conditons that Syed Ahmed Khan started his political career. He had spent nearly 20 years in judicial service of the East India Company and was known as a just and competent Government official. The incident of 1857 brought him to the political field and with his magnetic personality he entered the politcal arena, led the Muslims half a century and unconsciously proved himself to be the first architect of Pakistan.

Co-operation with the British Government

Syed Ahmed Khan realised the critical position of the Muslims and so he adopted a conciliatory policy from the very beginning of his political career. He knew that the non-co-operative attitude of the Muslims would be detrimental to their interest. Hence he asked them to be loyal to the British Government. At the same time, he wrote his famous essay, "The Causes of the Indian Revolt". It reveals the courage and fearlessness of the author who wrote this treatise when the country was under Marital Law. He held the British Government responsible for the outbreak of the Revolt of 1857. His work caused much suspicion in British circles. Mr. Cecil Beden, the then Secretary in the Viceroy's Council said, "The man has written a very seditious article and he should be dully punished." But later on he had to change his mind. Many other Englishmen were convinced by his argument. The book provided a candid analysis of the causes of the War of 1857.

According to Syed Ahmed Khan, the main cause of the Great Revolt was the failure of the Government to win the confidence of its subjects. He pointed out the defects of administration and clearly stated that "the British had no attachments with the land over which they ruled and had no access to the minds of its people." Syed Ahmed supported his argument with a long catalogue of popular regulations promulgated by the Government from time to time. The country was ruled according to the western ideas and there was no attempt to measure the sentiments of the people. In the opinion of the author "much of the danger arising out of the ill-informed policies and actions of the foreign Government could be averted by the inclusion of the Indians in the Legislative Council."

His essay on the causes of the Indian Revolt

The effects of the treatise were far-reaching and it became a manifesto for the coming generations. The book was translated and sent to all high officials and members of the British Parliament. It proved to be the starting point to many reforms, e.g., the appointment of Indians to the Legislative Council which began almost within a year of the publication of the book. Hume, the father of the Indian National Congress, is reported to have said, "It was after reading Syed Ahmed's book on the causes of the Mutiny that I first felt the need of having a forum of public opinion of India and eventually the Indian National Congress came into existence."

Appointment of Indians to Legislative Council

The Muslims were condemned as the source of all troubles during the Revolt of 1857. With a view to removing this wrong impression, Syed Ahmed Khan wrote a series of articles under the heading, "The Loyal Muhammadans of India", in which the faithful and meritorious services of the Muslims to the cause of the British Government were recorded.

Wrong impression of the British removed

The political acumen of Syed Ahmed was not limited to these writings, but it had practical aspects too. He realised the importance of co-operation in the political field. He was one of the renowned exponents of the Indian Association which can be called the fore-runner of the Indian National Congress. Syed Ahmed opened one of its branches at Aligarh.

Exponent of the Indian Association

In connection with the equality of the Indians and the Englishmen, Syed Ahmed Khan said, "I have firm belief that until and unless there is racial discrimination in the laws of the country, no friendship can be established between the rulers and the ruled." It was under this impression that he supported the Ilbert Bill in 1883. He recognised the necessity of Hindu-Muslim co-operation and his favourite simile about it was that of a bird with two lustrous eyes. "Even if one eye is damaged, the beauty of the bird would suffer." Lala Bhagat Ram while presenting an address to Syed Ahmed in Jullunder said, "Syed Sahib is not a leader and associate of one community or sect. He is as sincere towards the followers of Keshab Chandra Sen and Swami Daya Nand Sircuti as he is towards the Muslims. He is a patriot."

His attempts for Hindu-Muslim unity

The efforts of Syed Ahmed Khan had so far been directed towards the advancement of all his countrymen. But the Hindu-Urdu controversy started at Benares in 1867 diverted the course of his activities. "It convinced him that if the Hindus and Muslims could not agree even on the choice of a National language, and if the Hindus were so narrow minded as to object to Urdu, which represented a linguistic compromise between Hindi and Persian, there was no possibility of a common nationhood in the sub-continent." In his talk with Mr. Shakespeare, the Divisional Commissioner of Benares he remarked, "Now I am convinced that both these communities will not join whole-heartedly in anything. At present there was no open hostility between the two communities, but on account of the so-called educated people, it will increase immensely in future. He, who lives, will see." Syed Ahmed was the first Muslim to reslise that Hindus and Muslims were really two separate nations, with separate and often conflicting economic, political and cultural interests. Henceforth he devoted himself to the cause of the Muslims only, as the Hindu-Muslim unity was not possible on political grounds. In 1887, he asked the Muslims to desist from taking any part in the Indian National Congress which was a Hindu organisation. Here he made his valued contribution to the growth of Muslim politics in this

Hindi-Urdu controversy widened difference between the Hindus and the Muslims

His advice to the Muslims was to keep themselves aloof from the Congress

sub-continent. The holding of competitive examination, filling of even non-convenanted posts through competition, introduction of the elective system in legislative councils, etc., led him to understand the impossibility of bringing the two diverse elements together. His opinion further hardened when the Hindu-Muslim riot broke out in Bombay in 1893 on the question of cow-slaughter and the playing of music before the mosque at the prayer time.

Aligarh Movement

His educational activities

The greatest service Syed Ahmed Khan rendered to the Muslim community was in the field of education. He had earlier realised the backwardness of the Muslims in education because they had not taken modern education. He tried to create a change in the Muslim mode of thought and to transform their medieval outlook into a modern one. Primarily with this aim he started the Aligarh Movement of which the Aligarh University is a product. It was on this achievement that the "Times of London" named him as "the Prophet of Education". Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru pays a high tribute to the efforts of Syed Ahmed for the Muslim education. He writes, "Sir Syed Ahmed's decision on the point that all the efforts be concentrated on Muslim education was correct. Without education, in my opinion, the Muslims could not take part in the nation building but rather they would become slaves of the Hindus, who are far advanced in education and more stable in financial position".

The Prophet of Education

Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq was the mouthpiece of the Aligarh Movement

Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq (means social reforms) was the chief organ in propagating these reforms and the mouthpiece of the Aligarh Movement. In this Movement Syed Ahmed had a number of friends and followers, namely Nawab Muhsin-ul-Mulk, Nawab Vikarul Mulk, Poet Altaf Hussain Hali and Dr. Nazir Ahmed who stood by his side. He with his friends wrote articles frequently in the paper and attacked the social conservatism which hindered the progress of the Muslim society through the *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* (an Urdu Journal). A storm of protest came from the *Ulema* but he did not pay heed to it

even at the cost of his own life. The journal helped him greatly in bringing about a change for western culture in the minds of the Muslims.

Establishment of different institutions

In order to impart English education, Syed Ahmed opened schools and established scientific societies and translation bureaus for the translation of English books into Urdu. On his return from England where he studied the working of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Syed Ahmed also organised a "Society for the Educational Progress of the Indian Muslims" which decided to establish the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. In May, 1875 he founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental (M.A.O.) College at Aligarh which soon became the Muslim University of Aligarh and the centre of their cultural activities. With a view to promoting the educational cause of 70 million Muslims he founded, in 1886, the Muhammadan Educational Conference which held its meetings at various places and carried the message of Aligarh to all parts of the country. Within a short period, the Muslim community was able to get over much of its educational backwardness. The Aligarh Muslim University served as "a nursery of leaders" who later on championed the cause of the Muslims and contributed much to their intellectual and political awakening in the sub-continent. Some of the leaders of the Aligarh Movement founded the Muslim League in 1906 with the co-operation of the Muslim youths educated in Aligarh University and it is the Muslim League which has achieved Pakistan. So it can be said that the Aligarh Movement indirectly laid the foundation-stone of Pakistan.

M. A. O. College at Aligarh established in 1875

Religious programme

The Aligarh Movement was also responsible for the restoration of Islam in conformity with the modern world. Sir Syed Ahmed wrote a number of books on religious subjects and tried to prove that in every respect the teachings of Islam was in harmony with the modern scientific theories. Though his views on certain religious questions have not been accepted by the orthodox Muslims, his services to Islam by answering the criticism of Christian Missionaries are widely appreciated.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan breathed his last on the 26th March, 1898 at Aligarh. He "was the man who

for nearly half a century led the Muslims and took them out from the abyss of disintegration". It was he who made the Muslims self-conscious and enkinlded the spirit of awakening and renaissance. He filled the big void created in the history of the Muslim community by the disapperance of the Muslim rule. "He gave the Indian Muslims a new cohesion, a new political policy, a new educational idea, a new approach to their individual and national problems......He rallied together the Indian Muslims and became the first of their new nationhood." Had Sir Syed Ahmed Khan not appeared on the political stage of India in the 19th century, the Muslims of the sub-continent could not have survived as a separate Nation. In this respect the Muslims of Indo-Pakistan are greatly indebted to him who moulded the destiny of the Nation and paved the way for the future leaders of Muslim League.

He laid the outline of politics for future leaders of the Muslim League

Political Movements : The Indian National Congress

Before the birth of the Indian National Congress, several political organisations were established in India to acquaint the British Government with the grievances and demands of the Indians. In 1886, Sir Syed Ahmed founded the British Indians Association at Aligarh. It presented before the Indian Government and the British Parliament the demand of the Indians' participation in the Council. In 1876, Surendra Nath Banerjee of Bengal founded the Indian Association with the object of making it the centre of an All-India movement. He took to politics when he was dismissed from the Indian Civil Service on a minor charge. The agitation took a serious turn when the Secretary of State reduced the age-limit for the Civil Service Examination from 21 to 19 years. The Civil Service agitation played an important part in the political career of Surendra Nath Banerjee.

Political organisations before the birth of the Indian National Congress

The Civil Service agitation was soon followed by agitations for the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act and Arms Act which made an invidious distinction between the Indians and the Europeans. The agitation raised by the European community against the Ilbert Bill (1883) further exposed the racial

India and the national movement

distinction between the ruler and the ruled. All these agitations roused the political consciousness of the people and began to shape their national movement.

In view of the increasing intensity of the Indian feelings for national aspirations, Allan Octovian Hume, a retired Civilian wanted to divert them into a constitutional channel. He foresaw that an open rebellion against the British rule was not far off. He discussed the matter with the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin who gave his support for the formation of some responsible organisation through which "the Government might be kept informed regarding the best Indian public opinion." Accordingly the plan of A.O. Hume was taken up by some prominent Indians and the Indian National Congress was established in Bombay during Christmas week, 1885. Its first meeting was held in Bombay under the presidency of Mr. W.C. Banerjee, a prominent Bengali barrister. Out of seventy-two delegates attending the meeting, there were only two Muslims. It is evident from the fact that the Indian National Congress was overwhelmingly Hindu in composition. The Indian National Conference which was set up by Surendra Nath Banerjee in 1883 for the discussion of all sorts of political problems, now merged itself into the National Congress as the two organisations had the same objects in view.

The initiative taken by A. O. Hume for the formation of the Congress

The members of the Congress expressed their satisfaction and loyalty to the British *Raj*. The attitude of the British Government was also sympathetic towards the Congress at the outset.

British attitude in the beginning

Many Government officials used to attend the meetings of the Congress and even they took part in their deliberations. In various provinces official receptions were held by the Governors in honour of its members. But with the specific constitutional demands made by the Congress the sympathetic attitude of the officials began to wane. Lord Dufferin, on the eve of his retirement, passed a remark about the Congress as a "microscopic minority". Lord Lytton, another ex-Viceroy of India declared that the members of the Congress 'represent nothing but the social anomaly of their own position'. When the Congress employed all the paraphernalia of

Change in the British official attitude

constitutional agitation, such as meetings, lectures, distribution of pamphlets, etc., then the British officials began to suspect its motives and gradually they kept themselves away from it.

Rise of Muslim Politics

Though some Muslim leaders joined the Congress, the Muslims as a community kept aloof from it. The reasons are not far to seek. The interest of the Muslims at the hands of the Hindu majority Congress was not safe and secure. That was why, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan asked his fellow-Muslims not to take any part in the Indian National Congress. He also opposed the proposal of the Congress for taking representatives in the Viceroy's Council by election. He knew that if democracy on the English line was introduced in the country, the Muslims would have no place in the Council as they were minority of one to four. The prophecy of Syed Ahmed soon came to true. According to the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the Legislative Council was formed through half-election and half-nomination. During this time, not a single Muslim was elected to the Council, yet the Congress was not pleased with the Indian Council Act of 1892. From 1897 the Congress abandoned the idea of the constitutional movement. Some of the Hindu leaders adopted a revolutionary policy and were trying to establish a Hindu *Raj* behind the National Movement in the sub-continent. It roused a doubt in the minds of the Muslim leaders and their doubts were increased when the Hindus led a movement against the partition of Bengal in 1905. For the convenience of administration and to give economic and other facilities to the Muslims who constituted overwhelming majority in the new Eastern Bengal, Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India partitioned the province of Bengal which consisted of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and formed a new province known as Eastern Bengal with the divisions of Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong along with Assam. The Hindus of Bengal could not tolerate the partition of Bengal and they led a serious movement against it. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Bipin Chandra Paul, Aswini Kumar Datta and other leaders of Bengal took the

Factors leading to the demand of separate electorates by the Muslims

lead of this movement. At last the British Government had to declare the annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911.

All these events led the Muslim leaders to think that the Hindu Congress would not look to the interest of the Muslims. They began to feel the necessity of a separate election for the protection of the Muslim rights. In October, 1906, a Muslim Deputation consisting of 36 Muslim leaders including Nawab Mushin-ul-Mulk, Nawab Vikarul Mulk, Nawab Sir Salimullah and Nawab Ali Chowdhury waited upon the Viceroy, Lord Minto at Simla and put before him the demand of separate representation for the Muslims. His Highness the Aga Khan led the Deputation. The Viceroy was much impressed by the arguments of the deputationists. He expressed his sympathy and co-operation for the Muslims.

Muslim Deputation at Simla

The Muslim League

Being encouraged by the success of the Muslim deputation at Simla, some of the leaders were trying to establish a political organisation for the Muslims. Besides, a series of events which took place at the beginning of the 20th century made it clear to them that they must have a separate political organisation of their own. At last, it was decided that a representative organisation would be formed, whereupon the leaders of Muslim India met at Dacca in December 1906 on the occasion of the Muslim Education Conference. In the meeting that took place at Shahbag (Dacca) under the presidency of Nawab Vikarul Mulk, Sir Salimullah, the Nawab of Dacca proposed the formation of Muslim League and it was supported by Hakim Azmal Khan, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Shah Abdullah and Maulana Muhammad Ali. Within eight years of the death of Sir Syed Ahmed the All-India Muslim League came into being. The first resolution moved by the Nawab of Dacca for the formation of the Muslim League runs as follows :

Formation of Muslim League in 1906

"Resolved that in this meeting composed of Musalmans from all parts of India assembled at Dacca that a Political Association be formed, styled

All-India Muslim League for the furtherance of the following objects :

(a) "To promote, among the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of Government with regard to any of the measures."

(b) "To promote and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government."

(c) "To prevent the rise, among the Musalmans of India, of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other aforementioned objects of the League."

The Muslim League was thus founded with the object of promoting the loyalty of the Muslims to the British Government and of safeguarding their political and other rights. It also aimed at the establishment of friendly feelings between the Muslims and other communities. According to Sir Pircival Griffiths, "whatever may have been the other effects of the foundation of the Muslim League, it sets the seal upon the Muslim belief that their interests must be regarded as completely separate from those of the Hindus, and that no fusion of the two communities was possible".

Contributions of Nawab Salimullah

Nawab Salimullah of Dacca played an important part in the formation of Muslim League. It was he who convened the meeting at Dacca and made the proposal for the formation of the League before the meeting. It was he who first suggested the partition of Bengal and the creation of a separate province consisting of East Bengal and Assam. His suggestion was accepted by the British authority. But he was shocked at the Royal Proclamation of annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911 and in order to pacify him as well as the Muslims of East Bengal the Dacca University was established. Nawab Salimullah was one of the chief organisers of the famous Simla Deputation that waited upon the Viceroy in 1906. His name, even today, is asso-

ciated with many social organisations and educational institutions of Dacca. The establishment of Muslim League was a great contribution of Nawab Salimullah to Muslim politics in the sub-continent.

The Congress leaders could not put up with the demand of the Muslims for separate elections and the formation of Muslim League. They severely criticised the policy of the Muslims. In 1910, Syed Nabiullah, President of Nagpur League and in December 1911, His Highness the Aga Khan made attempts with the leaders of the Congress for Hindu-Muslim unity. But as the Hindi-Urdu controversy, beating of drums before the mosque at prayer time, the problem of cow-slaugther, etc., were not solved, the attempts for Hindu-Muslim unity were also not successful.

Lucknow Pact of 1916

The annulment of the partition of Bengal, the brutal massacre of Muslims at Cownpore and the Balkan War brought the Muslims to realise the futility of British promises and the necessity of Hindu-Muslim unity. Towards the end of 1913 Mohammad Ali Jinnah joined the Muslim League. He was trying heart and soul for the Hindu-Muslim unity and it was due to his untiring effort, the Muslim League and the Congress held its meeting together in Bombay. As a result of this mutual understanding the Congress and the Muslim League again held a joint-sitting at Lucknow in 1916 and this is known as the famous Lucknow Pact. The main features of the Lucknow Pact were as follows: (1) 'The Muslim League must, jointly with the Congress, demand for the establishment of complete self-government for India. (2) The Muslims were to have one-third of the Indian elected seats in the Central Legislature. The Congress conceded separate electorates for the Muslims and representational weightage for the minorities in the Legislatures. (3) 'The

Main provisions of the Pact

principle of minority weightage meant that in the Central Legislature and in the Legislatures of those provinces where the Muslims were in a minority, the number of seats for the Muslims would be proportionately greater than the percentage of Muslims in the population concerned. In the provinces where the Muslims were in a majority, as

in Bengal and the Punjab, they would obtain less than their numerically due proportion of seats. (4) 'No bill would be introduced by a non-official member if it affected the interests of any other community, and such a bill would not be passed if three-fourths of the members of that community opposed it'.

Importance of Lucknow Pact

The Lucknow Pact was a landmark in the political history of the sub-continent. According to the Pact, the Congress accepted the demand of the Muslims for representation through a separate electorate. Both the Congress and the Muslim League demanded the establishment of self-government through constitutional means in the sub-continent.

The Khilafat Movement

Embrassing position of the Indian Muslims

The next important political event of Muslim India was the Khilafat Movement. The Muslims of India had a great regard for the Khilafat which was held by the Sultan of Turkey. When the World War I broke out in Europe, Turkey joined the war in favour of Germany, the main enemy of Great Britain. The alliance between Turkey and Germany put the Indian Muslims in an awkward position. They, at the outbreak of the war, pledged their whole-hearted support to the British Government and 'this came into clash with their brotherly feelings towards the fellow Muslims in Turkey'. The British Government realised that "war between Britain and Turkey placed a great strain upon the loyalty of the Indian Muslims and being suspicious of their leaders", put Maulana Muhammad Ali, Maulana Shawkat Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and other prominent leaders to jail. At this, the Muslims became much offended and the British Government understood the gravity of the situation. In order to assuage the feelings of the Muslims the British Prime Minister, Lyod George made a statement in the Parliament that it was not the intention of the British Government to deprive the Turks of their homelands.

Arrest of Muslim leaders

When the war came to an end in 1918 the assurance was not kept. The Treaty of Severes (1920) was imposed on Turkey and it was a severe blow

to the Ottoman Empire. The British gave consent to the dismemberment of Turkey among the European powers and when the territories inhabited by the Turks, such as Smarna, part of Thrace and Anatolia were wrested from Turkey, the Muslims received a great shock. A wave of anger swept through the Islamic world and the agitated Muslims of this sub-continent rose to a man against the British Government. They were determined to engage all their energies for the safety and integrity of the Khilafat, the symbol of unity of the Muslims all over the world. The two brothers, Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulana Shawkat Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who came out from the jail in 1929 organised a mass movement of the Muslims and this came to be known as the Khilafat Movement. Thus the Khilafat Movement started in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent only after the World War I. The Movement created an unprecedented agitation all over the country.

Situation created by the betrayal of Lyod George

"Although the Khilafatists aspired for the protection and preservation of the Turkish Empire and the holy places of the Muslims in Arabia", they were working for the independence of this sub-continent. The Congress was also agitating for self-government and when their demands were not fully complied with, the Congress leaders became furious with the British Government. Their discontent was further aggravated by the passing of the Rowlatt Act (1919) and the consequent inhuman butchery at Jalianwala Bagh. The Congress under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi started a Non-Co-operation Movement. The country was passing through a critical period and both the Congress and the Muslim League had fully felt the necessity of mutual co-operation for making their demands effective. The Congress extended their co-operation to the Khilafat Movement. The leaders of the two movements met at Amritsar and resolved to launch a country-wide agitation under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. So the two movements—one led by Maulana Mohammad Ali and the other by Mr. Gandhi merged into one and it was directed against the British Government. The movement became so popular that the leaders like

Khilafat Movement and Non-co-operation Movement under Mr. Gandhi

C. R. Das and Lala Lajpat Ray did not hesitate to join the Non-Co-operation Movement. Mr. Gandhi gave orders for the renunciation of all Government titles, the boycott of legislatures, law courts, and educational institutions. He along with the Ali brothers made a tour all over India and asked the people to rally round the banner of the movement. The Muslim students came out of their educational institutions and joined the movement. The Khilafat and the Non-Co-operation Movements took the shape of a mass movement and shook the British foundation in India. The agitation took a serious turn and thousands of Indians were put behind the bar. But the leaders, in spite of their best endeavours, could not achieve success for Hindu-Muslim unity.

Country-wide agitation

The non-violence non-co-operation movement roused the patriotic feelings of the Mopla Muslims at Malabar who rose in armed conflict (1922) not only against the British but also against the Hindus. The anti-Muslim campaign of the Hindus, such as *Suddhi* and *Sanghathan* movements created hatred amongst the Moplas against the Hindus. As a result, communal riots broke out in Northern India and these embittered the feelings between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Hindu-Muslim strife hindered the progress of the movement. But the greatest mistake was committed by Mr. Gandhi during this time. While the movement was perhaps on the way of success, he called off the agitation to the utter disadvantage of the Muslims after the Chauri Chaura incident in the Gorakpur district on the plea of violence.

Movement called off by Gandhi on the plea of violence

Maulana Mohammad Ali and many other Muslim leaders had already been arrested for passing a resolution in a meeting to the effect that the Indian troops should not serve the British. 'The calling off of the movement by Mr. Gandhi gave a further chance to the British Government to take full advantage of the weakness of the Indians". Mr. Gandhi was arrested with many others and the Government imprisoned them for different terms. As a result, the Non-Co-operation Movement came to a halt and the leaderless Khilafat Movement could not

Failure of the Khilafat Movement

go ahead. When the movement was dwindling for want of leaders, Kamal Pasha came to power. He took steps to abolish the Sultanate and subsequently the Khilafat. With the abolition of the Khilafat by Kamal Pasha all agitation in this regard came to an end.

The Khilafat Movement was of considerable importance in the history of Muslim India. It served the important purpose of the mass-awakening of the Muslims. It also 'served to demonstrate the religious and political cohesion' among the Muslims of the sub-continent. Its failure led them to believe that the Muslims, if they wanted to survive in the sub-continent, must rely upon their own strength and work out their political destiny. The movement later gave an impetus to the struggle for independence and for a separate homeland for the Muslims.

Importance of the Movement

In 1923, Maulana Mohammad Ali as the Congress President of the Kokonad Conference made an appeal for the Hindu-Muslim unity. During that time, Mr. C. R. Das prepared a draft known as "Bengal Pact" for the Hindu-Muslim unity in Bengal and presented it before the Conference for its approval. But the Congress did not approve it on the ground of its being anti-national in character. At all these, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and other Muslim leaders were surprised and became afraid of the future of the Muslims. The Muslim League became weak when Khilafat Committee acquired supremacy during the Non-Co-operation Movement. The Muslim leaders soon began to realise that the future of the Muslims had depended on the re-organisation of the Muslim League and the acquisition of its strength. Muhammad Ali Jinnah once more realised the importance of Hindu-Muslim unity for the achievement of Independence. The chance of Hindu-Muslim unity came again in 1927 when the British Government appointed a Statutory Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir John Simon after which the Commission is known as the Simon Commission. The object of the Commission was to review the working of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms and to make recommendations for a new Constitution for India.

The Simon Commission

As this Commission did not include any Indian, this was boycotted by almost all the political parties in India. Mr. Jinnah took a leading part in organising the boycott. An all-parties conference met at Delhi in 1928 and to draft a future Constitution of the country, a sub-committee was formed with Pandit Motilal Nehru as its President. The report of the Nehru Committee was published in 1929. This report demanded "Dominion Status" for India. The Muslims were surprised and puzzled at this report as the separate election was refused and the reservation of seats for the Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab was rejected in it. Like Mr. Jinnah, Maulana Mohammad Ali began his political career in the Indian National Congress and made great sacrifices, but he was soon disillusioned on publication of the Nehru Report. He was disgusted with Mr. Gandhi and his Congress. He left him by saying: "We refuse to join Mr. Gandhi, because his movement is not a movement for the complete independence of India, but for making 70 million of Muslims dependent of the Hindu Mahasabha". Mr. Jinnah went personally to the Calcutta Session of the Congress and placed his amendment proposals for the acceptance of the Nehru Report by the Muslims. But his proposals were outvoted by the Hindus.

Nehru Report

The Muslims could not accept the Nehru Report. So Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah prepared a draft of the minimum demands of the Muslims. These proposals of Mr. Jinnah are known in history as "Jinnah's Fourteen Points". He called a meeting of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi in March 1929 and put forward his fourteen points. The League after careful consideration laid down that "no scheme for the future Constitution of the Government of India will be acceptable until and unless the following basic principles are given effect to and provisions are embodied therein to safeguard their rights and interests :

Jinnah's Fourteen Points

(1) "The form of the future Constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.

(2) "A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.

(3) "All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.

(4) "In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.

(5) "Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present provided it shall be open to any community, at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.

(6) "And territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not, in any way, affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and N.W.F. Province.

(7) "Full religious liberty, *i.e.*, liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.

(8) "No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill, resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

(9) "Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.

(10) "Reforms should be introduced in the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.

(11) "Provision should be made in the Constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with other Indians, in all the services of the State and in local self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

(12) "The Constitution should embody adequate safeguard for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim charitable institutions and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by the self-governing bodies.

(13) "No cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim Ministers.

(14) "No change shall be made in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation."

Though several sittings were held, these demands of the Muslims were not accepted by the Hindu leaders.

The British Government realised that without the co-operation of the Indians, no Constitution would be successful in the country. So the Government invited leaders of diverse parties and interests to London for a series of Round Table talks on the Constitutional issue. During the period of 1930-1932, three meetings of the Round Table Conference were held but the Hindu-Muslim problem was not solved.

The Muslims, being a minority, demanded some safeguard in the Constitution which were rejected by the Hindu leaders. During the first Conference, the Congress abstained from attending the meeting. It was a time of Civil Disobedience Movement led by Gandhi. This movement led to the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and many others. In the course of events the British Prime Minister came to realise the importance of the good-will of all sections of Indian people in solving their problems. On the release of Mr. Gandhi an agreement was made known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931) by which the Congress gave consent to call off the Civil Disobedience Movement and to join the Round Table Conference. Mr. Gandhi then attended the Second Session of the Round Table Conference as the sole representative of the Congress. His large claims on behalf of the

Gandhi-Irwin Pact

Congress blocked the way to the settlement of Hindu-Muslim problem. The Conference ended in failure. Mr. Gandhi returned to India with a heavy heart.

At the interference of some Hindu leaders for the mitigation of their sufferings that followed the wholesale arrest of the Congressmen, Sir Ramsay Macdonald, the British Minister, gave his verdict known as Communal Award in 1932. It fixed the number of seats for different communities in different legislatures. It also provided the provision of a separate electorate for the scheduled caste Hindus. Mr. Gandhi who was in Poona jail undertook a "fast unto death" as a protest against the separate electorate for the so-called "Depressed Classes". In order to save the life of Mr. Gandhi, the leaders of the scheduled caste Hindus made a compromise which resulted in the Poona Pact. By it, a large number of seats was reserved for the "Depressed Classes" and these seats were to be filled up by a joint electorate out of the panel of names selected by the scheduled caste Hindus.

In the meantime the British Parliament after the Third Round Table Conference (1931) passed the Government of India Act, 1935 which provided an All-India Federation and Provincial Autonomy. In the Government of India Act, 1935, many of the demands made by the Muslims had been accepted through the Communal Award and other enactments and orders. According to the India Act of 1935, a general election took place in 1937 and the Congress swept the polls in the general constituencies. The Congress ministries were formed in seven out of the eleven provinces and the coalition ministries were formed in Sind and Assam. It was only in Bengal and the Punjab that the Muslim League formed the ministries. The victory of the Congress in the general election of 1937 made the Muslims feel that they could expect neither justice nor fair play under the Congress Government. On capturing the Government, the Congress Ministers ordered the hoisting of flag on Government buildings, made the singing of the *Bande Mataram* compulsory in the legislatures and educational institutions,

Injustice done to the Muslims under the Congress Government

encouraged the use of Hindi as the national language, etc., irrespective of the sentiments and protest of the Muslims. There were serious riots caused in the Hindu-majority provinces before the very nose of the Congress Ministries. The Congress remained in power for twenty seven months. For these twenty-seven months the oppression and torture by the Congress regime reached its climax. At that critical juncture, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah took the lead of the Muslims. He calmly surveyed the political situation of the country and set himself to the task of reorganising the Muslim League.

Demand for a separate homeland

It was Sir Muhammad Iqbal who first dreamt of a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. He clearly understood that the Hindus and the Muslims were two separate Nations. So he felt the need of a separate land for the Indian Muslims and he made it clear at the Allahabad Session of All-India Muslim League in 1930 when he said in his presidential address : "India is a continent of human groups belonging to diferent races, speaking different languages and professing different religions ......To base a constitution on the conception of homogeneous India......is to prepare her for a civil war. I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam. The formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India."

Sir Iqbal's idea for separate homeland

This scheme of a separate Muslim State in India appeared to be a dream of the poet Iqbal at that time and it was bitterly criticised. But the poetic dream of Iqbal was not a dream of idle brain. Since 1930, the idea of a separate State was gaining ground in the hearts of the Muslims. In 1933, Chowdhury Rahmat Ali, an young thoughtful politician was the first man who prepared the word 'Pakistan'. He took the first letters of the five areas of the north namely 'P' from the Punjab, 'A' from Afghan, 'K' from Kashmir, 'S' from Sind, and 'TAN' from Baluchistan and gave it the name of Pakistan. All these pro-

Origin of the word 'Pakistan'

posals and scheme were the dream of a few individuals. But it was Quaid-e-Azam who made it a national demand for the Indian Muslims and translated the dream of Iqbal into reality. Sir Iqbal, in his letters to Mr. Jinnah, urged him to take up the mission of saving the Muslims from the Hindu-majority rule.

Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah had now concentrated all his energy to fight out the cause of the Muslims. In the meantime, the Second World War had broken out in 1939 and Britain, as in 1914, took India to war with her. The Indian Muslims had opposed the British war effort in 1914 and suffered heavy consequences, while the Hindus had supported it and reaped a rich harvest. The Muslims took lesson from the past and were alert this time. The Muslim League, under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah while choosing to remain neutral, left the provincial leaders free to co-operate with or help the war effort in their individual capacities. The Congress took the advantage of the British difficulties and demanded immediate transfer of power. It also held out a threat to go out of the provincial ministries if the British authorities did not surrender. As the demand was not complied with, the Congress Ministries resigned in November, 1939. The Muslim League observed a "Day of Deliverance" as a mark of relief that the Congress regime had at last ceased to function. The bitter experience of the Congress rule had opened the eyes of the Muslims. They set themselves to the task of reorganising the Muslim League under the banner of the Quaid-e-Azam.

Muslim League organised by Mr. Jinnah

Day of Deliverance

After the Lucknow Session (October, 1937) which inculcated a new spirit of self-reliance and self-organisation among the Muslims, a resolution was passed by the Provincial Muslim Conference held at Karachi in 1938 adopting the two-nation theory. From his past experience, Mr. Jinnah fully realised that a separate State was the only effective safeguards for the Muslims. "We are a Nation", he said, "with our distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, name and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion,

Two-nation theory

legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and tradition, aptitude and ambition; in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International Law we are a Nation." To him, 'the Partition of India was the only solution'.

Lahore Resolution

It was on the basis of two-nation theory that the Muslims demanded a separate homeland for them. On the 23rd March, 1940, the Muslim League under the Presidentship of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah laid claim to a separate homeland, *i.e.*, Pakistan for the Muslims at the historic Lahore Session of the League. The Lahore Resolution runs as follows:

Basic principles of Lahore Resolution

"Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, namely that (1) geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial re-adjustment as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States, in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign; that (2) adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the Constitution for minorities in these units and regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them, and in other parts of India where Muslims are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the Constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them." The regulation was moved by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, the then Prime Minister of Bengal and supported by Muslim leaders from all provinces. 'The Lahore Resolution

was a landmark in the history of the Muslims in the sub-continent. It determined for the Muslims a true goal and promised to them their homelands in the North-East and the North-West where they could develop their spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way they thought best. From this time onwards, the Muslims under the leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam who 'set his force steadfastly towards partition and would not be deflected either by blandishments or by threats' had devoted all their energy and wisdom to the achievement of Pakistan.

Importance of Lahore Resolution

CHAPTER XV

WHY PAKISTAN

In this chapter an attempt would be made to state the very need for the creation of Pakistan. This was especially important for the present generation who were little aware of the background and circumstances under which Pakistan was created.

Result of British Policy

It appears that to find the answer to the question 'Why Pakistan demanded' one has to merely look up the pages of history of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent. Anybody who visits either India or Pakistan to-day will discover that the controversy out of which Pakistan emerged has not altogether died down ; it is still very much alive. From Pakistan's point of view it seems an inevitable resultant in which the British policy has been a complicating and not an initiating factor.

Muslims' reluctance to accept British rule

Islam entered the areas that now comprise Pakistan about 1200 years ago when the Arab Muslims landed on the soil in 712 A.D. No one forgets and it is indeed hard to forget that the Muslims ruled over the Sub-continent for centuries. With the memory of this imperial heritage behind them it is rather easy to conclude why Muslims in general adapted themselves less rigidly to the regime of the East India Company than did the more flexible minded Hindu community.

The failure of the so-called Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 hit the Muslims very hard, as the former ruling class they had the most to gain if only they succeeded. Muslims of birth and breed, the natural leaders of Muslim opinion had thus little reason for love for the British. It must, however, be conceded that the real driving force behind the emergence of Pakistan was the desire of the Mussalmans to preserve and foster the Islamic values of life.

The dawn of the 19th century saw the East India Company emerge as the major political power

in India. It was a fact that the Mughal Empire had ceased to exist long ago even before the British arrived on the scene. Yet the social order continued to be feudal to which the Muslims in particular kept on clinging even after 1857 when the last ray of hope of reviving the Delhi Empire was extinguished for good. The tide of time was rolling on ; it could not afford to wait for the Muslims to be realistic. It was, therefore, the Muslims who first felt its effect in the form of the impact of a dynamic civilisation on a static feudal society. It was not a healthy impact, nor were the changes that followed in the interest of the Muslims. The Muslims unfortunately were the worst sufferers. Their profession was no longer open, the way to a new one was barred. The English Governor-General of India, Lord Bentinck reported that the "misery hardly finds a parallel". "To the horror of their economic dislocation was added the apprehension that under the new regime their educational institutions were going to be wiped out." W. W. Hunter, an apologist for the British rule in India, himself points out to this sad situation when he says, "The panic and hatred which ensured have stamped themselves forever on the rural records. Hundreds of ancient families were ruined and the educational system of the Mussalmans received a death-blow. The scholastic classes of the Muhammedans emerged from the eighteen years of harrying, "absolutely ruined."

Results of the failure of Sepoy Mutiny

The vacuum created by the collapse of the educational system was filled up with frustration and indignation. This whipped up the pace of unemployment followed by a general distrust of the new rulers. To the Muslims not only this worldly, but the other-worldly prospects also appeared gloomy. The Hindus, on the other hand, welcomed the new change and rushed to adjust themselves to the new situation. They took full advantage of the official encouragement and in commerce. education and professions found new avenues to carve out a bright future for themselves. When the British deliberately implanted the English system of landlordism on the soil of India, it was mostly the Hindu moneyed and business class who made

Exclusion of the Muslims from services and other fields

full use of the opportunity and replaced the old Muslim landed gentry. The Muslims had sufficient cause for discontent. During this period they were being deliberately isolated from all places of position and prestige and constantly kept out of Government service. They desired to enter the services of the Company, but they received only discrimination, sometimes mild and often ruthless. In Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and later in the United Provinces, they were ignored and kept behind.

Comments in Calcutta Persian Paper

A Calcutta Persian Paper in July, 1869 writes: "All sorts of employment, great and small, are being gradually snatched away from the Muhammedans and bestowed on men of other races, particularly the Hindus. The Government is bound to look upon all classes of its subjects with an equal eye, yet the time has now come when it publicly singles out the Muhammedans in its Gazette for exclusion from official post. Recently when several vacancies occurred in the office of the Sundarbans Commissioner, that official in advertising them in the Government Gazette, stated that the appointment would be given to none but Hindus."

Thus even when qualified for Government employment the Muslims were studiously kept out of it by Government notification. This would show to a great extent the degree of the appealling misery and privations the Muslims of India were undergoing during those days.

While the Muslims were allowed to sink low, the Hindus were gradually rising and gaining shape. To a great extent the future political and economic developments that were to take place in the Indian sub-continent were due to this uneven and unbalanced development of its two major communities.

With the passage of time the Muslims became afraid that their culture and their cherished way of life would become submerged in an India where the more advanced and more educated Hindus could exercise the power of a brute majority.

The demand for a separate State has been misconstrued in various circles as religious intolerance, a return to mediaevalism and so on.

This would be true in the western society where religion is no longer stressed as an essential attribute of nationality. But the differences between the Hindus and Muslims in India were not merely a question of religious differences as the phrase is generally understood in the western world. The differences were more pervasive and created maladjustment between its two peoples in almost every station of their daily lives. The two communities had and still have very little in common. Islam and Hinduism are built on two entirely different kinds of society. In their attitude both towards the universal and the particular, Allah as well as man, the Hindus and the Muslims remained at two diametrically opposite schools of thought. These divergences of belief were so fundamental that, though the Muslims had been living side by side with the Hindus for over a thousand years, their culture and tradition have remained separate.

Culture of the Muslims and their way of life were in danger

The earliest account of distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims has been provided by al-Beruni, who visited India in the company of Sultan Mahmud in the ninth century. He writes in his famous work entitled *Kitab-al-Hind* about the differences he observed between the two communities : "The Hindus entirely differ from the Muslims in every respect. One might think that they had intentionally changed them into the opposite, for our customs do not resemble theirs". Al-Beruni enumerates the following reasons for the complete and entire isolation of the Muslims as a community from the Hindus : "All their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them. They call them impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by inter-marriage, or by any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating and drinking with them, because thereby they think they would be polluted".

Difference between the two Communities

These thoughts were expressed one thousand years ago. The history of the Indian Sub-continent shows that numerous unsuccessful attempts were made to solve this problem of isolation of the two communities from each other. In the 16th century, the Emperor Akbar adopted a new religious policy

Unsuccessful attempts by Emperors Akbar and Aurangzeb to solve Hindu-Muslim problem

in an effort to amalgamate the two communities, but he failed because the two communities showed no inclination to merge themselves. Then in the 17th century, Emperor Aurangzeb tried the alternative method of attempting to impose strictly the laws of the ruling Muslim minority upon the unwilling Hindu majority. This attempt also failed because the Hindu majority would not accept it. In the 19th century, after the decline of the Mughal power and when India had fallen into the hands of the British, it was Sir Syed Ahmed who recognised the seriousness of the problems. He also became aware of the fact that the policy adopted by the British was directed to break the Muslims physically, mentally, and spiritually. Sir Syed Ahmed could see another aspect of the new situation. It was the attitude adopted by the huge non-Muslim majority against its erstwhile rulers in the shadow of the new dispensation. For the Hindus it was merely a change of masters, a natural consequence of this was that they saw nothing wrong in carrying out the behest of the new masters even better than the masters themselves had ever dreamt of. As a result, every centre of Muslim culture and civilisation became dormant as if under a national sleeping-sickness. The only objective before Sir Syed Ahmed then was to rehabilitate and reform the Muslims so that they might lead an honourable life again as a nation. The handicaps in the path of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan were many and formidable. He took upon himself to organise the Aligarh Movement to gain more ground for the Muslims educationally, socially and politically. It will be no exaggeration to state that among the men of fame and eminence, Maulana Mohammad Ali must be given the place of honour. Because of the fact he understood Sir Syed Ahmed's objectives and idealism best and gave the Aligarh Movement a new push forward. Sir Syed Ahmed was the first Muslim leader who could foresee the goal of political movement in India. His action in advising the Muslims to stand aloof from the Congress was not a cause but a result of Hindu hostility. Because of Hindu communal movements Sir Syed Ahmed Khan turned away from the idea of co-operation between the Hindus and the Mus-

Realisation by Syed Ahmed to organize the Muslims

lims for common objectives. He was a sincere believer in friendship and co-operation between two the communities, but the intolerant attitude and activities of the Hindus made him realise that the Muslims should not join the Congress. His advice proved to be correct and sound by subsequent development on the Indian political scene. After Sir Syed Ahmed, Maulana Mohammad Ali also stated that there were two nations in India. It was this idea which was given poetic expression by Allama Iqbal and later it received the most articulate and powerful expression from the Quaid-e-Azam in 1940. On the 28th of March, 1909 Iqbal wrote: "I have myself been of the view that religious differences should disappear from this country, and even now, act on this principle, in my private life. But now I think that the preservation of their national entities is desirable for both the Hindus and the Muslims. The vision of a common nationhood for India is a beautiful idea, and has a poetic appeal, but looking to the present conditions and the unconscious trends of the two communities, appears incapable of fulfilment." It was this idea which Sir Syed Ahmed preached towards the end of his life. The result was the creation of All-India Muslim League in 1906 at Dacca.

Need for a separate homeland

Iqbal referred to the unconscious trends of the communities. These trends were perhaps the cause of dividing the Indian people into two nations. Besides the economic and political factors, there was one important factor forming the basis of division in the Indian society. Iqbal might have realised that the neo-Hinduism, a product of Hindu renaissance was a political revolt against the Muslim culture. Perhaps he had sensed that this neo-Hinduism, a mixture of aspirations for political supremacy and religious revival would have its impact on the vast majority of the Muslims. He could also perhaps foresee that this influence might eliminate totally from the Indian soil the culture and traditions which were owned by the Mussalmans. As a matter of fact, the impact of the Hindu culture and western civilisation was discernible in a large number of Muslim families. It was quite natural that his sensitive mind reacted against this trend and launched itself to crys-

talize the out-of-date Islamic romanticism of Shibli and Azad into an Islamic ideology as a symbol of neo-Islam. In no way he could tolerate the Indian nationalism which he interpreted as a cloak of neo-Hinduism. Under the poetic inspiration of Iqbal the modern Islam in 1930 became an ideological force for whose glory the Muslim youth was led to live and die.

It is equally worth-while to read Iqbal's presidential address at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930 which is a landmark in the history of Muslim India in so far as it contains the first conception of the two-nation theory and the demand for a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims. Iqbal said, "It cannot be denied that Islam, regarded as an ethical ideal plus certain kind of polity by which expression I mean a social structure regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical idea, has been chief formative factor in the life history of the Muslims of India."

Iqbal's enunciation of two-nation theory

Iqbal went on to say, "Would you like to see Islam as a moral and political ideal, meeting the same fate in the world of Islam as Christianity has already met in Europe ? Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national politics in which religious attitude is not permitted to play its part ?" This question becomes of special importance in India where the Muslims happen to be in a minority. The religious ideal of Islam is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore, the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means the displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. This is a matter which at the present moment directly concerns the Muslims of India.

This poetic dream of Iqbal caught the imagination of the Muslims of India under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammed Ali Jinnah who embarked upon giving it a concrete shape. The imagination of Iqbal was translated into action when the Quaid-e-Azam said that the "differences in India between the two major nations, the Hindus and the

Muslims are a thousand times greater when compared with the Continent of Europe". He added, "India is not a national State, India is not a country but a sub-continent composed of nationalities, the two major nations being Hindus and the Muslims whose culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, name and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, laws and jurisprudence, social and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, outlook on life and of life are fundamentally different nay in many respects antagonistic."

Shuddi and Shangathan Movements and anti-Muslim propaganda

There is a thousand years of history between the observations of al-Beruni and the speeches of the Quaid-e-Azam. It was apparent that the Hindus and the Muslims failed to come close to one another even in one thousand years of living together. Not only this, the *Shuddi* and *Shangathan* Movements started by Swami Shradananda and the *Arya Samaj* leaders to convert non-Hindus into Hinduism aggravated the situation and the days of the communal harmony were over. Unfortunately, the *Arya Samaj* was carrying on violent anti-Muslim propaganda and the methods and the tone of the mission were aggressive particularly towards the Muslims who could not in any way tolerate the scurrilous attacks on their Prophet by the *Arya Samaj* writers. It was indeed a very unhappy state of affairs as the *Arya Samaj* did not think that the Muslims had any right to live in India. According to them the followers of Islam were intruders and therefore tolerance was out of question. This deepened the already existing antagonism between the two communities.

Hindu opposition to Partition of Bengal

The majority community's attitude towards the legitimate demands and aspiration of the Muslims was betrayed in their violent opposition to the creation of a Muslim majority province in Eastern Bengal under Lord Curzon's Partition Plan of Bengal. At that time Bengal, Bihar and Orissa formed one province with a population of 78 million. The province was unwieldy and some redivision of it was a practical necessity. In 1905 Lord Curzon decided to divide this unwieldy province into two provinces of manageable size. The new province of "Eastern Bengal and Assam" had a population of 31

million of which 18 million were Muslims, while Bengal was to be a province of 54 million of which 42 million were Hindus. Although the partition was based on administrative grounds, it yielded real gains to the Muslims of Eastern Bengal who had been exploited by the Hindu landlords and the businessmen of Calcutta. The Muslims welcomed the partition plan wholeheartedly.

The Hindus of Bengal started unprecedented agitation against the partition. The most distressing feature of the movement was the outburst of violent anti-Muslim feeling all over India. The main objection against the partition of Bengal was that it created a Muslim majority province. The movement had also strong religious overtones. Every Hindu religious sentiment was called into play. It was during this period that the idolatry song, *Bande Mataram* with its strong anti-Muslim trend became the national anthem of the Congress and other Hindu organisations. Even Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had to admit that the Hindu movement against the partition of Bengal was violently anti-Muslim. The Hindu agitation against the partition of Bengal and the rise to militant Hindu movements made the Muslims realise the need for a Muslim political organisation and they also demanded special safeguards for the protection of their rights under the proposed constitutional reforms. The Muslims did not press for a separate State at the beginning of the progressive realisation of responsible government in India. Still they had hope that with certain basic constitutional safeguards their culture and cherished way of life would be protected. But as the implication of parliamentary system with its principle of majority rule became more and more evident to them when constitutional reforms were enlarged and expanded in 1919 and 1935, they were left with no other alternative than a separate Muslim State. The road from the separate electorate in 1909 to the separate State in 1947 was, however, chequered with serious disputes and quarrels with the majority community ; at every stage the Muslims met with determined and continued opposition from a more prosperous, well-organised and numerically and economically stronger group.

Muslims strongly felt the need for a separate State

There were innumerable stories of suppression and oppression of the Muslim peasants and tenants by the Hindu landlords and the money-lenders. There were also stories of hatred and bitterness for the Muslims. It is well-known that in those days a Muslim student in an educational institution could not even get a glass of drinking water, for there was no question of the Muslim-untouchable sharing the same glass with the Hindu students. If, however, a particular glass was earmarked for the use of the Muslim, no Hindu would touch the glass and it was allowed to lie outside in dust and storm.

Suppression and oppression on Muslims

In a Hindu family if a dog entered the kitchen and spoiled the utensils, the utensils were merely washed, but if a Muslim of even a distinguished family entered the kitchen of a Hindu to be fed, the plates used were invariably thrown away. During the *Pujas* the Muslims were forced to bring arums (*Mankachu*) and he-goats (*Patha*) for sacrifice by the Hindu zamindars whether the Muslims realised it or not. In the *Kabuliat* it used to be mentioned that it would be the mandatory duty of the Muslim peasant to make his contribution towards the *Puja* functions in the Hindu zamindar's house.

In undivided Bengal there were many districts where slaughtering of cows was prohibited. Not only this, the Muslims were even deprived of their religious freedom. They were prevented from building their mosque and the Hindus insisted on taking out procession with music at the time of congregation in utter disregard of Muslim sentiments and feelings. These are only some of the many examples of oppression and hatred that the Muslim community had to face while living together with the Hindu majority in India.

It is common knowledge that when at the clarion call of Sir Syed Ahmed, Allama Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammed Ali Jinnah there appeared a re-awakening of the Muslims of the Indo-Pak sub-continent and such leading papers like the Azad and the Mussalman started writing articles on the Muslim culture and heritage, it created stir among the Hindu extremists. The Hindu leadership at

once started the counter-campaign by publication of books and articles in which the Hindu population was warned that cultural conquest by the Muslims was the worst that the Hindus could subject themselves to.

The worst form of Hindu tyranny, however, was manifested when their political party, the Congress, had the chance to form ministries in seven provinces of British India in 1937. The Congress rule was noted for such systematic attack on Muslim culture and their way of life that it killed every hope of Hindu-Muslim settlement. The Congress refused to have any representative from the Muslim League in their ministries. The Muslim League was willing to form coalition with the Congress. Quaid-e-Azam said that our policy, "did not prevent us from co-operation with others, on the contrary it is a part and parcel of our basic principle that we are ready to co-operate with any group or party if the basic principles are determined by common consent."

Attack on Muslim culture under Congress rule

What was the Congress response to the League's offer of co-operation ? The Hindu Congress demanded that the Muslim League groups in the Legislature should cease to function as separate entities ; the existing members of the Muslim League Party should become part of the Congress Party ; the Muslim League Parliamentary Board would have to be dissolved and no candidates would thereafter be set up by the said Board in any by-election. The Congress demand, to quote the words of the Quaid-e-Azam, was "Abjure your party, forsake your policy and programme and liquidate the Muslim League." No political party with an iota of self-respect would possibly accept this demand. The Muslim offer of co-operation was thus deliberately spurned by the Congress and it had far-reaching consequences. The Congress policy was inspired by the "intoxication of victory". After the creation of Pakistan the Congress leader Maulana Abul Kalam Azad lamented that if the League offer of co-operation would have been accepted, the Hindu-Muslim problem might have been solved.

What was the result of Muslim League's exclusion from the Congress Ministries ? In every Hindu-majority province the Muslims complained of unfair treatment. They did not get their due share in Government service. The Muslims could expect neither justice nor fair play under a Congress Government. Quaid-e-Azam set up a Committee of eight members to investigate into the Muslim sufferings and grievances under the Congress rule. The Committee headed by Raja Sayyid Mohammed Mehdi of Pirpur submitted its report popularly known as "Pirpur Report" in November, 1938. The Pirpur Report was supplemented by two other reports—the Shareff Report published in March, 1939 and *Sher-e-Bangla* Mr. Fazlul Huq's Report entitled "Muslim suffering under Congress rule." These reports gave well documented accounts of the suppression and oppression of the Muslims by the Congress rule in India under the first experiment of majority rule (under the parliamentary system of Government). The Pirpur Report had stated that Congress had failed to inspire confidence in the minorities and had failed to carry them with it in spite of its oft-repeated resolution guaranteeing religious and cultural freedom because its actions were not in conformity with its words. The Congress rule tried to break the political power of the Muslims. *Sher-e-Bangla's* book began by analysing the Congress policy. These valuable reports depicted the reign of terror let loose upon the Muslims under the Congress rule.

Muslims sufferings as depicted in various reports

The Muslim intelligentsia were seriously concerned over the threats on the Muslim culture and education under the Congress rule. The All-India Muslim Educational Conference met in Calcutta in 1938 and appointed a Committee to investigate into the plight of the Muslim education in the Congress provinces. The Congress had already formulated a plan known as Vidya Mandir Scheme under which the Hindu culture and way of life were to be imposed on the Muslims. The ideas behind the Vidya Mandir Scheme and Wardha-Scheme were to annihilate the Muslim culture and their cherished way of life. The Muslim children were compelled to honour the Congress flag,

to join with folded hands in singing *Bande Mataram*, to wear Gandhi Caps. Such was the fate of Muslims under Congress rule. For the Muslims the Congress rule from 1937 to October, 1939 was nothing short of a nightmare. The Muslim League under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-e-Azam raised its voice vigorously against the Muslim sufferings under the Congress *Raj*. It condemned the Congress policy for fostering *Bande Mataram* as a national anthem upon the country in utter disregard of the feelings of the Muslims. Quaid-e-Azam spoke bitterly of the Congress rule. On the very threshold of power and responsibility which the Congress got under the Act of 1935, the Hindu-majority had clearly shown what would be the fate of the Muslims in an undivided India. They would remain as a stagnant and permanent minority. Quaid-e-Azam demanded the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the oppression and suppression of the Muslims. But this proposal of imperial commission was turned down. Legacy of this tendency of refusing to settle any dispute with the help of an impartial or international body is continued to the present day by India's constant refusal to settle any major Indo-Pakistan dispute through the United Nations or any other impartial organisation.

Muslims under Quaid-e-Azam raised their voice

When the Congress rule came to an end in 1939 the Muslims all over India observed a "Day of Deliverance" on December 21, 1939, as a mark of relief that the Congress regime had at last ceased functioning. The inevitable result of this widening gap under the Congress rule was the Muslim demand for a separate state. It was no longer a question of merely voting in favour of or against a certain federal scheme. The Indian political situation had undergone a fundamental change.

Day of deliverance

As the freedom from the British rule drew nearer it became increasingly clear that the Muslims would have to lead their new life as perpetual political minority and that freedom from British rule would mean merely a change of masters for them. The only difference was that in case Congress succeeded in capturing power, the

new master would be one over whom the Muslims ruled for centuries in the past. It was natural apprehension that the Muslims were not only to be reduced to a minority, but would also face the vengeance of those over whom they ruled for nearly 700 years. The Muslims realised further that their religion and their culture, their civilisation and their traditions, their heritage and their way of life, were all in danger, and under the Hindu majority rule they would be compelled to lead the life of a serf without any religious, cultural, political and intelectual freedom.

This was the background of the historic Lahore Resolution of March 23, 1940. By this resolution the Muslims demanded a separate homeland to lead their lives in accordance with the dictates of the Holy Quran and Sunnah. Lahore Resolution

The proposal for the Partition of India was passed on the theory that there were two major nations in the Indian sub-continent. When challenged on this point by Mr. Ghandi the Quaid-e-Azam said, "We maintain and hold that the Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of 100 million and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinct culture and civilisation........by all canons of international law, we are a nation." With this proclamation of their political destiny and goal the Muslims gathered in a unique way under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam who gave new meaning and shape to their quest for liberty. The Muslims began to acquire new hope and confidence in their destiny, the moment they became convinced that there was no other solution to the Indian constitutional problem except the creation of two separate States of Hindustan and Pakistan. One fact emerges here. The Muslims claimed Pakistan primarily because they failed after years of sincere attempts to live in peace and amity with the Hindus. They were tormented by the fear that as Muslim they would never be acceptable to the majority community of India. Pakistan, however, was not asked for by the Muslims on the philosophy of hatred for the Hindus. "A community", says Iqbal, "which is inspired by a feel-

ing of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty according to the Holy Quran even to defend their places of worship if need be. Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and behaviour and which has formed me what I am, by giving me its religion, its literature, its thoughts, its culture and thereby recreating its whole past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness."

Demand of Pakistan gained ground

Pakistan was shaped on the principle of Muslim nationalism, that is the security of complete and absolute Muslim national and cultural freedom. The two-nation theory was put forward as an exposition of this very principle at a time when the Muslims of the Indo-Pak sub-continent realised that their distinct culture and traditions, history, customs and literature will not permit them to co-exist with the Hindu-majority in India. Quaid-e-Azam observed that the Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literatures. They neither inter-marry nor interdine together and indeed they belong to two different civilisations which are based on different ideas and conceptions.

It is now more than a thousand years that the bulk of the Muslims have lived in a different world, in a different philosophy and in a different faith. The basis obviously was religion itself which did not permit the Muslims to be amalgamated with the Hindus of India.

Pakistan created on ideological basis

Pakistan, therefore, was created as an Islamic State. According to idealistic viewpoint, it was the religious factor which predominantly contributed to the creation of Pakistan. The object of the Muslims of Pakistan is to live and run their State as Mussalmans and to announce Pakistan an Islamic State where religion is the greatest binding factor, is to proclaim an aspiration, the beginning of an experiment in which the objective or the end is to be attained not through form but through a process. Religion and State are one in Pakistan. If they were

to live with the Hindus in undivided India, it was obvious that Islam would most certainly be excluded from the State in the Indian sub-continent reducing the Muslims to non-entity. Hence the demand for Pakistan, and on being questioned the Quaid-e-Azam had said, "By a separate homeland I mean a country where the Muslims of the Indo-Pak sub-continent would be able to fashion their lives according to the dictates of the Holy Quran and Sunnah". Religion is a part and parcel of our State. In Christian countries the spiritual or the religious matters are left entirely in the hands of the ecclesiastic hierarchy. It is, however, an impossibility to establish a similar hierarchy in Pakistan, a Muslim State because the separation of the Church and State is unthinkable to a Muslim.

CHAPTER XVI

BIRTH OF PAKISTAN

Since the day of Lahore Resolution the history of the Muslims was one of struggle for the achievement of Pakistan and Muhammad Ali Jinnah 'was the guiding-spirit of the whole struggle.' The leaders of the Congress bitterly criticised the policy of Mr. Jinnah who did not move even an inch from his goal, the achievement of Pakistan, till he attained it. The Hindu resistance made the Muslims more determined in their demand for Pakistan.

Cripps' Mission

Sir Stafford Cripps' Offer in 1942

During the Second World War the Congress demanded complete independence which the British did not comply with. But when Japan entered the war in 1941, the British Government, being alarmed by the war situation in the South-East Asia, made efforts to come to settlement with the Indo-Pakistan political parties and Sir Stafford Cripps was sent on March 2, 1942 with a Draft Declaration which became known as the Cripps' Offer.

This draft contained proposals both for participation of Indian leaders in the government during the war and for the steps to be taken afterwards to reach a constitutional settlement. For the present, the British Government invited "the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nation." Only the defence of India would remain under the control of the British Government "as a part of their world war effort." For the future, the British Government looked forward to the creation of a new Indian Union with full Dominion status, including the right of secession from the Commonwealth. As under the proposed proposals, the provinces were free to choose whether to join the Union or to stay out. The provinces where the

Muslims were in a majority could presumably form their own federation in due course.

It was for the first time that the British Government indirectly recognised the Muslim demand for "Pakistan". The Declaration expressly permitted the right of self-determination for every province and formation of one or more unions in India. Cripps' offer was rejected by the Congress and the Muslim League for different reasons and was ultimately withdrawn.

Cripps' Offer rejected by both the parties

After the failure of the Cripps' Mission, the Indian National Congress launched a "Quit India" movement and some of its leaders were taken prisoner. This was followed by a period of lull in the constitutional activities till the end of World War II. On the conclusion of the war the Labour Party returned to power. With a view to solving the Indian problems the Labour Government, as a preliminary measure, ordered that the general election should be held in India in January, 1946. The results of the elections gave striking proof that the Muslims were ranged solidly behind the League. In the Central Assembly, the Muslim League won all the Muslim seats. It also won a large majority of the Muslim seats in the key provinces of Bengal, Assam and the Punjab. The Congress gained all the seats in the Central Assembly reserved for the Hindus.

'Quit India' movement

General election of 1946 gave proof of Muslims' cause

Cabinet Mission

After the elections were over, the British Government sent a Cabinet Mission with new constitutional proposals only to end the Indo-Pakistan deadlock. This Mission consisted of three senior members of the British Cabinet, Mr. A. V. Alexander, Sir Stafford Cripps and Lord Pathick Lawrence. The Viceroy, Lord Wavell, invited the Congress and the League leaders and they repeatedly met the Cabinet Mission. But the negotiations and efforts for a compromise failed as usual and the Cabinet Mission, then, framed and announced their own plan known as the Cabinet Mission Plan. Under this plan "the sub-continent was not to be partitioned and there was to be one Central Government to deal with foreign affairs, defence and communications. The Mus-

Cabinet Mission Plan

lim League's demand was, however, partially met by the division of the entire sub-continent into three groups of provinces and by giving each group the right to frame its own Constitution. The provinces of British India would form the following three groups :

GROUP A: Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa — the Hindu majority groups.

GROUP B : Punjab, North-West Frontier Provice and Sind — the Western Muslim majority group.

GROUP C : Bengal and Assam — the Eastern Muslim majority group.

The Cabinet Mission also proposed the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre to carry on the administration until the inauguration of the Constituent Assembly. On June 3, Lord Wavell recognised the League's parity with the Congress by offering it equal representation in the Interim Government. The League and the Congress would have five seats each and there would also be two members, one representing the Sikhs and the other the "Untouchables". The Muslim League accepted the offer but a few days later, the Viceroy changed his mind and decided to add two more representatives, one from the Parsees and the other from the Anglo-Indians.

On June 16, Lord Wavell, after conference with the Cabinet Mission, invited five members from the League, five from the Congress and one from each of the four minority communities to form a Coalition Government at the Centre. He also announced that "in the event of the two major parties (League and Congress) or either of them proving unwilling to join, we would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government with those who would accept the plan."

Perfidious role of Wavell

The Congress accepted the long-term scheme, but rejected the interim scheme and turned down the invitation. The Muslim League, however, accepted both the long-term as well as the short-term proposal. But Wavell declined to call the Muslim League to form the Interim Government, when the

latter pressed for it. At this, the Muslim League in its meeting at Bombay withdrew its approval of the Cabinet Mission Plan.

After the failure of the Cabinet Mission, the Muslim League took a direct course to achieve Pakistan. In view of the continuous violation of pledges and promises on the part of the British representative, Lord Wavell, the Muslim League was compelled to convene a Council meeting on the 28th July, 1946 in Bombay in order to acquaint people with the dangers that were ahead. On this occasion Quaid-e-Azam boldly said, "I feel, we have exhausted all reasons. It is no use looking to any other sources for help or assistance. There is no tribunal to which we can go. The only tribunal is the Muslim Nation." At the end of his speech, eminent Muslims dramatically renounced the titles and honours they had once accepted from the British Government. The Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission and sanctioned that Direct Action Day would be observed throughout the country on the 16th August to explain to the people the change brought about in the policy of the Muslim League.

Direct Action Day

Necessity of Direct Action Day

On the 15th August, a hot debate took place in the Bengal Assembly when the Bengal Government had announced its decision to make the 16th August a public holiday. The debate in the Assembly showed the resentment of the Hindu leaders against this order. It was further revealed when Mr. K. Roy, leader of the Congress Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly said in a meeting held on the 14th August at Ballygunj that "it was stupid to think that the holiday for Direct Action Day was being decreed by the Muslim Bengal Government in order to avoid commotions......" He also advised the Hindus to keep their shops open and not to submit to a compulsory *hartal*. It is quite natural that those who would keep their shops open on the day of general *hartal* would create disturbance ; for the mob will try to close them by force. So Mr. Roy, in the words of Mr. Tuker, himself was setting the stage for the very clash that he apprehended.*

Direct Action Day resented by the Hindu leaders

*Lt. General Sir Francis Tuker, *While Memory Serves*.

It was reported that the Hindus had erected barricades at the Tala and Belgachia bridges to prevent Muslims from entering the city and taking their processions to the Octerlony Monument where a mammoth meeting was organised and Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister of Bengal was to address the assembled gathering. In many places of the city the Hindus 'were trying to prevent Muslim processions from marching through Hindu areas to the Monument. But the worst time came when the meeting broke up. It was the Hindus who provoked the indignation of the peace-loving Muslims and thereby hastened the outbreak of the great fracas in Calcutta.

The Hindus provoked the indignation of the Muslims

After the meeting was over, the Muslims were returning home and on their way home they were attacked in many places by the Hindus. A counter attack soon followed and Calcutta was turned into a scene of communal riot. The Muslims at once set to work to loot and burn Hindu shops and houses. At 6 p.m. curfew was clamped down all over the riot affected areas. In many places of the city, such as the College Street Market, Amherst Street, Harrison Road, Upper Circular Road, shops were found ablaze and the loss of these places was unthinkable. At about 4 a.m. things seemed much quieter and 'it was not until well after daybreak that dead bodies began to appear in the street and killings started afresh'.

Shops and private houses were looted and burnt

On the 17th of August, looting and murder went on in the alleys and kennels of the town. No bus or taxi was seen in the streets and there were no means for clerks to get to their work. Rickshaws were battered and burnt. The bloodiest butchery of all on the 17th had been between 8 a.m. and 3 p.m. During this period the southern Calcutta was set ablaze with the fury that had caught the north and centre. Swords were being used and the crowds were charging madly hither and thither. The dust and sickening noise of killings rolled out from Garden Reach, Kidderpore, Metia Bruz, Belgachia and along Lower Circular Road. Looting and destruction were in full blast all about Park Street.

August 17, 1946

On the 18th August, north Calcutta was brought under control. The next day shopkeepers started cautiously to open their shops and efforts were made to induce tramway workers to return to duty. Incidents continued throughout the day but it did seem that the lunatic fury of Calcutta's population had worn itself out. The stench of their murderous work of barely three days was terrible, particularly about Sealdah Station. August 18, 1946

On the 19th August, more work was done in clearing the streets and in general rescue work of destitute and injured. By the 22nd August, despite the continuance of isolated killings and the occasional dispersal of growing crowds, Calcutta was quiet. It is difficult to say how many lives were lost in the Calcutta killing. But all one can say is that the toll of dead ran into thousands. August 19, 1946

The Calcutta riot changed the political situation of the country, though many lives were lost and immense properties destroyed. Many Muslims of Bengal laid down their lives at the altar of Independence.

The communal troubles spread in many parts of India, specially in Eastern Bengal, Bihar and the Punjab. Peace and order were restored to these places at the cost of many lives.

While the communal frenzy was still at fever pitch, the Viceroy who had a soft corner for the Congress invited the Congress President Mr. Nehru to form the Interim Government. In September, 1946 the Interim Government was formed with Pandit Nehru as its Vice-President. At first the Muslim League did not join it. But later on, the League, being persuaded by Lord Wavell joined the Government. But the non-co-operation between the League and the Congress rendered the political situation in the sub-continent extremely critical. The Muslim Muslim League boycotted the Constituent Assembly. Formation of Interim Government

In February, 1947, Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister of the Labour Government declared that the existing state of tension and uncertainty in India "is fraught with danger and could not be indefinitely

prolonged." Hence he made the announcement that it was the definite intension of His Majesty's Government to "effect the transfer of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948." Mr. Attlee also announced the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as the last Viceroy, "entrusted with the task of transferring to Indian hands the responsibility for the Government of British India in a manner that will best ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India."

Announcement of Mr. Attlee

The declaration of Mr. Attlee was followed by a series of riots all over the Punjab. They were attended with a degree of ferocity and cruelty. Many Muslims were destroyed, killed and haunted from place to place like dogs in the East Punjab. The Muslim League agreed to the division of Bengal and the Punjab to avoid bloodshed and killing of the innocent and the poor.

Riots in the Punjab

In March, 1947, Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India took over the administration of the sub-continent in his hands. The ghastly drama of brutal massacre which was being staged throughout the country convinced him the necessity of the partition of India. Hence he invited all the leaders of the various organisations at a conference held on June 3, 1947, and placed before them the procedure to be followed for the transference of power into Indian hands under the prevailing circumstances. His plan known as the 3rd June Plan was accepted by the Congress, the Muslim League and the Sikhs.

Lord Mountbatten's Plan of June, 3

On July 18, 1947, the Indian Independence Act of 1947 received the Royal assent to give effect to the Mountbatten Plan of vivisection of Muslim homeland. This Act provided for the partition of India and the establishment of two dominions—India and Pakistan from the 15th August, 1947. This Act also provided for (1) the legislative supremacy of the two Dominions. (2) The legislatures of the Dominions were given full powers to make laws having extra-territorial jurisdiction. (3) The British Government was to have no control over the affairs of the Dominions, Provinces or any part of the Dominions after the 15th August, 1947. (4) This Act terminated British authority over India, set up two in-

Independence Act of 1947

dependent Dominions, each with full authority to make any Constitution it pleased. Both the Dominions were given full powers and rights to leave the British Commonwealth of Nations if they so desired.

Thus, after nearly a century of heroic struggle, Pakistan came into being on August, 1947 as an independent State for eighty million people. It is the largest Muslim State and the fifth largest in the world.

Quaid-i-Azam became the first Governor-General of Pakistan, while Lord Mountbatten was appointed the first Governor-General of India.

CHAPTER XVII

PAKISTAN SINCE 1947

With the achievement of Pakistan on August 14, 1947 a new era ushered in for the eighty million Muslims of the sub-continent. They were proud of their new State and they wanted it to be strong and vigorous. But the tasks that faced the new State in its early years were truely gigantic. The people dreamt and hoped a new era of social justice and Islamic brotherhood ; instead they found that the achievement of Pakistan had thrown them into the beginning of a long hard struggle for survival. Undaunted and unnerved Pakistanis rallied round the creator of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and looked for his guidance. He was by nature a commander and leader of men. He organised the campaign for Pakistan. "His adventurous creativeness crystalized Ibqal's idea of Pakistan," and people quite naturally wanted him to lead them to the path of progress, plenty and prosperity.

A new State

The first task before the Nation was to form a Government. Pakistan refused to be led by Lord Mountbatten, the British Governor-General. Come what may, they instead chose their own man to pilot the affairs of the newly born State. Quaid-e-Azam was recognised to be above the political battle, a figure to whom all might turn for authority, justice and protection. He became the Governor-General and President of the Constituent Assembly. He was no longer a party-leader but the spokesman of the Nation. He had the full authority over Civil Administration and the Armed Forces.

Quaid-e-Azam as Governor-General

Some expressed the view that Lord Mountbatten should have been allowed to become Joint Governor-General of both the Dominions but the idea was turned down on the ground that as Joint Governor-General Lord Mountbatten would have devoted much more time in Delhi than in Karachi

and the arrangements might have created anomaly in the sense that two different leaderships of the Muslim League and the Congress held opposite views on matters. In fact, Lord Mountbatten lacked confidence of the Pakistani leadership. On the otherhand, with Pakistan the Quaid's prestige stood so high that few would admit the possibility of his making any major error. The task before the Quaid was a formidable one. It was by no means an easy job to organise the new State and lead the masses who just freed themselves from the shackles of slavery but yet to be in a position to undertake the vast responsibilities that lay ahead of them.

Quaid-e-Azam formed the new Cabinet with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan as Prime Minister and others who were at the vaneguard of the Freedom Movement. Karachi was chosen as Capital of Pakistan. Arrangements were made to bring the officials who opted for Pakistan.

Setting up of Partition Council

The Partition Council was set up to deal with the entire field of administration including records and personnel, assets and liabilities, central revenues, etc. And then there were Joint Defence Council, Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee and the Boundary Commissions for demarcation of borders, each consisting of two Muslim and two Hindu High Court Judges, with a single British Chairman presiding. With the help of these machineries the slicing apart of an entire Governmental organism with its rights and obligations and material equipment and the massive movement of its employees, military and civilian, was being organised.

Problem of accommodation

The huge job was comparatively easier for the administration in Delhi and Calcutta as they inherited organised and established everything. But in the case of Pakistan it was a fresh start out of scratch behind all the rush and bustle. There was hardly any office or residential accommodation for the officials. Offices were installed in barracks and private buildings. It was under such state of affairs that the Government of Pakistan started functioning. But undoubtedly behind this humble beginning there was a sign of firmness, strong determination and a spirit of sacrifice on the face of each and every

Pakistani. The new Governor-General rightly voiced the feelings of the Nation by his bold declaration that "Pakistan has come to stay and it shall stay" at a time when anti-propaganda were let loose and doubts expressed about the fate of the new State by interested quarters.

Refugee Problem

Pakistan was opposed tooth and nail by the Sikhs and militant Hindus. But when Pakistan was carved out they became furious. Their wrath fell on the Muslims. Shocking barbarities were done by the Sikhs in the cities of Central and Eastern Punjab. In the villages, Muslims were set upon with a fury which amazed British and other uninvolved witnesses. To quote the foreign Correspondent of The Times, "The Sikhs are clearing East Punjab of Muslims, butchering hundreds daily, forcing thousands to flee westward, burning Muslim villages and homesteads. This violence has been organized from the highest levels of Sikh leadership and it is being done systematically, sector by sector ...."As a result of this carnage, gigantic panic-stricken Muslim population moved in batches to the Punjab under appalling physical conditions in unprecedented manner. At that time it was a two-way displacements of population. Undoubtedly, even according to any impartial observer, "Muslim convoys walking from East Punjab were more straggly than Sikh ones moving in the reverse direction, and therefore suffered more." The newly born-State Pakistan which was busy in organizing itself was really at a loss what to do with the problem of accommodating such a vast number of refugees. However, the problem was dealt with steadily and the Government had to spend crores of rupees for providing immediate shelter and gradual rehabilitation to the refugees.

Problem of Kashmir

Then came the problem of Kashmir which is yet to be solved. By the middle of September, 1947 trouble arose in the soil of Kashmir and it was nothing but the rising against the Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir and his officials. The inhabitants of Kashmir almost 80 per cent of them being Muslim rose in revolt against the torture and oppression of the Hindu ruler. The Muslims had suffered long

under the princely regime. A sense of frustration and the fear of uncertainty and gloomy future under the despotic Hindu Raj goaded them into action.

The Maharaja miserably failed to suppress the mass upsurge and made frantic appeal to the rulers of Delhi for help. The Indian ruler hardly missed the chance. Troops were flown to the valley of Kashmir at once. With a British Governor-General's backing their task was easier. The tribesmen, in the meantime pushed in and had almost reached the edge of the airfield outside Sreenagar and the Maharaja with all his entourage fled by road to his dynasty's ancestral home beyond the mountains of Jammu. But for the extreme speed of the Indian activities the airfield and probably Sreenagar city too have been in the tribemen's grasp. It also shows that there must have been careful military planning and political intrigue by India beforehand. As a result of Indian Government's action a reign of terror was let loose. Innumerable Kashmiris sought shelter in Pakistan and brought with them tales of murder and looting, and inhuman torture and brutality.

Torture and oppression on the Muslims in Kashmir

Pakistan's first reaction was to send troops to Kashmir to help the Kashmiris in their liberation movement and order to this effect was passed. But unfortunately for Pakistan the British C-in-C of Pakistan Army, General Gracey created certain bottlenecks and the subsequent events that happened fast brought to light some sort of arrangements between the two dominions that troops and tribesmen should be withdrawn and a plebiscite be held by a cease-fire within 48 hours. The Indian Government soon afterwards rejected the offer and since then had taken intransigent attitude towards this problem by dishonouring all subsequent mediations. Thus the problem still remains unsolved much to the danger of the peace and amity in this region of the world. In fact, it was the cause of direct conflict between the two States in September, 1965.

Besides Kashmir, a brief history of the fate of annexation of two other States was necessary to give an account of how the Indian rulers utterly dis-

regarded the principles of equality, democracy and right of self-determination of the people. The much-proclaimed policy of the Britishers towards the Indian States did not work. The rulers had the right to stay independent or to link up with either of the dominions but there was no possibility to receive any aid or encouragement from Britain after then. Three important States were still undecided about their fate while the Independence Day arrived.

Junagadh

The small State of Junagadh, on the Kathiawar coast about half-way between Bombay and Karachi was being governed by a Muslim Nawab. When it became clear that the Muslim ruler was in favour of acceding to Pakistan the Indian Government moved troops towards Junagadh area and a provisional Government of free Junagadh was permitted to function on Indian soil headed by a distant relation of Mr. Gandhi. The minor disorders within the State were fostered. On October 26, the Nawab had to come across to Pakistan and the Indian forces marched in and occupied the State for good.

In the case of Hyderabad, history had so arranged things that a Muslim ruler, the Nizam ruled over a population mainly Hindu. During the British period Hyderabad had been acknowledged as the premier princely State of India. The Muslim ruler stood in a class distinct and the ruling dynasty had been widely looked upon throughout the sub-continent as the main surviving inheritors of the Mughal traditions.

Hyderabad

The State covering about 82 thousand square miles, an area almost equal to that of Britain and having a population of 16 million, became the next target of Indian invasion. The Nizam relying on his State's size and wealth and historical prestige expressed his strong desire for maintaining independent status but pressure tactics begun to be applied by Indian Government and the British Governor-General Mountbatten. As such, it was well-nigh impossible for the Nizam to withstand it. Meanwhile, the extremist Muslim organisation, the Razakars rose in revolt but in vain. Vigorous 'Police action' was

let loose by India in the State and to quote the Independent author IAN Stephens, "Large though Hyderabad was, and impressive in her Islamic traditions, the new Indian regime aided by the British military advisers, in an elegant little operation almost perfectly planned, effectively subjugated it in less than five days."

Kashmir, the third princely State inhabited by 80 per cent Muslims had from the outset been looked upon by Pakistan as geographically and in consistent with the principles applied by India in the case of annexation of the two states, an integral part of Pakistan. But the Gandhian pacifists ruling at Delhi resorted this time to a totally opposite set of arguments by putting emphasis on dynasty as the ruler of Kashmir was a Maharaja of Dogra Hindu dynasty.

The strategic importance of Kashmir, owing to its position in high Central Asia close to Russia, China, Afghanistan and Tibet and its extraordinary scenic beauty accompanied by richness and fertility of the soil particularly around Sreenagar were not to be lost sight of. These factors, in fact, made the Indian rulers to absolutely forget the path of reason, ignore impartial mediation times without number and even to defy the decision of the World Body.

Before undertaking a thorough study of the Constitutional development of Pakistan some important events are briefly stated here.

Pakhtoon movement

In the western wing of Pakistan, the speakers of Pashtu——Pakhtoons led by the "Frontier Gandhi" Gaffar Khan, brother of Dr. Khan Shahib, at the very outset raised a question demanding themselves a nation within Pakistan and thus making an attempt to undo the unity, solidarity, and security of the State which just took its birth. While the infant Pakistan appeared in the world map against stubborn resistance of Hindu India and defying dubious "divide and rule" policy of cunning Britishers this movement almost started gaining ground backed, on the one hand by elements who did never reconcile with the idea of Pakistan and on the other

by the Afghan rulers. The arguments put forward by the advocates of this movement were that besides sharing a language, they share a folklore, local traditions and custom. But if these regional feelings and parochial ideas were to be nursed and nourished in spite of the fact that a major new feat of constructive statecraft had been achieved after a good deal of struggle and sacrifice and based on religious and cultural affinity on a sense of membership of a distinctive ethos, of participating in a special Muslim way of life, then there was hardly any need for the demand of Pakistan.

On this point Pakistan, in fact, at times found difficult to keep good relations with Afghanistan, a neighbouring State. Diplomatic ties had to be severed more than once because of the anti-Pakistan movement fostered from Kabul but in no case Pakistan became as harsh as the situation demanded. On the contrary, she had only wanted that good sense prevailed on the Afghan rulers and the relationship improved between them in the years to come with greater understanding of present day situations.

Problem of language

Linguism has been less of a worry for Pakistan in comparison with India perhaps due to latter's greater ethnic diversity and size. Pakistan went ahead with its bold "One unit" reform pushed through in 1955, and as a result basically linguistic Punjabi, Pathan and Sindhi Provincial Governments and legislatures were done away with. The western wing of Pakistan was thus made a single entity and Pakistan became consisted of two Provinces. With a view to achieving greater cohesion in administrative, political and economic fields the principle of parity was also adopted in the State policy. But the underlying factor involving this experiment was also undoubtedly to give resistance to linguism, with the apprehension that too many languages instead of accepting one or two common State languages might give rise to serious problems in the achievement of greater unity and solidarity in national life. Pakistan's condition was never as bad as in India whose problems in this field knew no bounds and in fact several ugly incidents

centering round this issue engulfed the Nation more than once. Pakistan's only major disorder in this field was witnessed in East Pakistan when in 1952 the Government headed by late Khaja Nazimuddin refused to recognize officially Bengali as one of the State languages of Pakistan. The Government of the day declared unequivocally that 'Urdu and Urdu alone shall be the State language of Pakistan.' Of course, such a hint was dropped by Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of the State at its initial stage in 1948 when no such movement as such did gain ground. But with the passage of time East Pakistan being mostly Bengali speaking demanded in chorus that nothing short of recognition of its true regional language as one of the State languages would do. As a result, the movement gained momentum. It spread like wild fire from place to place all over East Pakistan. At long last, several students had to die a martyr's death on the streets of Dacca when the Government headed by Mr. Nurul Amin ordered for firing on the violent crowd on February 21, 1952. Thus they created monuments for them in the hearts of millions of Bengali speaking people.

February 21, 1952

Influenced by this episode and by thoughts of her geographical position Pakistan prudently avoided making any single language her national one. Under the 1956 Constitution Urdu and Bengali got equal rank and English was given a free run for twenty years, for all such official uses as it had been put to before. It remains her high-level *lingua franca,* still the working instrument for most Government affairs and for inter-communication between the two wings, for the Superior Courts of law, federal politics, big business, major industrial projects and so on. The Constitution of 1962 confirmed these arrangements. However, it can be safely concluded that multi-lingualism is though a little bit awkward for Pakistan it has caused her less trouble than it has India and even Cylon, another neighbouring country.

Bengali and Urdu recognised as State languages

Another important question which needs examination is Pakistan's size of the minority and exodus problem with which this country was beset

at the initial stage. Pakistan faced this problem in a gigantic manner and met it boldly and squarely. Never did anything baffle the administration of this infant State as the refugee problem. The magnitude of the problem was vast and it called for handling effectively and in a big way. Pakistanis as a whole rose to the occasion as if with the spirit of *Ansars* of Medina and shared the sorrows and sufferings of innumerable Muslims who were forcibly evicted from India. They not only lost their hearth and home but brought with them tales of pathos and untold miseries in which they were subjected to. The huge tragic—two-way migrations of bewildered fugitives in the Punjab during the Partition had at least one incidental advantage. There was virtually an exchange between Sikhs and Muslims and thus people on either side became religiously homogeneous. Nearly all the Muslims fled from East Punjab and similarly all the Hindus and Sikhs migrated from West Punjab and hence it would be correct to say that West Pakistan did not have substantial minority problem. But it was an immensely trying time for the administration to accommodate and rehabilitate the influx of Muslims in several big towns.

Exodus problem

The core of her minority problem consists of the Hindu Community in East Pakistan, whose number is almost one-fifth of that Wing's total populace. The East Pakistani Hindus are themselves split and the problem poses rather less massive. More than half belonged to the category of scheduled caste and as a matter of fact they did not demonstrate boundless enthusiasm for their high-caste brethren in West Bengal because of the latter's hatred and lowely attitude to them and for another reason that the Muslims in East Pakistan treated them reasonably on all matters.

Impartial observers would also agree that except during the spring of 1950 when some communal troubles occurred in East Pakistan as a result of grave anti-Muslim disorders in West Bengal, the Hindu minority in East Pakistan has not been the victim of any serious major attack. Whereas in the case of India, rioting against the Muslim mino-

rity has been frequent over the years, notable recent examples being the bad outbreak at Jabbulpore in Madhya Pradesh in February 1961, and at Agra and elsewhere in Uttar Pradesh later in the same year, and in parts of West Bengal and Assam in 1962. Even to-day the demon of communalism is stalking the Indian soil which seizes every opportunity to advocate the principles of "*Panchshila*" and talk tall of "*Ahinsa*".

Rehabilitation of the refugees

As for the refugees who came to Pakistan in millions, most of them with nothing but a few rags and a small bundle of personal possessions they flowed towards the towns where temporary relief camps were set up and where some kind of free accommodation and sustenance was available. In fact, the problem of settling the refugees in an adequate manner could not be done till 1958. The reasons were that Pakistan, the smaller country, received refugees in more over-whelming mass—about eight million, many of them were urban types—small shop-keepers, street vendors, craftsman—who proved less adaptable. Among the educated upper classes, most of whom possessed skills or influence did not take much time to overcome their hardship and trouble.

The religion of most Pakistanis is Islam which has its internal schisms but it constitutes no profound problem. Occasionally Shia-Sunni disorders were witnessed in pre-partition days. There was some trouble in March 1953 when anti-Ahmadi rioting raged for days in Lahore which called for imposition of Martial law. According to observers from outside, "this complex episode had little really to do with disapproval of the Ahmadi's doctrines, and was a political side-wind from the controversy then blowing in Karachi over the Federal shape, and Islamic flavour of Pakistan's proposed new Constitution".

Population Problem

But of all the social problems facing Pakistan, the biggest is population explosion. The figures are appalling. At the Census of 1941 the sectors of the sub-continent were reckoned to have a population of about seven crores and at present it has gone up to

twelve crores within a period of 20 years. Planned efforts were on the anvil to put an effective check on the population growth and it has already achieved some amount of success.

Despite all the problems and difficulties that beset the infant State, Pakistan continued to march under the able and dynamic leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Within a short span of time its initial progress and bold policies enunciated by no less a leader than Quaid-e-Azam dazzled the world. No body can deny the fact that in the early months the predominant position of Quaid-e-Azam was a source of strength to Pakistan. But it was obvious that his own strength was falling, and his death in September 11, 1948 was a great loss for Pakistan. It left a void too big to be filled in by any successor. Indifferent to his health the Father of the Nation worked hard, in a tenser and more emotional way to lay the foundation of the State and also to build it up. And thus it hastened the end of a life who saw his mission fulfilled during his lifetime.

Death of Quaid-e-Azam

The Nation was shocked and bewildered at the demise of the undisputed leader. At that critical juncture Liaquat Ali Khan widely respected as the principal lieutenant of Quaid-e-Azam was already the Prime Minister of the country. Khwaja Nazimuddin, until then the Chief Minister of East Bengal was requested to succeed to the office of the Governor-General.

Khwaja Nazimuddin as Governor General

Like Quaid-e-Azam Nazimuddin could not demonstrate the art of quick decision, drive and initiative in discharging the duties as the head of the State. As a result the centre of gravity shifted to the Prime Minister, who on the other hand inherited some brilliant qualities of the Father of the Nation. Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah as Governor-General had controlled the Cabinet. But now the situation changed and virtually the Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues were exercising greater influence over the Governor-General. This showed a transition to usual conventions of a Parliamentary type of Government. Quaid-e-Azam also held the

office of the President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan but under Khwaja Nazimuddin it went by election to Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, who acted previously as Deputy President of the Assembly. Thus the absolute powers so long held by Quaid-e-Azam in his capacity as Governor-General were shared by the Prime Minister and the new President of the Constituent Assembly. Because of his mild temperament Khwaja Nazimuddin might be blamed for dispersal of the power of Governor-General but the fact remains that none but Quaid-e-Azam alone could hold such a position to whom all turned for authority. Khwaja Nazimuddin continued to hold this post up to the 17th October, 1951.

During the Governor-Generalship of Khwaja Nazimuddin, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan rose to eminence. The latter was piloting the affairs of the State effectively besides having full control over the Muslim League Organization and the Constituent Assembly.

Liaquat-Nehru Pact

The Prime Minister took the first opportunity to project Pakistan outside by accepting invitation to United States of America. The tour was highly successful at a time when Pakistan was little known abroad and at the same time Indian propaganda was let loose to belittle it. With a view to finding an improved relationship with India and providing a sense of security among the minority communities Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan signed the historical Liaquat-Nehru Pact. He piloted a proposal in the then Constituent Assembly which was known as the famous Basic Principles Committee Report. At later stage it formed the preface of the 1956 Constitution. Undoubtedly he took certain steps towards the welfare of the country which highly spoke of his calibre as a leader of the Nation having vision, foresight and diplomatic acumen. During his time attempts were being made to find some solutions to problems like Kashmir, Canal Water, Evacuee Property, etc., but nothing tangible was achieved till then. The result was that political opposition though did not yet take its shape was growing. On the 16th October, 1951 the first Prime Minister

of the country Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated while he was addressing a public meeting at Rawalpindi by an Afghan named Said Akbar. Thus Liaquat Ali Khan died in harness and became known in the history as "Shahid-e-Millat". Investigations into this tragic event went on for some years but the murderer was killed on the spot by the crowd and nothing came to light ultimately about the incident.

Assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan

With the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan Pakistan lost two of her acknowledged statesmen within a short span of four years after its birth. Even after this catastrophy Pakistan managed to struggle through those dismal days in its history. The choice for the second Prime Ministership of the country fell on Khwaja Nazimuddin who stepped down from the Governor-Generalship and Ghulam Mohammad, a veteran civil servant till then holding the finance portfolio in the Cabinet replaced him. The new Prime Minister had a distinguished background of coming from the family of the Nawabs of Dacca and wide experiences as Chief Minister of East Pakistan and also as Minister in the Cabinet of United Bengal before the Partition. But in spite of his rich experiences in politics, he cut a sorry figure while confronting several problems around him. The time was bad and probably history was unkind to him. He assumed the office of the Prime Minister at a time when the country had faced a severe food crisis due to failure of crops. The economy of Pakistan suffered a set-back due to sharp decline of the prices of jute and cotton towards the end of Korean War and last but not the least, there was a major politico-religious upheaval threatening stablity of the Government in West Pakistan on the issue of the Constitutional proposals (Basic Principles Committee Report) produced during Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. The proposals hurt the sentiments of a section of orthodox Muslims. This movement, dealt at length previously, is known in the Pakistan history as Kadiani Movement.

Ghulam Mohammad as Governor-General and Khwaja Nazimuddin as Prime Minister

B.P.C. Report

Kadiani Movement

Time demanded a strong action on the part of the Government of the day but indecisiveness and mild action of the Prime Minister worsened the

situation. According to some opinions the Prime Minister had deep respect for the *Ulema* and this factor deterred him from taking action against the leading *Ulema* who were at the vanguard of the Movement. However, the Prime Minister acted in the final emergency when conditions in Lahore became worse. Martial Law was imposed in the Punjab. After that Malik Firoz Khan Noon was appointed Chief Minister of the Punjab. But the sincere action of the Prime Minister was not liked by interested quarters. The Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad who was so long watching the situation acted arbitrarily. All on a sudden he proclaimed on April 17, 1953, that according to his own assessment the Cabinet of Khwaja Nazimuddin proved entirely inadequate to grapple with the difficulties facing the country and he felt it incumbent upon himself to ask the Cabinet to relinquish office so that a new Cabinet better fitted to discharge its obligations towards Pakistan might be formed.

Dissolution of Nazimuddin ministry

Khwaja Nazimuddin was away on tour in Hyderabad in the Province of Sind when he heard the news of his dismissal. All are agreed on this point that the action of Ghulam Mohammad, the then Governor-General which dissmissed a ministry enjoying the full confidence of the Assembly, dealt the first blow to the democratic rule in Pakistan.

Mohammad Ali of Bogra as Prime Minister

The Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad no longer wanted to remain as figurehead and he summoned Mohammad Ali of Bogra from the United States of America where he was in the Ambassadorial job to become the new Prime Minister. Mr. Mohammad Ali, the young Prime Minister had served abroad as Pakistan's Ambassador in Rangoon, Ottawa and Washington and in pre-partition days was a Minister in Suhrawardy Cabinet. The new Cabinet formed by him included six members of the outgoing Ministry. The first task before the Ministry of Mohammad Ali was to find an immediate solution to the food crisis. Black marketing in foodgrains was doing havoc and smuggling of foodgrains was eating into the vitality of the Nation. It assumed such an alarming proportion that dur-

ing the year 1953-54 the value of smuggled goods was estimated by Government at about Rs. 30 crores. Mr. Mohammad Ali was successful in mustering the goodwill and support of America for the new regime. The food crisis was met with American aid and also by an encouraging domestic production of food-grains in the same year. It may be recalled that Khwaja Nazimuddin submitted a report on Constitution which advocated the parity system but the representatives of East Bengal vehemently opposed the idea and ultimately the demand for Provincial Autonomy was voiced on behalf of East Pakistan. The new Prime Minister made an attempt to give a new formula known as "Mohammad Ali Formula" for solving the question of the provincial representation in a future Federal Legislature but it also met the same fate.

Food problem tackled

By then the demand for Provincial Autonomy had started gaining ground as the people became frustrated during the regimes of Nazimuddin and Nurul Amin in East Bengal. During the period from 1947 to 1954 these two Muslim League leaders ruled the province of East Bengal as Chief Ministers but the fact remained that the province did not make much headway in the developmental sector compared with the other Wing of the country. The seed of economic disparity between the two Wings was sowed and nurtured during their time. Besides, the Nurul Amin Government pursued policies which were not conducive to the interest and welfare of the people. In the wake of mass movement, prominent opposition leaders and a several hundred political workers were put behind the bar. Thus the policy of repression and economic depression gave rise to discontent among public and this feeling of indignation was expressed in the Provincial Election of March, 1954 when the ruling Muslim League was completely routed by a coalition called "Jukto Front". Leaders like Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, *Sher-e-Bungla* A. K. Fazlul Haque and Maulana Bhasani got together under "Jukto Front" and the entire students community backed the Front whole-heartedly in winning the election. Out of 319 seats in the Provincial Assembly the Muslim League could capture only 9 seats. Almost all the

Unpopularity of Muslim League Government in East Bengal

Victory of 'Jukto Front' in the election of 1954

sitting ministers and leaders of the ruling party lost in the election. The results of the elections in East Pakistan dumb-founded all as British observers and experts in the country forecast that the League would struggle back, though perhaps with a reduced majority as happened in the cases of other provinces in West Pakistan where elections has already taken place.

Imposition of Governor's rule in East Bengal

Within two months the East Wing popular Cabinet headed by Mr. Fazlul Haque was dissmissed by the Central Government on the plea of a riot in Adamjee Jute Mills in East Pakistan and failure of the Provincial Government to maintain law and order. Governor's rule was promulgated in East Pakistan and the then Defence Secretary Iskander Mirza was sent over to rule as Governor of the Province by the Central Government. A strong opinion prevailed at that time that the riot in Adamjee Jute Mills was the creation of interested quarters to discredit the Provincial Government and to find an excuse to promulgate Governor's rule.

Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in 1954

Meanwhile the Constituent Assembly, while making an attempt to amend the Government of India Act of 1935 with a view to curtailing some powers of the Governor-General, was declared to be dissolved on October 14, 1954. The Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad hit back all on a sudden and drastically reconstituted the Central Cabinet keeping Prime Minister and three others and appointing nine new ones including Commander-in-Chief General Mohammad Ayub Khan, Major-General Iskander Mirza, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy and Dr. Khan Shahib, the brother of Frontier Ghandhi.

A new Cabinet in the Centre

The Prime Minister Mohammad Ali of Bogra described his Government as a Cabinet of talents rather than a coalition of parties. The President of the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan filed a Writ petition in the Supreme Court protesting the arbitrary action of the Governor-General with regard to dismissal of the Assembly but he lost the case. It can now be said without a shadow of doubt that the Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad got people like H. S. Suhrawardy agreed to become a minister under the latter's onetime poli-

tical disciple, Mohammad Ali of Bogra on condition that if they refused to join the Cabinet there was no other alternative for him but to invite the Army to take over. Subsequently this has been corroborated by Field-Marshal Ayub himself in his biography 'Friends Not Masters'.

Provincial political life was closely linked up with the course of events at the Centre. A brief mention may be made here of the political development in the provinces. It may be mentioned that a Referendum was held in Frontier Province in which the people decided to remain with Pakistan. After this Quaid-e-Azam dismissed the Congress-minded Dr. Khan Shahib's Cabinet and installed Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in his place to head the Provincial ministry. Until he joined the Central Cabinet in 1953 he ruled the province with a firm hand. He was succeeded by Abdur Rashid Khan, a former Inspector-General of Police. In 1955, the Rashid Ministry was replaced by one led by Sardar Bahadur Khan.

Political problem of the Frontier Province

In 1947 Sir Ghulam Husain Hedayetullah, the former Chief Minister and Mohamad Ayub Khuro were appointed Governor and Chief Minister respectively for the province of Sind. Mr. Khuro was a strong man who opposed the separation of Karachi from the administrative control of Sind but in vain. He was dismissed in 1948 by the Governor on charges of corruption and judicial enquiry was instituted against him in which he was found guilty and disqualified for public office. Mr. Ayub Khuro was succeeded by Pir Elahi Baksh. But his regime also did not last long and his place was taken by Yusuf Haroon. After a short while Kazi Fazlullah succeeded him but soon he had to make way for Mr. Khuro, who by this time got his disqualification set aside. But in December, 1951 Governor again removed him. Enquiries were conducted against both Mr. Khuro and Kazi Fazlullah and found to be disqualified for public offices for misuse of power. Thereafter Pirzada Abdus Sattar formed a Cabinet but on the issue of One Unit he had to leave office and once again Mr. Khuro secured re-

Sind's political condition

lease from the penalties of disqualification and became the Chief Minister of the province for the third time.

The political situation in the Punjab was no better. After the dismissal of Mamdot Ministry in 1949 and the subsequent Governor's rule in the province general elections were held in 1951. Mia Momtaz Khan Daulatana, a popular figure and an ambitious politician became the Chief Minister. He was charged with fanning up Kadiani Movement in the province as a result of which Martial Law had to be clamped down in 1953. Mr. Daulatana was disqualified for public office and replaced by Malik Firoz Khan Noon after the lifting of Martial Law.

Political situation in the Punjab

Until 1954 the League Ministry ruled the province of East Pakistan. When Khwaja Nazimuddin became Governor-General, Mr. Nurul Amin succeeded him and held the post till 1954 election.

The Provincial Government was alarmed at the rising opposition since the days of Nurul Amin. People in general realised that the province was not getting their genuine share in all fields from the Centre and the present leadership had totally failed to voice their demands. A by-election was held this time in Tangail in which the ruling party met with a crushing defeat. After this event by-elections were pending in 34 seats as the Government party dared not to face the opposition in the election. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy who was responsible for giving birth to the first opposition party in the country named as Awami League was very much active. He was joined by the octogenarian leader A. K. Fazlul Haque and the aging Maulana Bhasani and it seemed that the entire people of the country united under the banner of "Jukto Front" and rose against the Muslim League regime. Khwaja Nazimuddin kept himself aloof and was sitting disgruntled in Karachi. The result of the election was a foregone conclusion and the "Jukto Front" won the election in overwhelming majority. The Governor called Mr. Fazlul Haque to form the Cabinet only to be replaced by a rule of Governor after two months.

Political crisis in East Pakistan

During the ministry of Bogra Mohammad Ali the Governor-General summoned a second Constituent Assembly whose members were to be elected on indirect basis by the members of the Provincial Assemblies. Members in the new Assembly were equal from each Wing. It met for the first time in Muree on 7th July, 1955. The new Assembly was responsible for passing the One Unit Bill unifying the provinces of West Pakistan. One of the biggest administrative changes such as the unification of the provinces in Western Wing went through without serious public protest on October 14, 1955. In the Eastern Wing the dismissal of the popular ministry under Sher-e-Bangla A. K. Fazlul Haque was bitterly resented. But due to political manuavering on the part of centre the 'Jukto Front' had split by then, one group led by H. S. Suhrawardy and the other by A. K. Fazlul Haque. At long last in June, 1955 Mr. Abu Hussain Sarkar, a nominee of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haque was asked by Centre to form a Cabinet.

One Unit Bill passed in October 14, 1955

Sarkar ministry

Meanwhile the Muslim League Parliamentary Party withdrew its support from Mohammad Ali of Bogra and elected Choudhury Mohammad Ali their leader who naturally formed the new Ministry. Mr. A. K. Falul Haque decided to join the new Cabinet while Mr. Suhrawardy became the Leader of the Opposition in the Constituent Assembly. Major-General Iskander Mirza, till then Central Minister took over as Governor-General from the ailing Ghulam Mohammad.

Choudhury Mohammad Ali formed new Cabinet in the Centre

The next big task of the Constituent Assembly was to frame a Constitution for the country. In fact, Mr. Suhrawardy, a great legal expert while he was a Law Minister under Mr. Mohammad Ali of Bogra set the task on but time did not permit him to accomplish it. Choudhury Mohammad Ali introduced the Draft Constitution and it was brought into operation on 23rd March, 1956 when Pakistan ceased to be a dominion and became known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. "Thus the country got a Constitution for the first time good or bad", declared the new President Iskander Mirza.

Constitution of 1956

After the promulgation of the new Constitution in West Pakistan Dr. Khan Shahib, the Chief Minister formed the Republican Party to counter the Muslim League and he, in fact, succeeded in his mission of commanding a narrow margin in the Provincial Assembly. The Republicans expressed their support to Hossain Shahid Suhrawardy who was so long in opposition and as a result Choudhury Mohammad Ali had to resign to vacate for the Leader of the Opposition to step in as the Prime Minister of the country in September, 1956. Similarly in East Pakistan Awami League commanded majority in the Assembly to overthrow the United Front Government of Abu Hossain Sarkar. In East Pakistan the Sarkar Ministry also became unpopular because of its failure to solve the acute food crisis. Hungry people marched towards the provincial Capital from suberbs and the Government had to open fire on them. At that critical situation Governor Mr. Fazlul Haque had no other alternative but to call Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, the leader of the Awami League Parliamentary Party to form the Cabinet.

Shahid Suhrawardy as Prime Minister of Pakistan

Ataur Rahman Khan Ministry in East Pakistan

Mr. Hossain Shahid Suhrawardy who came to the office of the Prime Minister with a vast political experiences and the dynamic quality of leadership set himself immediately to the task of solving burning problems of the country. The Prime Minister was the only national leader who commanded respect and goodwill from the people of both the Wings of the country. It was considered that after the death of Quaid-e-Azam and Shahid-e-Millat, Suhrawardy was the only all-Pakistan popular figure whose contribution for the cause of Pakistan was no less than anybody. It was an undeniable fact that whatever might be the misgivings and propaganda against him, Mr. Suhrawardy was at the vanguard of *Azadi* movement and it was but for him the Muslims of Bengal kept their heads erect under the most trying circumstances even when the militant Hindus wanted to cripple them in every possible manner. He was misunderstood when he stayed back in India for some time after Partition but the safety and welfare of the vast Muslim population living in that country was a

Shahid Suhrawardy's role

matter of concern for him. Their welfare was so closely to his heart that he could not leave them so soon with mere expectation of a cabinet post or so.

Suhrawardy Government made necessary arrangements for importing huge quantity of food-grains to feed the hungry people and successfully overcame the serious situation. During the tenure of office of Mr. Suhrawardy there was a controversy over the system of electorate and the Prime Minister took a bold step to introduce the system of Joint electorate. Larger monetary allocations were also made for the Eastern Wing of Pakistan which was hitherto neglected. The foreign policy of Pakistan got an impetus in the hands of the new regime. "Goodwill towards all and malice towards none", declared Mr. Suhrawardy in his policy statement. The Prime Minister's policy and his subsequent visit to Western and Muslim countries was so much successful that when the Kashmir question was raised in General Assembly it received the support of the majority member countries in the United Nations. Arrangements were also being made to hold the next general election in the country. But soon President Iskander Mirza differed with him on some matters and the President installed Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar, an associate of Quaid-e-Azam into the office of the Prime Minister. But he did not stay for a long time and Malik Firoz Khan, the Republican leader succeeded him on December 16, 1957.

Firoz Khan's Cabinet

Meanwhile both at the Centre and provinces the politicians were mostly preoccupied with self-interest. It was a period of intrigues and uncertainties. President Iskander Mirza could not avoid his responsibility at this critical time as he had no respect for rule of democracy rather himself used to speak of "Controlled Democracy". With a view to achieving his nefarious political game he used to set one group against another. Political chaos and economic bankruptcy brought the country on the verge of ruinous decay.

Period of intrigues and uncertainties

In East Pakistan a political crisis occurred in March 31, 1958 when Ataur Rahman Khan's Ministry was dismissed by the then Governor Mr. A.

K. Fazlul Haque. Later that night President Iskander Mirza removed the Governor from his office. On the dismissal of Ataur Rahman Khan's Ministry Abu Hossain Sarkar again became the Chief Minister of the province. He was soon dismissed and Mr. Ataur Rahman again became the Chief Minister of East Pakistan and held this office for two months. In August, 1958 Ataur Rahman Khan was appointed Chief Minister for the third time after the temporary stay of Abu Hossain Ministry and he held the office till Martial Law was promulgated in the country.

Constant changes of Ministry in East Pakistan

Political crisis reached its zenith by this time. Corruption flourished everywhere. The national finances were in a frightening position. In East Pakistan the Awami Leaguers found that the Speaker of the Provincial Assembly Mr. Abdul Hakim was playing into the hands of Iskander Mirza. So they withdrew their support and installed the Deputy Speaker Shahed Ali in the chair. Only after two days of the incident some members of the Assembly hurled pieces of furniture at the Deputy Speaker causing his death. Thus a black scene was enacted in the holy precincts of the East Pakistan Assembly and later President Iskander Mirza capitalised it fully to promulgate Martial Law in the country on October 7, 1958. By a proclamation the President abrogated the Constitution of 1956, dismissed the Central and Provincial Cabinets with immediate effect, dissolved the central and provincial Legislatures, abolished all political parties throughout the country and appointed General Mohammad Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army as the Chief Martial Law Administrator. After the promulgation of Martial Law it was noticed that General Iskander Mirza was still playing politics as he used to do to his own benefit in the days of politicians. President Ayub himself said on October 31 that "Mirza was as responsible for the political deterioration as any one and hence the new regime considered it as their moral duty to remove him from the political scene once for all". On October 27, 1958 the Chief Martial Law Administrator sent three Generals, General Azam Khan, General K. M. Sheikh and General Burki asking the

Death of Shahed Ali, the Deputy Speaker of the Provincial Assembly

Promulgation of Martial Law on October 7, 1958

General Mohammad Ayub Khan appointed Chief Martial Law Administrator

President to resign which he obliged. Six days later General Iskander Mirza left for London and is still living there. General Ayub Khan now took over as the President of Pakistan and set up a strong Government at the Centre. The Revolution of October 1958 was unique in the sense that it was entirely bloodless and it had the backing of the people who were completely frustrated due to chaotic conditions existing in the country during the political regimes. The politicians were more or less treated with magnanimity excepting the outgoing Defence Minister, Mr. Ayub Khuro who was arrested on a specific case and a few ministers in East Pakistan were temporarily put behind the bar on suspicion. An Elective Bodies Disqualification Ordinance was introduced and many politicians of both the Wings of the country were EBDOed for misuse of power.

Revolution of October, 1958

EBDO

Under the new regime steps were taken to bring about reforms in various fields. A system of price control was enforced with a view to putting an end to the food crisis and soaring prices of essential commodities. Suitable measures were taken against the dishonest and corrupt traders and businessmen who used to hoard up foodstuff and create artificial scarcity of commodities. As a result of drastic action corruption in general and smuggling in particular came to almost a halt. Within a short time stern measures taken by the new regime had a salutary effect in curbing the activities of the anti-social elements. The tone of the administration underwent a great change. Measures were adopted to collect the arrear land revenue and taxes and as a result the income of the Government increased manifold.

Era of reforms

Anti-social elements curbed

Collection of arrear land revenues

In different stages of the administration Screening Committees were set up with a view to removing the corrupt and inefficient officials from Government services. These Committees finished their task in March, 1959. Most of the corrupt and inefficient Government officers were removed from their posts and the rest of them were made to retire.

Screening Committee

President Ayub was from the very beginning trying to improve relations with neighbouring India. He approached the problem with the straight-mindedness of a soldier and himself met Pandit Nehru

for a talk in Delhi. Even he had gone to the extent of proposing a joint defence for the two countries. Due to his initiative the Border Demarcation was finalised between the two countries in 1959. Indus Basin Treaty for sharing waters was also signed in 1960 between Pakistan and India through the mediation of the World Bank.

Indus Basin Treaty signed in 1960

The regime's first achievement was resettlement of urban refugees, a problem which did not find its solution even after eleven years of Independence. Swarms of destitutes lived helter-skelter under improvised shelters. The previous Governments were interested in this problem but no concrete and permanent steps were taken for the rehabilitation of the refugees. The task of setting things aright was assigned to the Rehabilitation Minister, General Mohammad Azam Khan, a warm-hearted straightforward man of almost unending energy who later became very popular with the people of East Pakistan as the Governor of the province. Within a short time and even well ahead of schedule the General succeeded in building 40,000 quarters at Korangi, seven miles off Karachi and settling 75 thousand displaced persons. Satellite townships also sprang up at various places in both the Wings of the country under the guidance and personal supervision of the Rehabilitation Minister.

Rehabilitation of the refugees

More basic were the bold agrarian reforms brought by the regime in the Western Wing of the country. No previous political regime dared to undertake such a courageous social reform. In the Punjab 6 per cent. of the land-owners held more than 20 per cent. of the entire cultivable land and condition in Sind was also no better. As a result of this the feudal lords dominated the entire social and political life. Landlordly influence grew in every walk of life and even a corrupt landlord's lobby had grown up in the Legislature.

The Government first announced its plan on January 23, 1959 to bring about reforms in this field. The reforms were brought about on the basis of a report by an Expert Commission set up on October 31, 1958. The following were the major decisions with regard to the land reforms :

(a) No person would be allowed to own and possess more than 500 acres of irrigated or 1,000 acres of unirrigated land. (b) The excess land thus obtained by the Government would be distributed among the peasants and other deserving claimants. (c) The landlords whose excess land would be acquired by the Government shall get compensation for the land in the form of heritable and transferable bonds bearing interest at the rate of 4 per cent. redeemable in 25 years. (d) Existing tenants on the resumed land would be given opportunity to buy such land on instalments spread over 25 years. (e) To remove congestion of particular areas special consideration would be given at the time of distribution of excess land to tenants of those congested areas. (f) Tenants would have security of rights in their holdings. (g) No tenant would be ejected from his holdings without payment of proper and legal compensation. (h) Legal bars were placed on the enhancement of existing rent and illegal realisation of fees, free labour or services from the tenants. (i) The divisions of holdings below an economic level would be forbidden and provision would be made for amalgamation of already existing uneconomic holding to an economic one.

Major decisions of the Land Reform Commission

Of the measures of land reforms the most important was the encouragement of individual ownership. "This served to break the concentration of landed wealth in the hands of some 6,000 landlords throughout West Pakistan. It reduced the area of inequality and encouraged more intensive use of land and productive investment in agriculture by the actual tiller of the soil."

Basic Democracies

Another important measure of the Ayub Government is the introduction of Basic Democracies. The idea underlying in it is 'to secure the participation of the people in the projects initiated for their benefit.' The President, Mohammad Ayub Khan issued the Basic Democracies Order in October, 1959. It introduced a five-tier structure of representative bodies. But in 1962 the Provincial Development Advisory Council was abolished. The four tiers are (a) Union Council, (b) Thana

Council, (c) District Council and (d) Divisional Council. The Union Council is the lowest tier and it is directly elected by the people. Each member of the Union Council is to represent 1,000 people.

The first elections to the Basic Democracies were held in January, 1960. Fourty thousand Basic Democrats in each province were elected and they were given some training before entering upon their duties. These Basic Democrats 'were later turned into an Electoral College for the election of the President and the members of the Provincial and Central Legislatures.' According to the amendment of Section 4, Act IV of 1964 passed on the 15th December, 1967, the number of Basic Democrats in each province has been raised to sixty thousand.

First elections of the Basic Democracies

A Commission on National Education was set up on December 30, 1958 to reform the educational system of the country. The main purposes of the educational reforms as recommended by the Commission are "to help the growth of enlightened citizenship, to infuse education with the ideals of service, to safeguard the ideals that brought Pakistan into being and to ensure a steady supply of scientific and technical personnel to meet the demands of our expanding economy." The Commission proposed changes at all levels of educational structure and great stress was given to vocational and technical education. Some of the recommendations of the Commission have been implemented.

Reforms of educational system

Our system of laws is partly a legacy from the British time and partly from the Islamic *Fiqh*. The present system of administration of justice is both costly and time consuming.

Judicial reform

There was a popular and persistent demand for Islamic laws in our country. The Law Reform Commission was, therefore, constituted under orders of the President on the 23rd of November, 1958 to make a thorough study of the present system of administration of justice in the country and to recommend easier and cheaper dispensation of justice and to bring it to the door of the litigant public. The Commis-

sion was headed by Mr. Justice S. A. Rahman of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The Commission made their recommendations on the 27th of August, 1959.

Muslim Family Law Ordinance

The Government tried to give effect to certain recommendations of the Commission on marriage and family laws and promulgated the Muslim Family Law Ordinance, 1961. The Ordinance came into force on the 15th of July, 1961. Under this Ordinance polygamy has been prohibited except under certain circumstances. It has also provided for inheritance of the children of the pre-deceased sons and daughters of the propositus.

Conciliation Courts Ordinance

The Government also promulgated the Conciliation Courts Ordinance, 1961 which came into force on the 1st of March, 1962. This Ordinance was promulgated to make provision for the establishment of Conciliation Courts to enable people to settle certain disputes through conciliation and thus make justice cheaper and easier to obtain.

Constitution of 1962

President Mohammad Ayub Khan had promised to give a Constitution to the people and he had fulfilled his promise. The new Constitution was promulgated in May, 1962. According to the new Constitution the President is the Head of the State and requires to be elected for a term of five years by an electoral college consisting of the elected members of the Basic Democracies. He may be re-elected for another term of five years and cannot be removed from office except by impeachment.

The Revolutionary Government took extensive measures for the economic development of the country. The fiscal and monetary policy of the Government was reoriented and it aimed at curbing inflation and regulating the currency system.

Fiscal and monetary measures

Deficit financing was promptly checked and efforts were made to tighten up the fiscal machinery. Revenue losses through such measures as tax evasion and avoidance were permanently checked. With a view to curbing the menance of inflation, money supply was restricted. The Government de-

cided to take steps against budgetary deficits and against any resort whatsoever to any form of inflationary finance.

Since commercial credit provided by the Banks plays a significant role in the process of economic growth, measures were also taken to regulate it in the best interests of the economy. The commercial credit can bring about chaos in the economy and nullify the monetary policy of the Government. The Government, as such, kept a vigilant eye on the overall credit situation of the country and took measures according to the demand of the circumstances. These fiscal and monetary measures, as adopted by the Government, imparted stability and strength to the economy of the country.

Control on commercial credit

The Government directed its best attention to the industrial development of the country. It decided to increase industrial output to meet the growing domestic requirements and to create an exportable surplus to pay for the rising imports. This called for huge industrial activities both in public sector as well as private sector. In order to set up industrial growth, increasing amounts of foreign exchange were earmarked for the import of machinery, spares and raw materials.

Industrial progress

The Government took measures to encourage investments in industry. It allowed the new industries a tax-holiday and dividend income made tax free up to 3,000 rupees. A National Investment Trust (N.I.T.) was set up to channel the small savings into industrial investment. Attractive prize bonds, defence certificates and various securities were introduced.

The Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (P.I.D.C.) which was established in 1951 'represented the first important step in the formulation of the country's industrial policy'. The main purpose of this semi-Government Corporation was to start industries in the country. The establishment of jute mills, textile mills, paper mills, sugar mills, shipyards, fertilizer factories, etc., are some of its industrial ventures. The Government had also

Industrial organisations

been paying its attention to the development of heavy industries, such as steel mills, petro-chemicals, machine tools and motor cars, etc. Some of these industries have already come up. The P.I.D.C. was bifurcated by the present Government in July, 1962. Since then it has been functioning as EPIDC and WPIDC. These two Corporations have set up large number of industries in the country. Also in the year 1962 the control and management of the railways were transferred to the provinces, and since then, railways are being managed and controlled by an autonomous Railway Board in each province.

Railways

Pakistan is primarily an agricultural country and agriculture is her basic industry. But she is backward in respect of modern farming. One of the main reasons of this backwardness is the defective land tenure system. The land reforms in West Pakistan have done a great deal to change the structure of agrarian society. These ensured maximum utilization of available lands in West Pakistan.

A.D.C. and Agricultural Universities

The Government established semi-autonomous Agricultural Development Corporation (A.D.C.) in each province to raise agricultural production. These Corporations were assigned the tasks to augment the supplies required by the farmers and to provide them with technical knowledge. In order to provide education on modern farming, two Agricultural Universities, one in East Pakistan and the other in West Pakistan, were established in 1961.

R.C.D.

With the increase in the attitude of co-operation in the international field, the economic programme of Pakistan is developing. At the initiative of the Ayub Government, the Regional Co-operation for Development, popularly known as R.C.D. was brought about on July 21, 1964 between Iran, Turkey and Pakistan. It provides for understanding and common benefit in the economic, commercial and cultural fields of these three countries. The R.D.C. countries are intensifying co-operation among themselves in such fields as transportation and communications, tourism, banking and insurance, trade, commerce and industries, technical co-operation,

Fields of co-operation

public administration, exchange of vital information and cultural co-operation.

Second Plan Period

Pakistan had made considerable advance in both agricultural and industrial production during the Second Plan Period. The national product of the country had gone up by 28.4 per cent. during the Second Plan Period against the plan target of 24 per cent.

Objectives of the Third Five-Year Plan

Having successfully achieved the target set in the Second Plan, the Third Five-Year Plan was launched on July 1, 1965. The major objectives of the Third Plan are to increase the gross national product by 37 per cent, remove the inter-wing disparity on all fronts, provide at least 55 lakhs new job opportunities, strengthen the balance of payments, develop basic industries, accelerate the transformation in agriculture, arrest the menacing growth of population, provide better housing, more health services and greater facilities for education and make substantial progress in diminishing inequalities in the distribution of income, wealth and economic power.

The total expenditure under the Third-Five Year Plan would be Rs. 5,200 crores as against Rs. 2,633 crores spent during the Second Plan period.

Trade and commerce

The commercial policy of the country was liberalised under the present Government. It was revised encouraging export of more raw materials from this country to foreign countries earning sufficient foreign exchange to import machineries and other articles to set up new industries here. The export bonus scheme was introduced and various other facilities were extended to the exporters to boost up trade.

Export bonus scheme

Indo-Pakistan War of 1965

Soon after the achievement of Independence a serious crisis arose over Hyderabad, Junagarh and Kashmir. The Government of India deceitfully annexed Hyderabad and Junagarh to India. The subjugation of these territories is a clear proof of India's expansionist policy. But when she wanted to occupy Kashmir, which was a Muslim majority

State, Pakistan came into conflict with India. According to the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the Native States were allowed the option to join either of the two Dominions or to remain independent. The State of Jammu and Kashmir has a common border with Pakistan and had old trade relations with West Pakistan. But the Government of India was making conspiracy for Kashmir's union with India in line with its expansionist attitude.

Causes of war between India and Pakistan

With a view to finding an honourable and peaceful solution to Kashmir problem Pakistan accepted the mediation more than once and finally the resolution of the United Nations but India followed an intransigent attitude. India claimed that Kashmir was its integral part and Pakistan had no right to interfere in it. India also thought that unless the State of Pakistan could be nipped in the bud she would be a great impediment in her grabing Asian leadership. With this end in view India planned to attack Pakistan twice if not thrice but it was called off on the assumption that the candle of Pakistan might be put out automatically being unable to counter very many problems at its initial stage. Besides, India devoted to procure massive arms aid from Western countries and were on the look-out for an opportune moment to pounce upon Pakistan. In June, 1964 India amassed troops along East Pakistan and NEFA. They were ready for an armed show-down if the Kashmir led to a total war with Pakistan. But the Indian rulers did little visualise that the Hazratbal episode, release and rearrest of Sheikh Abdullah and proposed integration of Kashmir with India would spark a rebellion in the Valley. From 27th December, 1963, the day the holy relic was stolen from the hoary Hazratbal Shrine near Sreenagar, there were strike, demonstrations and rallies all over the Valley ; people demanded the recovery and restoration of the relic, but they were greeted with bullets and bayonets. The people were chilled to know that another Shrine at Kishtwar was burnt and as a result of these incidents people of Kashmir came out in the streets in hundreds and thousands to protest with black flags. The police had to open fire. Thus political unrest with Pro-Pakistan slant simmered in Kashmir despite identi-

Hostile attitude of India

fication on February 4, 1964 of a reputed hair of the Prophet. Sheikh Abdullah, the Lion of Kashmir was freed on 8th January, 1964 but they did not allow him to move as a freeman because of the uncompromising attitude of the undisputed leader of Kashmir.

Civil Disobedience Movement in Kashmir

Indian Government rearrested Sk. Abdullah immediately after the death of Mr. Nehru. Not only this, the Government of India also adopted certain other important measures for which Kashmiri Muslims openly revolted against the rulers. The Indian Government announced measures to integrate Kashmir, to extend President's rule and to alter the designation of the Head of the State. On August 8, 1965 the suppressed and oppressed people of Kashmir set up Revolutionary Council and Civil Disobedience Movement was started in the Valley to break the shackles of slavery. There was fierce fighting in every front and pitched battles were fought near Sreenagar. Indians unable to cope with the situation charged that Pakistani infiltrators had crossed into Kashmir but top newspapers in the world affirmed that it was a massive revolt by the local freedom fighters and an unprecedented mass uprising. The London Sunday Times commented, "How could so many people cross the cease fire line undirected and begin operating, apparently within a day or two as much as 88 miles inside Indian held Kashmir as the Indian reports suggest ?" Total war could be averted if India did not cross the cease-fire line on August 15 and suddenly occupy three posts in Kargil Sector of Azad Kashmir which they had to vacate earlier on the intervention of U.N.O. India crossed cease-fire line again on August 24 and occupied two posts in Tithwal Sector and Haji Pir Pass in Uri-Poonch Sector. Pakistan was provoked to retaliate by a counter attack in Chamb-Jurian Sector as her villages in Guzrat were shelled. Pakistan penetrated 17 miles deep into occupied Kashmir and pushed back Indians from village after village. Indians became panicky and thought that unless front was opened somewhere else Pakistan might march beyond Sreenagar. Besides, after drinking a cup of humiliation in the hands of Pakistanis at

War declared on September 6, 1965

Rann of Kutch, the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Lalbahadur Shastri threatened that they would open a front of their own choice and accordingly they made a cowardly attack on Lahore in the early hours of September 6, 1965 without making any formal declaration.

As has been stated above that though the attack was sudden and surprising it was pre-planned. Such an ugly attack over a sovereign neighbouring State without any formal declaration of war is unheard of and was in utter violation of International Law. Impartial people observed that "the September War was never a sudden flare-up but the outburst of Indian vendetta against Pakistan and the manifestation of her expansionist designs."

The people of Pakistan rose to a man against this naked attack by India. Like the battle of Badr, Pakistan with her limited but firm and resolute Armed Forces faced the onslaught of the mighty Indian Army. "Our brave soldiers have gone forward to repel the enemy and the Armed Forces of Pakistan will prove their mettle. Armed with an invincible spirit and a determination which has never faltered they will give a crushing blow to the enemy. The Indian rulers do not yet realise what people they have taken on", declared President Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan echoing the sentiments of the Pakistani Nation at that critical hour. The Indian Armed Forces continued opening fronts after fronts during the war. The main cities in West Pakistan including Karachi, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Sargodha and civil areas in Dacca, Chittagong, Jessore, Lalmonirhat and Rangpur in East Pakistan were the targets of Indian attack. But they were thrown back on every front and their advance was halted and their attack repulsed. The heaviest tank attack launched by India was in the Sialkot Sector on September 12, 1965. It is an event to be remembered by the students of history as till now such a fierce and large-scale tank battle was never fought anywhere in the world.

Targets of Indian attack

In this war Pakistan Army demonstrated real feat of courage and bravery as they had to fight

against a force which was six times larger in size and strength. New York Times remarked on September 11, 1965, "India was surprised by Pakistan's toughness and dismayed by world attitude though they have a marked superiority in numbers —about 17 divisions as compared with Pakistan's 8 divisions and about 400 to 450 combat aircrafts as compared with Pakistan's 150 to 200 aircrafts." "Man for man, unit for unit, Pakistan's smaller army is at a higher standard of training than the Indian army", commented BBC on September 10. The Pakistan Air Force fought also gallantly. Never in history have so many owed so much to so few. Squadron leader M. M. Alam created history by shooting down five Indian jets in a single combat. He was also the first PAF Pilot to fire his gun in the defence of Sargodha. His bag was 11 enemy Hunter fighters about 2/3rds of a fighter squadron of the Indian Air Force. The foreign observer spoke eloquently of the fighting efficiency and bravery of Pakistani forces. Sunday Times reported on September 19, 1965 that Indian pilots are inferior to Pakistan's pilots and Indian officers' leadership has been generally deplorable." The Indian fought a 17-day bloody and bitter war with Pakistan but the current debit balance was that they lost 1200 square miles in East Punjab and Rajsthan as against 275 square miles of Pak territory they occupied in Lahore and Sialkat Sectors. Even according to the admission of their Defence Minister, Mr. Chavan they had suffered about 12 thousand casualties besides loosing 110 aircrafts and 475 tanks.

War efficiency and bravery of the Pakistani soldiers

During this war Pakistan got moral support and assistance from many friendly countries. Muslim countries as a whole and the R.C.D. countries stood by the side of Pakistan in her difficult period. Indonesia, Turkey and Iran came out boldly to assist Pakistan while the People's China openly condemned the Indian cowardly attack and assured all support to Pakistan. While the war was on, the prominent leaders of the world and Heads of States showed their concern for establishment of peace and accord between the warring States. The Soviet Premier Alexie Kosygen, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, American President Mr. Johnson appealed to

Support and help of different States to Pakistan

both the States to put an end to the war in the greater interest of world peace. Meanwhile the Security Council met in an emergency session with a view to restoring peace in the sub-continent. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto ably and boldly put forward the case of Pakistan before the World Body. In his eloquent speech the Foreign Minister proved that India committed naked aggression on Pakistan with expansionist design. Ultimately the Secretary-General of U.N.O. Mr. U Thant was authorised to take necessary steps to stop the war. On the basis of a resolution of the Security Council on September 22, 1965, India seized the first opportunity to agree to cease-fire and Pakistan accepted it in the interest of peace and to enable Security Council to evolve a settlement of the root cause of the war. Thus the war between the two countries ended and the cease-fire became effective at 3 a.m. on September 23, 1965 on all fronts.

Cease-fire

On the sanction of the World Body Alexie Kosygen, Soviet Prime Minister invited both President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri to meet together on Soviet territory to find an honourable solution to their disputes. Both the parties agreed because of the sincere efforts of the Soviet Premier and at last the historical Tashkent Meeting took place on January 10, 1966. At Tashkent a nine-point declaration was signed by both the parties for respectful solution of Kashmir problem and other matters of discord between the two countries. The following are the main subjects of the historical nine-point Tashkent Declaration :

Tashkent meeting

1. The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India agree that both sides will exert all efforts to create good neighbourly relations between Pakistan and India in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means.

Nine-point Declaration

2. The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than 25th February, 1966, to the position they

held prior to 5th August, 1965, and both sides shall observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line.

3. The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India have agreed that relations between Pakistan and India shall be based on the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

4. The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India have agreed that both the sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other country, and will encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

5. The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India have agreed that the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India and the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan will return to their posts and that the normal functioning of diplomatic missions of both the countries will be restored.

6. The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications as well as cultural exchanges between Pakistan and India, and to take measures to implement the existing agreements between Pakistan and India.

7. The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India have agreed that they would give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

8. The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India have agreed that both the sides will continue discussion on questions relating to the problems of refugees, eviction and illegal immigrations. They also agreed that both the sides will create conditions which will prevent the exodus of people. They further agreed to discuss the return of the properties and assets taken over by either side in connection with the conflict.

9. The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India have agreed that both the sides will continue meetings both at the highest and at

other levels on matters of direct concern to both the countries. Both the sides have recognized the need to set up joint Pakistani-Indian bodies which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken.

After the Tashkent Declaration both Pakistan and India had withdrawn their troops from the respective borders. But, after the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri India has utterly failed to honour the Tashkent Declaration.

Effects of the war, 1965

The consequences of a war are always bad and harmful, specially in the case of newly born States. It retarded the progress and development of both the countries besides loss of lives, properties and equipments. But comparatively India had to face the most crucial test admitted by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi after the war. The Financial Times observed that "India was already financially weak and could hardly stand on her own feet without foreign aid while Pakistan was capable of withstanding stoppage of it for a long time". Later it was proved by the fact that India had to devalue her rupee while Pakistan went on without doing so. Apart from this, the war brought to light certain facts which glaringly testified that India, the so-called upholder of *Panchshila* used to preach non-violence, but it was nothing but a hollow to hoodwink the world opinion. Foreign observers agreed that it was (a) a treacherous attack by India without any declaration of war. (b) Pakistan did not resort to bombing of cities but India committed air attacks on civilian centres near Sialkot, Sargodha, Kasur, Kohat, Peshawar and Rawalpindi. (c) India claimed that Lahore had fallen and later on it proved to be false within two days and this fact alone proved the amount of false propaganda that was carried out by India to keep up the morale of their people and befool the outside world. Thus the Indian rulers were thoroughly exposed to the world about their dubious policy of lauding the cause of peace on the one hand and thrusting a war on a closest neighbour on the other. The war also unfolded things which previously could not be imagined. Previously it

was conceived by the Indian rulers and there was an apprehension in certain quarters that India could conquer Pakistan without any major effort, and that wrong notion was gone forever. It was established once again that Kashmir is a problem, a conflict and not anything which could be shelved by India. The war proved to the world that Indian massive arms build-up receiving as aids from Western countries to be used against Communist China was a threat to Pakistan. On the other hand the Indian attack on Pakistan united the entire Nation and it gave her a new permanency. Pakistan emerged as if a new Nation. "It was an exciting exercise to assess and evaluate our national ego." It opened up new vistas of life and hope. It proved beyond doubt that the defence of Pakistan lay in spirit, valour and heroism of its Armed Forces and not in numerical or mechanized strength of it. "The Army of Pakistan is invincible, spirit of the people is unconquerable and citadel of Pakistan is impregnable". One of the most important outcome of the war was that the Government of Pakistan felt the necessity to make the Eastern Wing of Pakisftan self-sufficient in its defence requirements because of the distance between the two Wings of Pakistan. Members of the armed forces from East Pakistan also did an excellent job in this war with India. They never hesitated for a moment to lay down their lives while defending the Lahore Frontiers against heavy Indian attack and thus to fight shoulder to shoulder with their brethren in West Pakistan.

East Pakistan soldiers' bravery and valour

Massive Political Upheaval

The last quarter of 1968 witnessed a popular movement of unprecedented intensity and dimension that swept the country directed against the regime of President Ayub, shook the regime to its roots and finally forced the Architect of the 1958 Revolution to retire. A decade of one of the most controversial periods in the life of this young nation thus came to an end with what consequences only future history could tell.

Movement against Ayub regime

Roughly from 1964 onwards discontent had been accumulating against the regime partly because of

some of the grotesque failures of the regime and partly because of unfounded myths attributed to it—all contributing to the weakening of the regime itself. The political lava had been accumulating for years for want of vents was all the time piling up explosive power. It had been waiting for a spark to detonate it, and it was provided by a simple incident.

Immediate cause of the student movement in West Pakistan

In the dusty Khyber Pass township of Jamrud in NWFP, a group of students was challenged by Customs Officers on November 7, 1968 about some goods they had bought in the duty free market of Landi Kotal. The students claimed that they were insulted, hit and held by the Customs men. Returning to Pindi they heard that Mr. Bhutto, a prominent politician and a former Cabinet Minister, was in the city. The students went to Rawalpindi's luxurious Inter-Continental Hotel where Mr. Bhutto was staying, but the Police stopped them. A student leader who forced his way in was dragged out and beaten up in front of guests. The students regrouped and were lathi-charged by the Police. Then the Police fired killing one student. The news spread throughout Pakistan like wild fire. Students in almost every town and city staged demonstrations, openly challenging the authority. The movement started.

Internal causes of the movement

After the 1958 Coup President Ayub came to be known as the celebrated architect of a new experiment in democracy and statecraft. Obsessed with the idea of the inherent superiority of the new system, the regime came to look down upon any criticism of the system itself. Criticism or academic discussion, even honest ones were termed as seditious and patriotism of persons having honest difference of opinion was questioned. Press freedom was curtailed to a great extent through the operation of Press and Publication Ordinance, creation of "Press Trust" and the method of "Press advices". Publication of one of the most powerful dailies was banned for not subscribing to the Government views. The Progressive Papers Limited of Lahore was seized arbitrarily and transformed overnight into an

official newspaper. Recalcitrant journalists were put to harassment in different ways. Public gatherings and meetings were discouraged or denied either arbitrarily or through the operation of the Preventive Section of Cr. P. C. A systematic victimisation and harassment of political opponents were carried out. A state of emergency provided the Government with the notorious instrument of D.P.R. which was indiscriminately used for victimisation of political opponents. In fact, there was an end to civil liberties in Pakistan.

Interference in civil liberties

Closely connected with this regimentation was the attempt of the regime to bring the Universities under control through the operation of University Ordinances. During the decade the continuing paradox has been that things in and around the Universities have shown little perceptible improvement. They did not improve despite more money being spent for higher education and more Universities established. Instead the academic as well as the administrative atmosphere deteriorated causing the sensitive section of the population to think despairingly of the possible future shape of things in the academic world. Some ills of insidious nature was eroding the life of the Universities. Student agitation brought the Government to the erroneous conclusion that the state of affairs in the Universities could be rectified with the Government exercising more control over the affairs of the Universities. Teachers, students and the intelligentsia greatly value the traditional autonomy of the Universities and resented any interference with that. A system of nomination substituted the more healthy practice of election to the different bodies of the Universities which denied the students and the teachers any say in the conduct of the University affairs. Officers and teachers of the Universities were selected on the basis of considerations other than academic. Political considerations began to influence granting of affiliation to educational institutions and even financial assistance to such institutions. Grievances were often expressed with regard to maladies existing in the Universities without any result. Any ventilation of grievances were often

Interference in education

termed as political. The result was discontent and frustration which when voiced was suppressed with singularly ruthlessness.

Restricted nature of franchise

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of the 1962 Constitution was the restricted nature of the franchise—some 80,000 people electing the chief Executive and the members of the Legislature. The right to vote was valued very much by an average citizen and any restriction on it was bound to generate disaffection. This was particularly so with the more articulated section of the population who generally guide and mould the political opinion in a society.

Members of the Basic Democracy being limited in number were made subservient to the official machinery and therefore could be purchased or influenced easily. An address by an important member of the regime to the Basic Councillors of district demonstrated the nature of the vested interest which was latent in the system. The gentleman said:

"If the Opposition ever comes to power they will destroy the system of Basic Democracy and snatch away power from them. To achieve their objectives the Opposition including the P.D.M. was determined to kill the system and introduce parliamentary system of Government. Do you want to protect this system which has given you so much power and authority ? The Basic Councillors present in the convention shouted, "Yes, Yes."

It thus follows that the B.Ds. were asked to vote for the President and his nominees because:

1. The Presidential system had done so much for them, irrespective of what it did to the people.

2. Should the Opposition win, the Basic Councillors' power and privileges would automatically go along with the system. The appeal therefore bore two aspects:

(a) Their hopes for power and money;

(b) Their fear that if the present regime goes, they will be reduced to non-entities.

The most remarkable thing about this appeal is that it was not made in the name of the people but of Basic Councillors themselves. The nature and scope of the vested interest and the potential danger of an institutionalised form of corruption was demonstrated in the victory of the ruling party in all the bye-elections held and these successes were an indication of the corrupt nature of the elections. The regime thus succeeded in establishing a tier of vested interest, in setting at naught the rights of the people and in increasing corruption in an institutional form. The people were being made gradually oblivious of the need for democracy. The essential elements of a democratic polity, namely consciousness of the fundamentals of a nationhood and the requirements of a healthy political system were therefore grievously ignored. Perpetuation of the system was considered as the main purpose of the Constitution that was framed. The basic political question assumed the form of one-man rule *vs.* rule by consensus. Slowly and gradually the people began to doubt the effectiveness of the constitutional means in changing the Government.

Basic Democrats as vested interest

While all the safeguards to preserve the regime were provided, the balance and checks against the arbitrary action by the Basic Democrats were missing. The members of the Basic Democracies were enjoing tremendous power and its exercise quite often went much beyond the statutory limits because of the peculiar position they were holding in the political system of the country. The checks provided against any misuse of such wide power were considered limited and in practice it was very difficult to enforce those provisions of law against the Basic Democrats. The result was an extravagant misuse and abuse of wide powers enjoyed by the Basic Democrats. Corruption, malpractice, nepotism, suppression and oppression became the order of the day. No amount of persuasion would convince the architect of the system about dangerous consequences latent until it became too late. The significance is that after the movement started the members of the Basic Democracies were the main targets of attack by the people.

The instability of Governments from 1947 to '58 left the basic problems of the people unsolved. Few things could be achieved because of the political bickerings between the different parties. In the context of this situation, the 1958 Coup raised expectations amongst the people and it was thought that basic problems of the people would now receive desired attention. The regime after a somewhat happy start gradually fell a victim to pressure of groups and the industrial magnets. Anxious to perpetuate its rule the regime looked for political support in all directions and the business community was there to extend the regime its financial support. The big business group of the country were therefore allowed free hand in the economy of the country. Commerce, Industry, Insurance and Banking began to be controlled by the same set of people. The result was dangerously unequal distribution of wealth—some 21 families monopolising the entire country. In spite of somewhat impressive economic development in some fields it has been said that the social end was ignored and some basic problems of the people remained unsolved. Satisfying powerful vested interests became more important for the regime. Gap of inequality widened and disaffection arose. The problems of labour and the middle class remained unsolved.

Failure to solve basic problems

It is generally believed that the fall of the regime had been precipitated by the Decade of Development extravagance. From the beginning of 1958 there began a trumpeting of its achievements—the entire credit contributed to one man, the Founder of the regime. The significant feature of the celebration was lack of participation by the people. The whole thing was thrust upon the people who soon felt that they had too much of the tendentious stuff being drummed into their ears at huge cost of public money. That the ruling party should have deemed fit to put resources to the projection of its own specific purposes was anathema to the comman man.

Celebration of the Decade of development

All these diverse disaffections were exacerbated much by run-away corruption and an all-too-visible deterioration in the administration and legal systems.

of the country. Bureaucracy being one main supporting pillar of the regime began to be used indiscriminately for the perpetuation of the regime. Traditional impartiality and anonymity of the bureaucracy were ruthlessly interfered with. The Government engaging its own machinery for partisan purpose could not dictate adherence to decent administrative norms. The result was an alarming rise of corruption in public service and deterioration of its morale.

Rise of corruption in public services

While the failures of the regime gave rise to disaffection, political organ of the ruling party miserably failed to establish a link between the rulers and the ruled. Never the vital issues affecting the common man got an opportunity of being discussed at the various levels of the party so that it could influence the policy decisions at the highest level. It has often been alleged, and perhaps with a good deal of justification, that the party was never allowed to grow and act. How far the working of the party was democratic and realistic remained a doubtful question in the hearts of many of the partymen themselves. Secretary-General of the party was nominated by the President. Secretary-General on the other hand prepared certain names which were accepted with applause without a single note of dissent. A sense of belonging to the party never developed among the members and without that, much-needed contact with the mass could not be established. Decisions at the top therefore on information supplied by trusted agencies of the bureaucracy rather than objective analysis of genuine problems by responsible public leaders through the operation of the party mechanism. Even those "agencies" were not free. They had to say what the man at the top wanted to listen. The result was deep disappointment and frustration in the rank and file of the party which apparently remained subdued. The Muslim League thus failed to comprehend the magnitude of its responsibility and when in early 1969 it was asked to accept the challenge of the opposition political parties the Muslim League failed to do it and failed miserably.

Failure of Muslim League

Entry of Asghar Khan into politics

Bhutto's arrest

The incident on November 7, 1968, when a student was killed due to police firing in Rawalpindi has already been narrated. Killing a student always remains a sensitive question and the whole of West Pakistan flared up. Protests and demonstrations were organised in defiance of the restrictions imposed by the Government. The movement at this stage was strengthened considerably by the entry of Air Marshal Asghar Khan into the politics of the country. Few persons in Pakistan politics after Independence demonstrated such a shrewd sense of timing as was done by the Air Marshal when he announced on November 17, 1968 that an autocratic Government had failed to deliver the goods and therefore should be replaced. Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, a man considerably popular with the youths of the country gave leadership to the movement for sometime till he was arrested and put under detention on 13th November, 1968. Mr. Bhutto infused a new life into the movement at its initial stage in West Pakistan.

Opposition unity

Formation of DAC

While the movement was continuing significant development took place. Ever since 1964 different opposition political parties of Pakistan were trying to build up a movement for the democratization of the Constitution and restoration of civil liberties. They only met with limited success in this regard because of their failure to project an agreed programme before the people. While agreeing on the fundamentals they often quarrelled with the details ; if they had agreed in details, implementation brought the internal rivalries to the fore-front. In January '69, a desperate attempt was made to unite the opposition. A momentous decision was taken in this regard by the representatives of the major political parties at Dacca on January 8, 1969. The parties participating in this vital meeting included Awami League, (All Pakistan), NAP (Requisition), Jamiatul Ulema-e-Islam, Council Muslim League, East Pakistan Awami League, Jamate Islam, Nizame Islam and NDF. The major political parties with the exception of the NAP and the Pakistan Peoples' Party agreed to form Democratic Action Committee on the basis of 8-point Programme. This opposition unity was a decisive feature in the history of the movement, particularly so when the Muslim League was

divided in its rank and file between the rebels and the loyalists.

Before formation of the Democratic Action Committee, Students' Organizations in East Pakistan came to the momentous decision in forming of what came to be known as Students' Action Committee—the organ that provided a militant leadership at a most significant stage of the movement. The main threads of the movement were picked up intelligently by SAC and played skilfully in response to public sentiment. As a matter of fact, the SAC assumed leadership of the movement at a time when there was an apparent vaccum of leadership. The SAC announced the important 11-point Programme on January 5, 1969 which included demands of students for solving educational and political problems.

Role of SAC

Maulana Bhashani meanwhile was the first to lend his support to the 11-point demands of students. He, however, chose to go alone and did not collaborate much with the other Opposition Political Parties. Maulana took recourse to the startling *'Gherao'* movement for realising the demands of the various interests particularly workers and the peasants. Moulana's call for a 'Demand Day' on December 7, 1968 was a tremendous success.

Role of Maulana Bhashani

However, with the formation of the DAC the movement gathered a new momentum. Almost all sections of the people—students, labourers, peasantry, educationists, thinkers, artists joined the movement. A call for observing *hartal* against the repressive policies of the Government by DAC on January 17, 1969 proved to be a complete success and demonstrated unmistakably the support of the people behind the movement. On 20th January '69 with the death of one Asaduzzaman, a student leader, by police firing in Dacca the whole of East Pakistan, so far keeping comparatively away, joined the movement in a militant form. Strikes and demonstrations were organised all over the province to protest against the mass killing of students by the police. It continued for days together and the situation called for imposing curfew in many places

Movement gained momentum

Meanwhile considering the situation to be serious the President decided on February 1, 1969 to invite the Opposition political leaders to a conference to discuss the outstanding problems of the Nation. The problems of participation of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, an accused in the 'Agartala Conspiracy' Case, proceedings of which were continuing proved a thorny one and the Sheikh at the height of his popularity refused to attend the conference until the case was withdrawn and he along with other accused was released. The whole country demanded the withdrawal of the case. Meanwhile two incidents added fuel to the fire. They were the unfortunate death of Sergeant Zohurul Huq, an accused in Agartala Case on February 15, 1969 and of Dr. Shamsuzzoha, a teacher of Rajshahi University due to firing on February 17, '69. The mass movement reached its climax and it even frightened a dictator-President who all on a sudden announced his decision on February 21, '69 not to contest the next Presidential Election due in 1970. For the first time President Ayub admitted that he was fully conscious of the dissatisfaction that existed with the Presidential system of election. This announcement of President Ayub helped to some extent to improve the situation.

Round Table Conference called

Announcement of Ayub Khan not to seek re-election

The President's announcement was followed by his decision to withdraw the alleged conspiracy case. On 22nd February '69 the alleged conspiracy case was dropped. Sk. Mujib and others tried in the case were released unconditionally. At long last the main obstacle which stood in the way of holding the dialogue was removed. The much-awaited dialogue began on February 26, attended by representatives of DAC and independent leaders like Justice Murshed and Air Marshal Asghar Khan. Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Lt. General Azam Khan and Maulana Bhasani of NAP did not participate in the talks as they thought that the Conference would be of no use solving problems of the country. After a recess of Eid the Round Table Conference met again on March 10 and concluded with a promise to restore (1) Federal Parliamentary system of Government with regional autonomy and (2) Direct Election of the Assembly on the basis of adult franchise. But

Withdrawal of conspiracy case

the DAC fell apart as some of the components were not satisfied with the fulfilment of these two demands. The Awami League led by Sk. Mujibur Rahman disassociated with it on the ground that other leaders of DAC failed to advocate certain demands of East Pakistan such as representation on population basis and autonomy. But later on statement made by some of the leaders of DAC revealed that they agreed mostly to the demands of the East Pakistani people but they disagreed with some points contained in the Awami League programme.

Decision of RTC announced

In the meantime, the situation in the country particularly in East Pakistan deteriorated to such an extent that normal law-enforcing methods had become totally ineffective and almost completely broken down. Serious damage of life and property had occurred and a state of panic paralysed the normal life of people in the country. Production had gone down to a dangerously low level, and the economy generally had suffered an unprecedented set-back. Strikes and violence became a daily routine and the country had been driven to the edge of an abyss. Finding no other alternative President Ayub in a letter addressed to General A. M. Yahya Khan, Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army requested him to take over reins of the country as he had failed to tackle the grave situation.

The Nation had to be pulled to safety and normal conditions restored without delay. On March 25, 1969, General A. M. Yahya Khan, Commander-in-Chief imposed Martial Law throughout Pakistan and became the Chief Martial Law Administrator. The Chief Martial Law Administrator declared on the following day that his sole aim was to protect life, liberty and property of the people and put the administration back on the rails. He further made it clear that a sound, clear and honest administration is a pre-requisite for sane and constructive political life and for the smooth transfer of power to the representatives of the people elected freely and impartially on the basis of adult franchise. It will be the task of these elected representatives to give the country a workable Constitu-

Causes of the Promulgation of Martial Law

CMLA's assurance to the Nation

tion and find a solution of all other problems. It was announced on March 31, 1969 that the Chief Martial Law Administrator had assumed the office of the President from March 25, 1969 to enable him to discharge the functions of the Head of the State. It was followed by appointment of a Council of Administration on April 3, headed by the President and including the three Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrators, Lt. General Abdul Hamid Khan, Vice-Admiral S. M. Ahsan and Air Marshal Noor Khan. On April 4, the President restored the 1962 Constitution except its provisions relating to fundamental rights by issuing a Provisional Constitution order. The order empowered him to exercise the functions of the President as provided under the 1962 Constitution plus the powers he assumed under the proclamation issued on March 25, imposing Martial Law throughout the country and abrogating the Constitution.

General Yahya's assumption of Presidentship—announcement of Council—Partial Restoration of 1962 Constitution

The new regime was successful in restoring law and order and normalcy in the country. Everyone was back to his normal avocations in life. As the new President declared that members of the Armed Forces were conscious of the genuine difficulties and pressing needs of various sections of the society including the students community, the labour and the peasants, the administration had devoted heart and soul to find solution of the basic problems of the country. Accordingly guidelines of the new educational and labour policies had already been announced. Various steps of the new regime to eradicate corruption and remove genuine hardships of the people have been hailed by all and sundry.

Foreign Policy of Pakistan

With the emergence of two sovereign independent States in the sub-continent the name India being comparatively more known in the outside world she was in an advantageous position to project herself and win support of others. While Pakistan, a new name in the political map had to justify and prove at the outset to the world and to her neighbour in particular that the concept of Pakistan was just and right and she had come to stay and

would stay as a stable, progressive and the largest Muslim State in the globe. However, from the very day of her coming into being Pakistan lost no time to enunciate and pursue a policy of goodwill and friendship to all. She declared that her international policy was based on in keeping with her own interest as well as the interest of the world peace. She was a firm believer in the equality of all nationals and the right of all peoples to govern themselves according to their own faith, ideology and requirements. The founder of the new State, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali defined the foreign policy of Pakistan in 1948 in the following words : "Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and good-will towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish agressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter."

Policy of goodwill and friendship to all

At the initial stage Pakistan had to take into consideration her relationship with India. Perhaps this factor has been the main pre-occupation of her foreign policy. She could hardly ignore the factor that Indian ruler vehemently opposed the very creation of Pakistan and still not in a mood to reconcile with it. Secondly, Indian policy towards the native states was the most unfortunate one as she did never follow the path of reason rather arbitrarily took possession of Hyderabad and Junagarh. About Kashmir she maintained her intransigent attitude and refused to negotiate. Besides, the geographical location of Pakistan also had to be reckoned with while formulating its foreign policy. The Radcliff Award awarded her a long and vulnerable frontier. East Pakistan is surrounded by hostile India on three sides, while West Pakistan is confronted with Russia in the north, China in the North-East and India in the South-East.

Apart from the political and geographical factors Pakistan had to seek friends to come to her aid for economic development of the country so that the infant State could march on the road to progress and prosperity.

Above all, Pakistan was eager from the very beginning to cultivate friendship with the Muslim States of the world which was but natural as she emerged as the biggest Muslim State.

Pakistan soon found its admission into U.N.O. amidst goodwill and support of all excepting a lone objection from Afghanistan. As a member of the World Body she declared the cardinal principle of her foreign policy, "Friendship to all and malice towards none" and upheld the ideas for which the U.N.O. had come into being. Since then Pakistan played a vital role in the world affairs as a member of the U.N.O. and became associated with its various agencies including the Food and Agricultural, Health, Education and Scientific Organizations. In 1952 Pakistan secured a seat in the Security Council.

Pakistan and U.N.O.

As a member of the Commonwealth, Pakistan contributed her best towards the advancement of its cause. Pakistan remained as member of this Organization and still continues to be so though at times she felt bitter about it because of indifferent and apathetic attitude of Britain towards her in relation to India. When Britain and Commonwealth expressed reluctance to mediate between India and Pakistan at the time of Punjab carnage in October 1947, Quaid-e-Azam himself said that. "His Majesty's Government are, so far, shirking their responsibility. Ishtiaq Qureshi rightly pointed out that Pakistan started with enthusiastic feelings of friendship for Britain but the relations have been correct and seldom warm. The reason for the same was not far to seek. The behaviour of the British Government in their dealings with Muslim countries like Iran when it nationalized oil industry, towards Saudi Arabia over the Buraimi Oasis Dispute and towards Egypt over Suez, their attack on Yemen and agression on Egypt along with Israel enraged Pakistan very much. Of course, with the passage of time the Commonwealth has changed as an Organization and

is more concerned with economic betterment and educational and cultural development of member-organizations.

Pakistan in the latter part of 1949 turned with vigour to cultivate relations with brotherly Muslim countries. Pakistan was founded to advance the cause of the Muslims and hence she considered it her bounden duty to take lead in this matter. In quick succession treaties of friendship were signed with as many as ten Muslim countries, cultural exchanges were arranged, mutual visit of the Heads of States had taken place and a few conference were also held among representatives of the Muslim countries in Pakistan in 1950. The prominent Muslim countries which came in closer contact with Pakistan included Iran, Jordan, Iraq, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Indonesia and Syria. Meanwhile various non-official organizations sprang up to foster closer ties between Muslim States and the people. In the United Nations the influence of Pakistan was normally on the side of any Muslim cause. Pakistan has on no occasion failed to uphold the cause of Arab countries and her declared policy and its support to Arab in the Palestine dispute was well known. The Prime Minister Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy made it absolutely clear in 1957 that "Pakistan has never recognized Israel, and my policy definitely is that we shall not recognize Israel under any circumstances". Pakistan strongly supported independence movements of the people of Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco and Malaya and she utilized all forums to defend their cause. Pakistan did never hesitate to support the Indonesian struggle for liberation. She also sympathised the cause of Iran and Egypt in their dispute with Britain.

Pakistan and the Muslim countries

The sincerity and desire of Pakistan to seek friendship and establish cordial relationship with the Muslim countries was not reciprocated by Afghanistan, the neighbouring Muslim country. The Afghans had claimed a large area of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province though the frontier, the Durand Line was recognized since 1893. The ruler of Afghanistan advanced claims to protect the region inhabited by Pushto-speaking people describ-

Pakistan's relation with Afghanistan

ed as Pakhtunistan and incited disaffection among the tribes within the Pakistan border. Not only this, Afghan rulers severed diplomatic ties with Pakistan by recalling their ambassador in 1956. But a year after relationship improved and diplomatic link was re-established with the exchange of goodwill visits by Pakistani President and Afghan Prime Minister.

At the outset, Americans had leaning towards India and Pakistan was, in fact, misunderstood in that country. It was Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan who for the first time had undertaken a visit to that country in 1950. He was greatly successful in dispelling doubts and misconceptions existing between the two States. During the time of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Khwaja Nazimuddin Pakistan's foreign policy was one of non-committal. It was in the month of May, 1954 when Mr. Mohammad Ali of Bogra was the Prime Minister, Pakistan signed a Mutual Defence Agreement with the United States—perhaps one of the biggest events in Pakistan's international history. She concluded a treaty of Mutual military assistance with Turkey and became member of SEATO in 1954 and Baghdad Pact in 1955 later known as CENTO. Iraq withdrew herself from the Baghdad Pact because of a revolution in that country in 1958 and the Pact since then has been renamed as CENTO (Central Treaty Organization). Other members of the Pact are Turkey, Iran and Britain. The members of the South-East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) are U.S.A., U.K., France, Australia, the Philippines, New Zealand and Thailand. Pakistan's participation in these Pacts were not very much welcomed in the Communist Block but the fact remains that the Commonwealth had failed to mediate her dispute with India over Kashmir. The Indian threats to her security and Russians previous role compelled her to be closely on the side of the West. These alliances, however, were of little use in time of need as it has been experienced that tduring the clash with India in 1965 the countries under the Pacts did not stand by the side of Pakistan excepting giving moral support.

Pakistan signs Pacts

Despite her attempts Pakistan did not succeed in becoming friendly with Russia because of the fact

that she supported the 'Pakhtoonistan' agitation in 1955 and thus acted directly against the interest of Pakistan. Secondly, Russian leader, Mr. Khrushchev openly sided with India on Kashmir dispute while visiting that country and again Russian delegation blocked U.N. debates on the subject by Veto. All these disappointed Pakistan very much. Sshe made no efforts to break the ice till President Ayub came to power in 1958 who successfully improved relationship with that country. Exchange of goodwill delegations and visits by Heads of States had taken place. An agreement was signed in 1961 between the two countries. Accordingly Russian geophysicists have started work for exploring oil and gas resources in Pakistan.

Pakistan's relation with Russia

Pakistan has maintained good relation with another neighbour, The People's China. The common frontier between the two countries is of fair length, about 200 miles. In 1962 the border was amicably demarcated to avoid any direct clash even when China's relationship with India has been bitter. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy was the first Prime Minister to visit that country (1957) in exchange for a visit by Mr. Chou En-lai to Pakistan and since then the two countries have been living in harmony. The relationship improved and the bond of friendship cemented when China gave full support to Pakistan during the war with India in 1965. Delegations from almost all walks of life have exchanged visits. Both the countries have signed trade pacts. Besides, Pakistan received substantial economic aid from China in 1967. The relations of Pakistan with two other neighbours—Ceylon and Burma are cordial. In 1967 Pakistan amicably settled her boundary demarcation with Burma. After the war of 1965 it was realized that the location of Pakistan was a source of weakness to her but it could be converted to a source of strength if the suspicion could be dispelled from the minds of at least two big neighbours. In view of the geographical location and the political compulsion inherent therein Pakistan cannot afford to pursue a policy of totally going over to one Block or the other. Accordingly, the Government of President Ayub evolved a policy of bilateral relations with each of the countries. The Foreign

Pakistan's relation with China

Policy of bilateral relations with various countries

Minister, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto played an important role in formulating the policy. As a result of this policy there can be no doubt that Pakistan's relationship with outside world has improved and Pakistan has found an honourable place in the comity of nations. Pakistan has been elected unanimously in the Security Council in 1967. But the problem of Kashmir still remains unsolved and for that matter the relationship with India could not be friendly though Pakistan tried her best to persuade the former to see reason. The President of Pakistan even went to the extent of proposing joint defence with that country only after solving this vital problem but India was as usual adamant in her attitude. India even turned a deaf ear towards implementing the agreed Tashkent Declarations and as a result, Pakistan is at the moment thinking of raising the issue to U.N.O. again with a view to finding a just solution to this problem.

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